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ABSTRACT

Louisiana is composed of a vast array of traditional cultures and activities. This resource directory to Louisiana folk arts and folk communities aims to promote better understanding and preservation of the cultural settings and meanings of those things already well known and to explicate the lesser-known activities that comprise living folk traditions. The articles, most with accompanying bibliographies, are divided into five sections: (1) "Folklife Research in Louisiana"; (2) "Ethnicity, Region, Occupation, and Family: The Social Contexts for Louisiana Folklife"; (3) "Living On and Off the Land in Louisiana: Crafts, Foodways, Boats, and Houses"; (4) "Documenting Tradition"; and (5) "Folklife and Public Policy." The articles include such topics as the history of folklife research in Louisiana, regional folklife, Creolization and ethnicity, children's folklore, traditional foodways, folk boats, folk houses, folk crafts, media documentation of folklife, folklife and education, a folklife plan for Louisiana, and the Vietnamese immigrants in New Orleans. Nine appendices provide access to resources relating to Louisiana folklife; they include an annotated bibliography of resources in research preservation and presentation, lists of dissertations and theses, film and video recordings, sound recordings, Louisiana festivals, and state documents, and a copy of the Louisiana Folklife Survey. Numerous black and white photographs are included. (JB)

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LOUISIANA
FOLKLIFE

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Cover: Roadside station of the cross, Pine-Oak Alley near St. Martinville. Photo: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

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LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE

A Guide to the State

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A WORD OF THANKS

The idea for this book began as the recommendation of an *ad hoc* Committee on Folk Arts which met in December of 1977 in the Old State Capitol. The committee urged the newly formed Division of the Arts to undertake three major actions regarding folk artists and folk communities in Louisiana. The first was to hire a coordinator for folk arts. That was done in the fall of 1978 and led to the development of the Louisiana Folklife Program as it stands today. The second request was to hold a major statewide conference devoted to Louisiana folk culture. The conference took place in May of 1979 in Baton Rouge as a two-day meeting with evenings of film and music at the old Paramount Theatre (R.I.P.). The third charge was to publish a "resource directory" to folk arts and folk communities in the state.

The latter task took much longer because—aside from the basic difficulties of producing a book of this nature in a state governmental setting that is more attuned to such shorter forms of discourse as letters, phone calls, budget summaries and the like—Louisiana is composed of a vast array of traditional cultures and activities. Of these, a large number had never been systematically examined as to their history, current status, impact and future viability as cultural resources of the state.

Like a folk tradition passed down over time, this book has been shaped by many hands. In addition to those whose names appear on the title page, in the table of contents, and alongside the photographs and maps they have contributed, thanks is also in order to others who worked on this volume.

In the Division of the Arts, Al Head, its former director, encouraged and tolerated this lengthy project because of his own long standing interest in folk culture as part of a region's artistic legacy. Without DOA assistant director Joel Gardner's help, the book could not have been finished. Staff members Kim Granier, Lauren Morgan, Phyllis Robbins, and Terry Wise added many hours of typing and retyping. Tolly Thompson helped keep the finances on track and Maida Bergeron added last minute proofreading. Thanks also to Bobby DeBlieux, Eddy Martin and Judy Williams in the Office of Cultural Development for supporting the project. Thanks to Bob Dudden and Bob LeBlanc in the Office of Tourism for seeking funds to print the Folklife Guide. Elsewhere in the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism we have had the consistent support of Kass Byrd, Harriet Callahan, Tim Chester, Bobbie Ferguson, Al Godoy, Tom Jaques, Ann Jones, Bruce Morgan, Jim Morgan, Ann Peterson, Terry Seelinger, Steve Smith, Mike Tucker, John Weist and Ellen Wydra.

Individuals and institutions who provided resource material for this book include: The Historic New Orleans Collection; Dick Allen and the William Ransom Hogan Archive of New Orleans Jazz at Tulane; Hastings House Press; The National Geographic Society; Ralph Rinzler and the Smithsonian's Office of Folklife Programs; the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives; Bess Hawes of the National Endowment for the Arts, Folk Arts Program; Joe Wilson of the National Council for Traditional Arts; Jim Isenogle of Jean Lafitte National Park; Joy Jackson of the Center for Regional Studies at SLU; Don Hatley and Carol Wells of NSU; the Prints and Photographs Division and Archive of Folk Culture in the Library of Congress; Dewey Balfa of the Acadiana Music and History Project; Irvan Perez of the Isleno Heritage Society; Marc and Ann Savoy of the Society for the Preservation of Ethnic Culture in Acadian Louisiana; Barry Ancelet of the Center for Louisiana Studies at USL; the Louisiana Room and Archives at LSU; the Louisiana Folklife Society; the Louisiana Folklore Society; the Louisiana State Library; the Louisiana State Museum; and Stephen Duplantier of the Center for Gulf South History and Culture. Thanks also to C. Paige Gutierrez for providing editorial assistance.

Finally, special thanks to Archie Green, Fred Kniffen and Alan Lomax for lighting the way nationally and in Louisiana for the development of a consciousness about the value of folk cultural resources in our lives. To these persons and all the fine folk performers and craftsmen who gave of their time and knowledge to our researchers and photographers, this book is dedicated.

NRS

FOREWORD

A civilization is judged by its cultural creations. When we think of great past civilizations, we think in terms of their cultural legacies: architecture, writing systems, paintings, sculpture, and drama, among others. Louisiana, too, has a vast array of traditional cultural creations. Some, like jazz, Cajun cooking and Creole houses are well known around the country and the world. Others, such as the songs of Islenos in St. Bernard Parish or the elaborate Afro-Caribbean style costumes of New Orleans Mardi Gras Indians, are barely recognized outside their immediate communities in Louisiana. The purpose of this book is to help better understand and preserve the cultural settings and meanings of those things already well known and to explicate the lesser-known activities that comprise our living folk traditions.

To preserve the folklife of Louisiana gives recognition to folk artists and communities as it encourages people to be proud of their local culture. Statewide preservation and promotion of folklife makes Louisiana citizens more aware of their cultural diversity. Well-informed promotion of appropriate aspects of Louisiana folklife such as wooden boat making, quilting, Cajun music, north Louisiana fiddling, black blues, duck decoy carving and our varied traditional foodways, encourages cottage industry, creates a market for these things, and increases tourism to the state while it helps to preserve the cultures.

In many ways this book is the first attempt to provide in-depth treatment of the folk culture of the entire state. Earlier important surveys of the state were included in the WPA *Louisiana Guide* (1941), and the legendary book *Gumbo Ya-Ya* (1945), both of which came out of the Federal Writers Project. This new Louisiana Folklife Guide brings us up to date. Politicians, civil servants, museum curators, scholars, students, community leaders, arts administrators, regional planners, and the Louisiana public in general will find it interesting and informative. There is increasing awareness in Louisiana of the value of folk culture; it is essential to defining our sense of place. One of the major purposes of the Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism is to preserve and promote Louisiana's cultural heritage. *Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State,* is a cornerstone in our efforts to do this. Louisiana's cultural creations deserve no less.

Noelle LeBlanc, Secretary
Department of Culture, Recreation
and Tourism

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE: AN INTRODUCTION

Folklife includes the living traditions of ethnic, regional, occupational and family groups. These are traditions learned outside formal institutions (schools, museums) and from sources other than the printed page or mass media broadcasts. Folklife in Louisiana includes folk architecture (shotgun houses, Creole cottages, log dogtrots) and landscapes (rural farmsteads, gardens, bayou settlements, urban neighborhoods); folk foodways (Cajun/Creole cooking, food preservation and canning, Indian fry bread); oral languages (Creole and Cajun French, Koasati, black English, Anglo-Southern dialect); crafts (blacksmithing, basket making, boat building); music and dance (blues, old-time fiddling, Cajun music, traditional jazz); rituals and festivals (St. Joseph's altars, fleet blessings, river baptisms, graveyard scrappings and all day sings); narratives, proverbs, riddles, and jokes (Tunica mythology, Master and John stories); *Bouki et Lapin* tales, Isleno *quevedo* stories; beliefs and practices (faith healing, *traiteurs,* planting and fishing lore, hoodoo, spirit possession); folk games and toys (*racquet*, jump rope rhymes, bull-roarers and whirley-gigs).

The terms "folk art" and "folklore" are also commonly used when speaking of traditional culture, but they are less inclusive than "folklife." Folk art refers primarily to aesthetic or artistic traditional practices and creations, such as carving a walking stick or creating a Cajun Mardi Gras costume. Folk art is unfortunately naively used by some—at worst to imply "bad art," "primitive art," or at best, the untrained work of individual "visionary" creators. Those persons in Louisiana and elsewhere who create yard environments filled with bottles, sculpture and various found objects should not, as a rule, be considered folk artists, since they are not usually part of a tradition that could be called ethnic, regional, occupational or even familial. They may be members of folk communities, but they do not create within a folk tradition. Thus, they are better thought of as artists from folk communities rather than folk artists. The use of the term "folk art" also sometimes includes "folk craft." Crafts generally have a more utilitarian dimension. While some collectors consider such things as quilts and blacksmith work to be artistic, many quilters and blacksmiths consider their products to be more utilitarian: quilts for warming children in beds or andirons for holding logs on the fire.

As a starting point, folk art should be understood in the original context of its creation and/or performance within a social group or community setting. The St. Joseph's altar must be viewed as part of the Sicilian-Italian Catholic liturgical year and located at the home or church hall amidst family, friends and parishioners. The Cajun fiddler should be heard as part of the dance hall setting. The split-oak basket maker's wares belong first to the country kitchen or hardware section of a general store although they may end up in a museum case or on the knick-knack shelf of a suburban home.

"Folklore" is a widely popular term coined in 1846 by British antiquarian William Thoms. Folklore was once associated primarily with spoken or performed folk traditions such as stories, songs, or legends. It still has the unfortunate association in popular usage implying half-truths, superstition and "just folklore." Today folklore and folklife are often used interchangeably. Folklife, though, has the advantage of embracing the artistic *and* utilitarian performances, practices, products and worldviews that characterize contemporary folk communities.

Until recently the prevailing view in much written on Louisiana folk cultures was that they were at best quaint, entertaining and likely to wither away in an age of biotech crawfish farming, computer navigation by supertankers and the state's relentless quest for mainstream Sunbelt acceptance. The researchers for this volume found that, in some aspects, Louisiana folk cultures are quite strong. Though transformed, our traditional cultural diversity and practices underpin a great deal of modern life. Pirogues are no longer dugout, but plank-constructed boats, among many types, are viable and symbolic of local inventiveness. Country blues is still heard on back porches and country roadhouses, but newer electric rhythm and blues based on the old styles has become the definitive sound of the city. Traditional cooking practices from Cajun and Creole to soul food and north Louisiana preserving are by no means fading from view or tastes, although one can now get boudin at the 7-11 and whole festivals are devoted to the new high status of the crawfish. These are but a few examples of folklife activities in the state that have not just survived, but thrived in modified forms.

On the other hand, there are aspects of folk culture that are eroding as rapidly as our coastline. To be sure, some traditions associated with folk culture—such as provincialism and nonliteracy—are aspects of tradition that deserve to fade away. However, there is much that is good in Louisiana traditional culture that seems equally doomed by rapid socio-economic change and particularly the impact of the mass media. Folklorist Alan Lomax has suggested that a worldwide cultural "grey-out" is in progress which threatens cultural diversity due to overcentralized control of the electronic media. As Lomax, who has worked extensively in Louisiana, notes:

> One can already sense the oppressive dullness and psychic distress of those areas where centralized music industries, exploiting the star system and controlling the communication system, put the local musician out of work and silence folk song, tribal ritual, local popular festivities and regional culture. It is ironic to note that during this century, when folklorists and musicologists were studying the varied traditions of the peoples of the earth, their rate of disappearance accelerated. This worries all of us, but we had grown so accustomed to the dismal view of the carcasses of dead or dying cultures on the human landscape, that we have learned to dismiss this pollution of the human environment as inevitable, and even sensible, since it is wrongly assumed that the weak and unfit among musics and cultures are eliminated in this way. (1977:126)

To counteract the loss of cultural diversity in Louisiana and elsewhere, federal, state, and local governments, as well as educational and research institutions, are beginning to place more emphasis on conservation of folk cultural resources, increasingly recognizing that the people who build and live in traditional houses like dogtrots and Creole cottages are as important as the structures themselves. This has expanded the definition of a "cultural resource." Those who previously defined cultural resources as limited to prehistoric Indian mounds and plantation big houses are now recognizing the value of the rare remaining Cajun weavers, the senior Choctaw hide tanner and the masters of a capella gospel singing. The "intangible" knowledge of how to live off the land, mend a net, preserve fruit or sing the blues is as valid as the more tangible presence of historic houses, modern sculpture or Indian ceremonial earthworks.

To aid this process of acceptance of the value of folk culture, the Louisiana Folklife Program and folklorists in general have used a variety of methods. All of them rest upon initial baseline cultural research known as "fieldwork," involving interviewing and observing the practitioners of folk culture. In Louisiana this work is structured around the format of the Louisiana Folklife Survey (see Appendix 9). Such documentation work involves photographing and taping various folk community members, as was most recently done in the Florida Parishes Folklife Project. The documents of fieldwork, from slide and negative to cassette and video tape, are held archivally to "preserve" the information—which does not preserve the culture as a living entity, but serves as a matter of record. The information may then be used to present and promote folk culture in a variety of ways: to produce a book like this; to program a folklife festival such as that held at the Louisiana Folklife Pavilion of the 1984 World's Fair; to locate folk craftspersons and artists who can be represented in our permanent exhibit in the Capitol, "The Creole State"; to provide in slide/tape lectures; to use in the Louisiana Folklife Recording Series; and for public school curriculum. This last objective promises to be among the most difficult tasks faced by public folklife programs, because of the long stigma attached to folk culture and the lack of materials available for school use. All these methods present folk culture back to the groups from which it originated as well as to a wider spectrum of citizens. They also give "airtime" to the elders of the folk communities and to the traditional performers who are rarely heard. The presentation of the best of folk cultural resources enhances the status of the master folk artists and craftspersons. It also encourages young people to maintain useful and aesthetically appealing aspects of their own community's traditions that may be endangered.

In Louisiana we are only beginning the process of careful, appropriate presentation and promotion of folklife. In part this is because for years we have taken folk culture for granted. It has been generally accepted, as Louisiana is transformed through education and economic development, that traditional lifestyles would and should die out. Nowadays educators, public officials and community leaders are moving away from the equation that "folk culture/nonliteracy " equals "primitiveness/stupidity." There is growing recognition of the value of folk tradition, cultural diversity and in "doing it right and passing it on" as an exhibit on north Louisiana folklife suggested a few years back.

In addition to these "quality of life" benefits of folklife preservation, economic effects are also of great significance. Folklife is a major factor in tourism and could, if correctly promoted, generate visitation and income in areas of the state that have previous been thought (even by some residents) to have "no culture." It is our hope that additional field survey work will help remedy this view—as have initial projects in the north Louisiana hills and Florida Parishes—and lead to development of folklife attractions for Louisianians and tourists alike. Folklife festivals—ones that document and present traditional culture—like the Cajun Music Festival, the Baton Rouge Blues Festival, the Natchitoches Folklife Festival and the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival along with our new Louisiana Folklife Festival, have already shown the ability to generate interest in and income from the best of traditional culture. Development of cottage industry crafts—from Indian basketry to quilts and our renowned wooden boats and duck decoys—has never been tried on the scale equal to successful efforts in states such as Maine, West Virginia and even Arkansas. Perhaps most intriguing, the degree to which traditional subsistence living (fishing, hunting, gathering, gardening) still supports rural households has never been measured.

In all these aspects—as tourist attraction, as well-adapted way of life and as symbol for our sense of attachment to ethnicity, region, occupation and family—folklife preservation and promotion offer a renewable source of material, social and spiritual well-being for Louisianians now and in the future.

This book recounts what has been done in the field and what could be attained with minimal commitment of people and funds to statewide and local folk cultural programs. The initial section covers research previously undertaken and the diverse language groups in the state as a baseline for further research. The following section deals with the social setting for folk communities and groups from rural regions and urban centers to places of work and play. The section called "Living On and Off the Land" discusses the cultural ecology of various pursuits from foodways to traditional crafts including boat and house construction. The role the media can play in maintaining and supporting folk cultures—rather than adversely affecting them—is the focus of the section on Media Documentation. The final essays on "Folklife and Public Policy" lay out historic and current national and state policies toward folk culture with suggestions as to what needs to be done, particularly in the educational system. The Appendices provide a comprehensive collection of resource material listings on libraries, archives, museums, public agencies, publications, films and video, sound recordings, festivals and oral history projects as they relate to Louisiana folklife. We hope that *Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State* will mark a new level of interest in and understanding of folk cultural resources in Louisiana.

Nicholas R. Spitzer
Louisiana Folklife Program

SUGGESTED READING

American Folklore Society. *Folklore/Folklife.* Washington, D.C., 1984.

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George Washington Cable in his New Orleans study. Division of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress.

I. FOLKLIFE RESEARCH IN LOUISIANA

As the practitioners and communities of folk culture in Louisiana are increasingly identified and presented as part of public policy and local impetus toward preservation, it is easy to forget that large numbers of individuals have studied and continue to work with the state's folklife in academic and other settings. These students, scholars and enthusiasts of folklife in Louisiana date from the earliest travelers to the region to literary collectors and writers such as George Washington Cable, Lafcadio Hearn and Alcee Fortier. Later came cultural geographers and folklorists such as Fred Kniffen, Corrine Saucier, Harry Oster and George Reinecke, to mention a few. Contemporary individuals and groups, be they blues festival planners or Indian photodocumentors, owe it to the communities with which they work as well as themselves to look into the research findings and documentation that already exists on a group. Some of it may seem hopelessly antiquarian, while other items will be farsighted for their time. All of it is worth consulting, as the recorded interest in the folk culture of our state precedes this volume by at least two centuries. As a supplement for researchers, Appendices 1-4 and 6, 7 at the end of this volume contain listings of research sources and organizations that reflect current activity in Louisiana. In addition the reader is directed to bibliographic listings at the end of each essay.

Francis A. "Frank" de Caro has taught in the English department at LSU, where he is currently an associate professor, since 1970. A Ph.D. from the noted Indiana University Folklore Program, he continued a tradition of teaching folklore at LSU by presenting his first course in 1974. De Caro, who is known nationally for his work on the intellectual history of the discipline as well as work in England and India, became the first chairman of the Louisiana Folklife Commission in 1982. He has also served as president of the Louisiana Folklore Society and helped found the initial state programming of folk culture in the Division of the Arts.

A HISTORY OF FOLKLIFE RESEARCH IN LOUISIANA

by F. A. de Caro

Though a number of states have folklore societies, and a few states employ state folklorists, and such volumes as *Nebraska Folklore* and *The Folklore of Maine* may appear on library shelves, American folklore research has not really seen the state boundary as a significant conceptual unit. Folklorists by and large have been more interested in larger regions, such as the Ozarks or the Southwest, or in very localized traditions, or in ethnic and racial groups, or in the lore of particular occupational pursuits that cut across mere political demarcations. Nonetheless, some individual American states can boast of long and varied traditions of folklore research. Louisiana is one such state. Though interest in folklore within the state has perhaps not been so consistent as in Texas (where the Texas Folklore Society has helped to keep alive devotion to the Southwestern mystique since 1909), nor so intensive as in Indiana (where collecting by Indiana University students has built up a large archival store), Louisiana folklore and folklife have attracted considerable attention. Several major American folklorists have worked within the state; several important literary figures have devoted attention to Louisiana folk materials; one of the earliest (and in many ways still the most readable) books on the folklore of a state, *Gumbo Ya Ya*, deals with Louisiana; and today the state is in the forefront of those where federal and state government are taking an active interest in folk cultural matters. Nor is the reason for such interest difficult to divine: French Louisiana constitutes a vast and unique ethnic region (yet there is great ethnic diversity throughout the state); here we find many of the folk roots of a major American musical art form, jazz; Mardi Gras, in New Orleans and Cajun country, is one of America's great traditional festivals; the state has received unique cultural influences, such as those from the Caribbean; and of all the states only in Louisiana has there flourished the syncretic Afro-Catholic folk religion (called voodoo in Louisiana and Haiti) which has been common in other parts of the New World. Of course these are by no means the only reasons, but whatever the reasons, Louisiana folklife has been well noticed from eighteenth-century travel accounts to the documentary films of the 1980's.

Travel writings are often a source of information on folklife, and the travel accounts of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that deal with Louisiana are no exception.[1] Such works do not, of course, constitute "folklore research," but they indicate an intellectual interest in the subject matter of folklore from an early date. For example, Charles Cesar Robin, who visited in Louisiana in the early nineteenth century, apparently for the purpose of scientific and historical inquiry, recorded a great deal of social information in his *Voyages dans l'Interieure de la Louisiane* (1807), including much related to folklore and folklife: Acadian dances, types of boats in use, the construction and lay-out of slave cabins, Louisiana French as spoken by blacks, the costumes of slave women, the dances of slaves and free people of color, vernacular houses and Acadian textiles (Pujol, 1939: 147-148, 127-130, 489-491, 501-505, 515-516, 515-517, 160-163, 376). Sixty years earlier Dumont de Montigny in his historical memoir in verse had commented on the construction of pirogues and cabins, noted Indian costumes, body decoration, basketry, pottery, ceremonies and medicine, gathered a few legendary place name etymologies, and noticed the capture and eating of crayfish and the folk uses of Spanish moss (Dumont de Montigny, 1937-38: 44-46, 99-110, 11, 67-68, 107-108). In his negative assessment of the New Orleans Creoles Berquin-Duvallon, who visited Louisiana in 1802, touches on various aspects of urban folklife, including singing, dancing and general socializing, as well as upon Louisiana French and the ethnic diversity of the Crescent City (1806: 39-72).

One can cite other travel accounts relevant to folklore, but it is undoubtedly the work of Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz which has the most enduring ethnographic significance. Le Page came to Louisiana in 1718 and initially worked a grant of land on Bayou St. John, then made his way northward to find superior soil. Early in 1720 he settled near the villages of the Natchez Indians (in present-day Mississippi, but the Natchez ranged into Louisiana and had connections with such Louisiana tribes as the Avoyel and Taensa). He established excellent relations with his Indian neighbors and seems to have taken an intense interest in their society. He took pains to learn the Natchez tongue, though he could have communicated with many of the members of the tribe in Mobilian (the trade Lingua Franca), and he spent much time with chiefs and others, listening to explanations of their world view and way of life. The "chief of the guardians of the temple" in the principal Natchez settlement was a particularly helpful informant, and Le Page sounds almost like a modern folklorist in seeking out this dignitary's account of the traditional history of the tribe:

> I therefore applied myself one day to put the keeper of the temple in good humor, and having succeeded in that without much difficulty, I then told him, that from the little resemblance I observed between the Natchez and the neighboring nations, I was inclined to believe that they were not originally of the country which they then inhabited; and that if the ancient speech taught him anything of that subject, he would do me a great pleasure to inform me of it. At these words he leaned his head on his two hands, with which he covered his eyes, and having remained in that posture about a quarter of an hour, as if to recollect himself he proceeded to give Le Page the legendarv history of the Natchez nation. (Tregle, 1975:291-292)

Le Page assimilated much information on the group's myth and religion, festivals and ceremonies, and social structure, which he began publishing in 1751 in a series of articles in the *Journal Oeconomique* in Paris and published in book form as *Histoire de la Louisiane* in 1758. Although the reliability of some of his information has certainly been questioned (he was not, after all, a trained observer of culture), his account came to be considered an important early source of information on a significant Southeastern Indian tribe.[2]

THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES: THE LITERARY GENTS

Though these travel books are interesting, and though Le Page's work even approaches a systematic attempt to study culture, one finds no really focussed and concerted attention being given to Louisiana folklore and folklife until the last decades of the nineteenth century with the work of two noted men of letters, George Washington Cable and Lafcadio Hearn, sometime collaborators and both devotees of "Creole lore," and the work of less widely known contemporaries such as Alcee Fortier.

Cable was a New Orleans native, born in the Crescent City in 1844, though no Creole but the son of transplanted Presbyterians, a Virginian father and a New England mother. It was to be as a local colorist that he would make his literary mark, and his success at this was due at least in part to the fascination that his native city held for him from his childhood on. In 1893, well after he had achieved a measure of fame, he wrote an article on New Orleans for the children's magazine *St. Nicholas*, though here we have the *adult* Cable writing *for* children, we also see clear glimpses of the child Cable discovering the colorful folklife of the city: "the levee, the sugar-sheds, the shipping, the long steamboat landing . . . the fascinating hurly-burly of the steamboat's lower deck, where the black roustabouts laugh and sing while performing prodigious labors;" the Spaniards' and Sicilians' trading luggers moored at the Picayune Pier; "old black women who sell pies and 'stage-planks' (gingerbread) on the landings;" playground games with their half-French jargon; Choctaw Indians selling blowguns and medicinal herbs; the polyglot hubbub of the markets where along with the "pounding of cleavers" one hears "a singing of the folk-songs of Gascony and Italia." In the same article he also suggests an early taste for Afro-American songs, the collection of which were his chief contribution to folk studies. In recounting the "weird, inspiring scene" at a local cottong press, he wrote, obviously referring to himself, "I could tell you of a certain man who, when a boy, used to waste hours watching the negro 'gangs' as, singing lustily and reeking to their waists, they pressed bale after bale under the vast machinery" (Cable, 1893).

Cable began to make his reputation with the short stories that were originally published mostly in *Scribner's Monthly* and later collected as *Old Creole Days* (1879), and reinforced his literary position with the novel *The Grandissimes* (1880). Both novel and stories deal with questions of Louisiana culture and cultural contact and conflict. Cable was greatly intrigued by the society of the Creoles, those descendants of the old French and Spanish families, and these works of fiction involve that society, its struggles with the invading Anglo-Americans, and the racial relations that provide an undercurrent of tension. Cable was, of course, an outsider, and the accuracy of his portrait of the Creoles may be called into question. Certainly his opinion of Creole society was ambivalent and, however much the Creoles may have fascinated him, his Anglo-Saxon, Calvinist background rendered him hardly sympathetic to certain aspects of New Orleans Latin life. His Creole characters were overly proud, lacked public spirit, had loose morals and showed an aversion to work, and this early fiction, widely praised elsewhere, received a chilly reception in New Orleans' French newspaper *L'Abeille*, and in the Creole community. Cable's use of a dialect when his Creole characters speak English indicates an interest in folk speech but could hardly be expected to appeal to the Creoles, for such use of dialect is invariably linguistic caricature and was seen as making Creoles out as illiterates.

Cable's interest in folklore was primarily a literary one. Folklore has often been seen as quaint, charming, an aspect of local color, and there are bits of folklore and folklife sprinkled throughout *Old Creole Days* and *The Grandissimes* such as voodoo. scraps of songs and the legendary quadroon balls. When he visited Acadiana in 1880 to compile information for the U.S. Census. he took notes on folklore which he might later use in fiction. and the following extract from an addendum to a letter he wrote in 1899 to his daughter shows us a similar intent in collecting folklore. though it also gives us some idea of his methods:

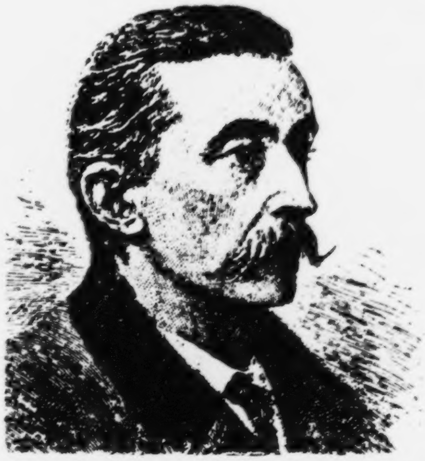
> When I was first enjoying the impulse to write stories ... I took great pains to talk with old French-speaking negroes. not trusting to the historical correctness of what they told me. but receiving what they said for its value as tradition. superstition of folklore. (Bikle. 1928: 179-180)

He goes on to note how from an old porter he heard the legend of *Bras Coupe* . the subject of his first. lost story. "Bibi." and later incorporated into *The Grandissimes*. For his *Strange. True Stories of Louisiana*. he also dealt with some semi-legendary materials and undertook what we would today call oral history research.

In his biography of Cable. Arlin Turner gives an account of the development of the two essays that represent Cable's principal contribution to folk studies. "Creole Slave Songs" and "The Dance in Place Congo." both published in *Century* in 1886. By the 1880's Cable had conceived strong sympathies for the American Negro. Turner suggests that Place Congo. where prior to 1843 New Orleans slaves were allowed to congregate and dance. appealed to Cable's imagination:

> In Cable's imagination the turf of the old square had absorbed a history extending back to the time when Bienville had designated it. then outside the back palisade of the city. as a meeting place for the slaves. He saw it as the epitome of the sorrow and suffering. the joys and hopes. the linging and resignation of those who had frequented it through a century and a half. (Turner. 1966: 229)

Cable had collected his Creole songs (by which term he meant those originally sung by the black slaves of the Creoles in their own Afro-French dialect) from a variety of sources. including other collectors. such as Alexander Dimitry. though certainly Cable collected some in the field. He was not the first to print such songs and in fact drew upon *Slave Songs of the United States*. published in 1867 and containing several Creole songs from St. James Parish. Originally there was to have been a collaboration with Henry Edward Krehbiel. music critic for the New York *Tribune* and one time New Orleans resident. on a small volume of songs. but krehbiel dropped out of the project (though he later published *Negro American Folksongs*. which included Creole songs. and he is listed as arranger for several of the songs in the *Century* article). Lafcadio Hearn also assisted. for both he and Cable were interested not only in the songs but also in the *patois* in which they were sung. and part of one article is devoted to the language of the songs. The articles are significant basically as collections (together they contain over a dozen texts). for though Cable's commentary is interesting. much of it is rather general and speculative. His discussion of the Congo Square dances is an imaginative reconstruction based on the songs and West Indian sources (he claims that he was "a few years ago" invited to witness the same dances. but declined). and he provides a rather romantic framework for his commentary. though there is also some attempt to put the songs in sociohistorical perspective. In all he includes dance songs. "dirges." narrative songs. a voodoo song from Hearn. love songs and a work chant. with some English translations.[3]



Lafcadio Hearn. Library of Congress.

In some ways Lafcadio Hearn provided an odd contrast to Cable. who maintained a solid middle-class existence and soberly retained his position as accountant and Cotton Exchange official until he could finally support himself by writing: eccentric Hearn seemed always to have one foot in some demi-monde on the edge of respectable society. existing in cheap rooming houses and frequenting strange characters. Where Hearn was a sensualist. frankly interested in sex and other "unhealthy" topics. Cable was something of a puritan (and once lost a job as reporter for the New Orleans *Picayune* in part because he could not. on moral grounds. go to the theatre to report on a play). Yet the two men interacted. cooperated. became friends. if their relationship was at times an uneasy one. Hearn got the idea for his only Louisiana novel. *Chita* (1889). from a tale Cable told him of a devastating Gulf Coast hurricane. and there was their mutual interest in Creole French and Creole folksongs. Hearn praised Cable's books in reviews. and Cable helped Hearn place his articles with magazines. But Hearn is of interest to folklorists not merely because of his association with the famed local colorist and from a folklore perspective is really a more important figure than Cable.

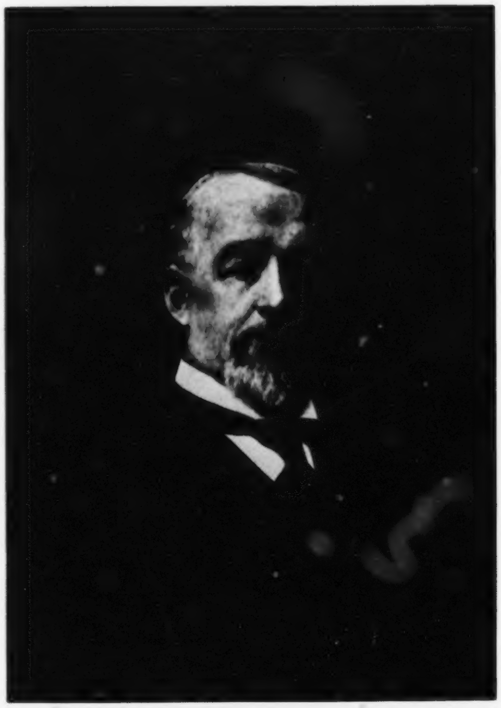
Hearn was born in Greece in 1850 of an Irish father and Greek mother, was educated in Ireland, France and England, made his way to America, spent an impoverished time on the New York streets, and finally in 1872 arrived in Cincinnati where he found work as a journalist for the *Inquirer* and *Commercial*. In 1877 he was sent to cover a political story; he stayed and the city was to remain his home for the next ten years. He was attracted by its tropical ambience and its aura of romance, and in these fascinations we also see the attraction that folklore, not only Louisiana folklore, had for Hearn. He was tempermentally drawn to the exotic, the unusual, the bizarre, sometimes the morbid. In folklore he sensed the aromas of strange cultures and felt the rhythms of romantic ways of life. While still in Cincinnati he published a remarkable small collection of Afro-American songs, but in the context of his intense interest in the subculture of the levee, the "grotesquely picturesque roustabout life" (Goodman, 1949: 216) of the riverfront districts. He is perhaps best remembered as an interpreter of Japan to the West (he spent the last fifteen years of his life in Japan) and his works about that country afe full of exotic Eastern lore. Even while in New Orleans he managed to put together a small personal library of folklore volumes and published a book relevant to Chinese folklore, *Some Chinese Ghosts* (1887), as well as *Stray Leaves from Strange Literature* (1884), which includes excerpts from the Finnish epic *Kalevala* and Jewish and Asiatic folk literatures.

Hearn devoted two books to Louisiana folklore. *Gumbo Zhebes: Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs* came out in 1885, a slim volume of only forty-two pages, containing 352 proverbs and copious linguistic, comparative and, occasionally, contextual notes. Only fifty one of the proverbs were collected in Louisiana (he drew on printed collections from several French tropical colonies and former colonies), but the compiler notes which proverbs from other places he has found to be current in Louisiana also, and with his little book Hearn succeeds in tying Louisiana folklore to a larger Creole-speaking world. In his introduction he sagely notes how often the exact meaning of a proverb depends upon particular applications and how Afro-Americans show particular skill at the fondness for traditional aphorisms. *La Cuisine Creole: A Collection of Culinary Recipes* (also 1885) was probably hardly thought of as a contribution to folklore by Hearn (and in fact he published it anonymously, though he had stated in newspaper columns that he desired to edit a cookbook). However, this volume stands as an important contribution to our knowledge of nineteenth century New Orleans ethnocuisine. It includes not only a wealth of traditional recipes, but also "household hints," selections from *Gombo Zhebes*, a few street cries, and several of Hearn's newspaper woodcuts of New Orleans street life. Another book, *Two Years in the French West Indies* (1890), complements his interest in Louisiana folklore and culture, for in those islands he found an Afro-French world not unlike that which he had left in 1887.

In his newspaper and magazine writings there are other contributions to the subject of Louisiana folklore. Making his living as a journalist, Hearn wrote innumerable pieces for the New Orleans *Item*, *Democrat*, and *Times-Democrat* and for *Harper's Weekly* and the *Century*. Most of the newspaper articles are extremely short and there are too many to discuss here in any detail, but a folklore sampling includes several columns devoted to New Orleans street cries (French and English), recipes for gumbo, a Creole folksong; there are longer articles on Creole French (which include snatches of song), and accounts of the amazing Filipino stilt settlement on Lake Borgne and of New Orleans ethnic groups. His writings on voodoo stretch over a period of several years. In June 1879 he wrote of collecting a voodoo chant from "one of the sable priestesses of this black Eleusis" (perhaps Marie Laveau, whom Hearn is said to have known and terviewed); in March of the sme year he had written of a particular instance of "voodoo charms." In 1885 *Harper's Weekly* publsihed his portrait of the famed voodoo doctor, Doctor John, who had recently died and whom Hearn termed "The Last of the Voodoos." In 1885 "New Orleans superstitions" appeared in the same journal, an account of Afro-New Orleanian magical practices and beliefs in which he draws a careful distinction between voodoo as a cult and voodoo as a term for superstitious practices, a difference some other commentators have failed to see.[4] Certainly a full study of Hearn as a folklorist would be a fruitful project.[5]

Because of their prominence as American literary figures, Cable and Hearn are perhaps thought of as the chief nineteenth-century interpreters of Louisiana French lore, but in fact their contemporary Alcee Fortier was a more exacting scholar in the modern sense of that term. He was one of a number of learned Louisianians of Creole ancestry who contributed to lively intellectual life in the New Orleans of their day, and he was not the only one interested in folklore or related areas. Alfred Mercier, poet, essayist, novelist, a founder of *I 'Athenee Louisianais* (dedicated to the appreciation of French culture), wrote an important early essay on Louisiana Creole, "the first article devoted solely" to the subject, and he also published Creole folktales in the columns of the bilingual newspaper *Le Meschacebe* (Oukada, 1979: 12). (Mercier's novel, *L'Habitation St. Ybars* (1881), is also of considerable linguistic and folkloric interest and the subject of a recent paper by George Reinecke (1980). Others interested in folklore include Mme. idonie de la Houssaye, who provided Cable with traditional materials she had collected, and Henry C. Castellanos, jurist and social historian, son of a Spaniard, who had emigrated to New Orleans in 1816, included in his *New Orleans* *as It was: Episodes of Louisiana Life* (1895), an assortment of social lore and a chaper on voodoo. Of Alcee Fortier himself, Larbi Oukada has recently written that his importance was twofold:

> First, he collected and edited many folkloric tales recorded in the indigenous Creole dialect which would otherwise have been lost forever, and, second, he conducted a continuing campaign...to further interest in the state's linguistic peculiarities. (1979;13)



Alcee Fortier. Photograph: Louisiana State Archives

Fortier was born in 1856, the son of a St. James Parish sugar planter, attended the University of Virginia, tried banking for a short while and finally turned to education as his profession, first at a New Orleans high school, then as professor of French at the University of Louisiana, and professor of Romance languages when that institution became Tulane. Very active in local civic life, he also became president of both the Modern Language Association and the American Folklore Society, vice president of the American Dialect Society, *Chevalier de la Legion d'honneur*, and a visiting professor at Chicago, California, Wisconsin and several other American universities. An honorary Doctor of Letters degree from Laval suggests his esteemed place in North American French studies. Indeed, Fortier enjoyed a solid base in the academic world which his predecessors lacked and which few other Louisiana folklorists were to have for decades after him. (For details of his life, see Keaty, 1929.)

He came to folklore probably through his interest in the culture of French Louisiana (he penned a survey essay on Louisiana French literature, for example) and in the French language of the state, and he was among that group of American scholars and people of letters (including such personalities as Francis James Child and Franz Boas) who in the 1880's began to talk of establishing a national folklore society. In this they were following European intellectual and scientific trends. When the American Folklore Society was founded in 1888, Fortier was among the first to offer material for the Society's publication. In the same issue of the first volume of the *Journal of American Folklore* there appeared under his name the texts of several folktales in both English and Creole French and an essay entitled "Customs and Superstitions of Louisiana." This latter piece consisted largely of his boyhood recollections of Negro life and lore on his parents' plantation, and in it he describes slave dancing and music, New Year's Day customs, and beliefs. His insistence that the slaves of the day were well treated and contented sets an intellectual tone for the piece which today may seem naive, but we see here Fortier's own background as son and son-in-law of prominent planters and slave owners. More folktales appeared in the second volume, and in September of 1890 Fortier took a field trip to Acadiana which he wrote up and published the following year in *PMLA*. It is fascinating as an early account of fieldwork, though it is at least as much a piece of travel writing as an account of Acadian culture, and we see that Fortier's field methods were rather casual ones as we read how he sat in a local hotel taking notes while local jurors sat around speaking French or how he attended a local dance. One could wish for more attention to cultural details. In 1894 Fortier's collection of essays, *Louisiana Studies*, appeared and included the articles noted above as well as pieces on Louisiana French language and one on the *Isleno* dialect that included the text of a *decima*. Then in 1895 came his major collection of Louisiana folktales, published as the second volume of the *American Folklore Society Memoirs* series; twenty-seven previously unpublished tales in French with English translations were supplemented by an appendix containing those that had appeared already in periodicals. Fortier collected most of the new tales from New Orleans Creole-speaking blacks whom he names or otherwise designates in brief notes that are otherwise devoid of much interest today, though in a few instances Fortier seems to be making an attempt at motif analysis.

But Fortier contributed more to folkloristics than his published collectanea and observations. He seems to have been a magnetic local organizer, and after playing his role as an enthusiastic promoter of the national folklore society he set about forming its Louisiana branch. The New Orleans (later Louisiana) Association of the

American Folklore Society came into being in 1892 and flourished for a few years. At one point there were biweekly meetings with lectures and the reading of folktales. In 1893 there were thirty members, including the president of Tulane, William Preston Johnson (who became a member of the Council of AFS), and the poet Mary Ashley Towsend. For a short period, then, Louisiana was well represented in the ranks of American folklorists, far more so than any ther southern state. Fortier himself seems to have been the figure who held the group together and gave it impetus, however, and when his organizing attentions turned elsewhere, the group began to decline. Attempts made to revive it were not particularly successful, and after 1896 there was little activity. Yet for a short time at least the association contributed a folkloric element to the intellectual life of New Orleans (Claudel, 1944; Rickels, 1969). A literary masterpiece, for in Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1889) the novel's tragic heroine, Edna Pontelier, and the decadent Alcee Arobin arrive at a house to find that a minor character is "just leaving ... to attend the meeting of a branch Folk Lore Society" (Chopin, 1976: 75)!

There were also notable contributions to Louisiana French folklore studies made in Acadiana around the turn of the century. Judge Felix Voorhies of St. Martinville was interested in local folk culture and in fact supplied Fortier with a list of Acadian proverbs that appeared in *Louisiana Studies*. In 1907 he published a small book entitled *Acadian Reminiscences*, which not only includes a short chapter on Acadian folklife in Nova Scotia but which also constitutes something of a pioneering incursion into folk history. Voorhies attempts to record the narrative of the Acadian expulsion from Canada and migration to Louisiana as he heard it from his grandmother, who was one of the original exiles. Though *Acadian Reminiscences* is, of course, a literary effort on Voorhie's part, he clearly sets the source for his book in the context of oral narration:

> In the cold winter days, the family assembled in the hall, where a goodly fire blazed on the hearth; and while the wind whistled outside, our grandmother, an exile from Acadia, would relate to us the stirring scenes she had witnessed when her people were drive from their homes by the British . . .(1907: 18-19)

A few years before Voorhies's work was published, the so-called "Breaux Manuscript" was written (probably by Justice Joseph A. Breaux of the Louisiana Supreme Court, hence the name). This was an account of Cajun folkways as remembered by the author, seemingly from the period of the 1840's. The author was apparently interested primarily in linguistic matters, but his manuscript became a sort of encyclopedic compilation of various kinds of information on folklife: customs, communal labor, costume, folk architecture, songs, *traiteurs*, beliefs and superstitions, to name only a few general areas. The manuscript was left by Breaux to the Louisiana State Museum in 1926 and was not published until 1932 when the Tulane scholar Jay K. Ditchy edited it for a Parisianupublisher. Unfortunately thehe original was subsequently lost, so the Ditchy edited version became doubly valuable. As George Reinecke has pointed out, the folkloric value of the work was lost sight of for some years even by those who were interested in Louisiana folklore because the title Ditchy used emphasized the linguistic aspects; fortunately for folklorists, however, Reinecke arranged and translated the folklife-relevant sections and published them in 1966 as an issue of the *Louisiana Folklore Miscellany*.

NATIVE AMERICAN RESEARCH: JOHN R. SWANTON AND OTHERS

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were a period of intense fieldwork activity and resultant publication in the anthropology of the American Indian. Although at this time the Indian population of Louisiana was relatively small and scattered, the state's Native Americans did come in for a share of attention, and the few monographs and articles which resulted contain the chief contributions to folklore studies between the Cable-Hearn-Fortier period and the major collecting activities of the thirties and forties. Albert S. Gatschet seems to have been the first modern scientific investigator of Louisiana Indians. He first visited the Chitimacha near Charenton in December 1881, intent primarily on studying their language, and his report of their culture, published in 1883, constitutes a brief, fragmentary discussion of customs, body decoration, dances and dancehouses, jewelry, ceremonials, religion, and language. In 1885 he shifted his attentions further to the west and the Attakapas, but he was able to find only four members of that group living in and around Lake Charles. Between 1903 and 1905, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Amos Dorsey, Curator of Anthropology at the Field Columbian Museum, collected a number of Caddo oral narratives which were published as *Traditions of the Caddo*. By that time, of course, the Caddo had not lived in Louisiana for decades, and his fieldwork was done in western Oklahoma, where the tribe had been steeled since 1859. Slightly later in the decade, however, two other anthropologists did undertake fieldwork germane to folklore in Louisiana itself.

David I. Bushnell, Missouri-born scion of prominent Southern families, spent the months between December 1908 and April 1909 in St. Tammany Parish, where he regulary visited a small group of Choctaw on Bayou Lacomb (he estimated their full strength at "ten or twelve"), interviewed them about their culture, and published in 1909 a short monograph on them in the Bureau of American Ethnology publication series. This included information on their games, dances and music (some tunes included), folk medicine and concept of withchcraft. The longest section of the monograph consists of texts of oral narratives (which Bushnell also published in the *American Anthropologist* in 1910). The thirty-five pages of printed text were supplemented by a number of photographs of these Choctaw and their artifacts, and the pictures depict baskets, a drum, blowgun use, and dances, among other subjects. These photos themselvs are important early examples of ethnographic documentary photography in Louisiana.

Choctaw man with blowgun, Bayou La Combe, 1909. Photograph: D.I. Bushnell (Smithsonian Institution).

John Reed Swanton arrived in Louisiana a little earlier than Bushnell and thus Louisiana's Indians received the attention of a man who was to become the great authority on the cultures of Southeastern Indian groups. Swanton was a native of Maine who studied at Columbia with Franz Boas, the "father of American anthropology," before finally taking a Ph.D. at Harvard in 1900, one of the first anthropology doctorates conferred. After fieldwork with Northwest Coast tribes he joined the staff of the Bureau of American Ethnology and journeyed south. In 1907 he published a descriptive account of the mythology of the Indians along the Louisiana-Texas coast, and in 1911 his first major work relating to Louisiana appeared, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, a historical and cultural overview of the Native American groups of the region, including a particularly lengthy treatment of the Natchez, but briefer sections on such groups as the Taensa, Avoyel, Bayougoula, Houma, Tunica, Chitimacha and Attakapas. Much of the book is taken up with historical sources, but Swanton is careful to point out that he uses the historical materials in connection with his own field investigations. This volume does contain some folkloric information, but it was in 1929 that his major contribution to folklore appeared, *Myths and Tales of the Southeastern Indians*, a compilation of oral narrative texts which he collected between 1908 and 1914 and which includes sixty-five Koasati (Coushatta) texts from informants near Kinder and elsewhere. Swanton's major opus, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (1946), also covers Louisiana tribes, though very briefly.

Writing in his 1946 volume Swanton suggests that the opportunities for fieldwork among southeastern Indian groups are severely limited: "Though students of culture still have work to do here, the future study of the Southeastern Indian rests mainly with the archaeologists" (Haas, 1936: 404). This gloomy point was reiterated specifically about Gulf Coast Indians in 1950 by Mary R. Haas:

> There is a feeling among anthropologist that it is scarcely worth while to collect more ethnological or folkloristic material among the Indians of the Southeast, because their aboriginal culture is largely broken down. There is considerable justification for this feeling. (1936: 403-404)

John R. Swanton.

And, indeed, Louisiana at any rate has hardly been a major focus of Native American cultural research. Nonetheless, interest has continued even after the early work of Swanton and the others. The cultural geographer Fred B. Kniffen was an active fieldworker among Louisiana Indians during the 1930's, and he not only collected a number of artifacts but produced a book intended for school use on the Indians of the state (which incorporates a number of folktales from earlier collections). Haas herself has published a volume of Tunica oral narratives in both Tunica and English translation. An anthropological linguist who studied with Edward Sapir, she recorded these between 1933 and 1938 from the last fluent speaker of the Tunica language. H.F. Gregory, at one time a student of Kniffen and presently professor of anthropology at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches, has also been a most active field researcher into Louisiana Indian cultural traditions over a number of years.

BETWEEN THE WARS; COLLECTORS, VOODOO RESEARCHERS AND THE FEDERAL WRITERS PROJECT

American folkloristics from the twenties through the fifties was greatly oriented toward intensive "collecting," the recording, at first manually and later electronically, of folklore "texts" in the field. This period saw many such collecting projects, for example Frank C. Brown's great North Carolina compilation and Vance Randolph's famous Ozark Mountain excursions. The Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress, maintained to preserve field-collected materials, grew into one of the world's great folklore repositories. This collecting spirit pervaded Louisiana as well and several important projects were undertaken here. For example, the state figured in the collecting activities of John Avery Lomax and his son, Alan, two of the most important of American collectors.

John Lomax was born in Mississippi in 1867 but his family moved to Texas in 1869 and it was there that he grew up. He graduated from the University of Texas in 1897, but Lomax had grown up to the sound of cowboy songs and even before he had started his university education in Austin he had begun to write down such songs as he heard them sung by various cowboys of his acquaintance. While at UT he showed his collection to several of his professors, only to be disillusioned by the negative reaction of one of them to the extent that he burned all of his manuscripts. Fortunately he went on to Harvard for graduate study in 1906-07, and there he found a more favorable response to his interest in folksongs and came to the attention of George Lyman Kittredge, among other things the greatest ballad scholar of his day. Soon Lomax had been awarded the first of three successive Sheldon Fellowships for the purpose of investigating American balladry, and in 1908 he began the fieldwork that would eventually result in the classic *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (1910) and *Songs of the Cattle Trail and Cow Camp* (1918).

These volumes alone would have made their compiler's place as an important pioneer folksong scholar, but there was more to come. Lomax spent some years employed by the University of Texas, was fired in 1917 for political reasons, and embarked upon a banking career. When this business career foundered during the early years of the Depression, however, he found himself with time on his hands and little money in his pocket. As a result, he approached the Macmillan Company with a plan to compile a volume of American folksongs. They accepted his proposal and gave him an advance and at the same time he formed an association with the Library of Congress, agreeing to deposit his recordings there in exchange for blank records and a recording machine.

Thus Lomax, accompanied now by his teenage son, Alan, set out on another great collecting journey in 1933 which eventually took him to eleven states and over 16,000 miles of road. The two were particularly interested at this point in Negro songs, and state penitentiaries were a special focus for their collecting activity, for Lomax theorized that the black inmates of such institutions had been partially cut off from outside musical influences and thus might be expected to preserve an older style of music. In the summer of 1933 they rolled into Angola State Penitentiary in West Feliciana Parish. Not only did they record a number of inmates, but they discovered an outstanding singer, Hudie Ledbetter, nicknamed "Leadbelly," a convicted murderer who would come to be recognized as one of America's greatest traditional singers. Leadbelly was from Mooringsport, Louisiana, near the Texas border, and had been in prison in Texas before his Louisiana incarceration. Though he pleaded with the Lomaxes to help obtain his release, they were able to do nothing until a year later, after they returned to Angola in July 1934. He finally persuaded Lomax to intercede with Governor O. K. Allen and even composed a special "pardon song" in which he requested release, as he had apparently done successfully earlier in Texas. For whatever reasons, the pardon was granted, and Leadbelly joined the Lomaxes as driver and assistant on subsequent folksong collecting rambles. He later made a number of important recordings, went north with them, engaged in a series of lecture-concerts where he would sing and one of them would introduce him and comment upon his songs, and had a rather checkered career as a performer. The Lomax volume of *Negro Folk Songs as Sung by Lead Belly* (1936), not only documented this important traditional singer and creative personality, but was the first volume ever to present the repertoire and sketch the life of a single folk performer. (See Lomax, 1947; Garvin and Addeo, 1972; Johnson, n.d.)

John Lomax did other collecting in northern Louisiana, in Shreveport and Oil City in 1940, and in Winnfield he recorded the female blues singer (and hoodoo practioner) Willie George King, about whom he writes in his autobiography (Lomax, 1947: 286-289). After his early collecting with his father, Alan Lomax went to become a radio personality, British Broadcasting Corporation producer, Columbia University anthropology professor, a great authority on folk music in his own right and the developer of the important if controversial theories of cantometrics and choreometrics. He made a collecting foray into French Louisiana in 1934. To some degree he collaborated with Irene Therese Whitfield, who had grown up to the sound of Cajun music and who had already been collecting the songs of Acadiana.

Her *Louisiana French Folk Songs*, published in 1939 and in a new, expanded edition in 1969, remains the most significant printed collection of Louisiana French songs. In addition to the texts Whitfield herself collected, the book contains a number of songs, mostly in Creole, collected by Lomax.

There were also two important Louisiana French folktale collectors in the period of the twenties through forties, Corinne L. Saucier and Calvin Claudel, both, coincidentally, natives of Avoyelles Parish who collected from Avoyelles residents. Saucier had a long career in Louisiana education climaxed by twenty-four years as a professor of French and Spanish at Northwestern State in Natchitoches. In 1923 she collected French tales and songs for her master's thesis at George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville. Always one for improving her own education, she attended numerous summer sessions in the United States and abroad, and, finally, beginning in 1946, she undertook doctoral work at Universite Laval in Quebec, then and since a center of folklore study. In 1943 she had published a local history, *History of Avoyelles Parish*, and for her Laval dissertation, written under the direction of the eminent Canadian folklorist Luc Lacourciere, she turned again to her native place and produced a lengthy work entitled *Histoire et Traditions de la Paroisse des Avoyelles en Louisiane*. This contained an historical sketch of the parish, a description of its folkways, and the texts of the tales, seventy-one folksongs and a linguistic chapter. The collecting was done on several short trips in 1948, of which Saucier has left a brief account with the aid of a heavy disc recording machine which she had to lug around on buses and in pick-up trucks. The American Folklore Society published the section treating folkways as a volume in its *Memoirs* series (Saucier, 1956), and it stands as a significant contribution to folklore-oriented ethnography. The tales were published in 1962, after her death, and a projected volume of songs has yet to appear.

Claudel's collecting activities were more strictly confined to folktales, though he was interested in other genres as well. Like Saucier he completed a folklore doctoral dissertation, in his case in the Department of Romance Languages at the University of North Carolina under the noted bibliographer and student of Latin American folklore, Ralph Steele Boogs. For the project he collected a number of tales via phonographic recording in 1944 from five informants, most coming from his mother, Leota Anna Edwards Claudel, a talented storyteller with a large repertoire. Although all of his informants were from Avoyelles, the recording was done at LSU in Baton Rouge (Claudel had done earlier field collecting, some of which resulted in publication in periodicals (1941, 1943, e.g.). Well aware of the scientific methodologies for collecting of his day, Claudel supplied lenghty analyses and indexing for his tales and an informative sketch of the history and folk background of the parish.

Afro-American magical practices, called voodoo or more commonly hoodoo have long interested the popular mind, especially in connection with Louisiana because of their association, rightly or wrongly, with the organized voodoo cult which existed in and around New Orleans in the nineteenth century. Cable and Hearn both touched on these matters in their writings, of course, but the 1920's and 1930's brought two major investigations, each quite remarkable in its own way. The later of the two was that conducted by the Rev. Harry Middleton Hyatt, an Episcopal priest, who in 1935 had published a work entitled *Folklore from Adams County, Illinois*. This was a notable work in that it presented the fruits of an attempt to collect intensively in a single county. Nothing more was heard in the world of folklore studies from Hyatt for many years but in fact in the mid-thirties he had set out on several amazing collecting trips throughout the eastern United States in search of information on people's supernatural beliefs and practices. He travelled from city to city, transporting heavy recording equipment, and in each community sought out the people who knew about hoodoo and magic (usually through the services of a black assistant, though not all of his informants were black). Usually he rented a room at the particular city's best Negro hotel or in some other building to which his informants came (they were paid for their time) and spoke into his machines, answering his questions. He was in New Orleans and Algiers in 1938. In all, he filled over three thousand old Ediphone and Telediphone discs. These sat for many years in Hyatt's New Jersey garage, but they were eventually transcribed (a task which took a year and a half) and published, beginning with two volumes in 1970 of a work called *Hoodoo, Conjuration, Witchcraft, Rootwork*. Further volumes appeared, and since Hyatt published them all himself he was able to avoid the constraints of a commercial publisher and print his data in entirety, thus giving folklorists a virtual archive of information on American magic for analysis (de Caro, 1974). For his work he was honored by the Fellows of the American Folklore Society in 1972.

The other, earlier inquirer into the realm of the supernatural was Zora Neale Hurston, eminent black novelist and essayist as well as folklorist. Hurston was born in rural Florida, probably in 1901, attended Howard University in Washington as a part-time student, worked as a manicurist in a barber shop, and drifted to New York, where she moved in the literary circles of the Harlem Renaissance writers and also came to the attention of America's foremost anthropologist, Franz Boas, when she started to attend Barnard College on a scholarship in 1925. Unlike many male scholars, Boas had a habit of strongly encouraging his female students - such as Ruth Benedict and Elsie Clews Parsons - and he encouraged Hurston. Boas was interested in folklore, as were some of the Harlem Renaissance writers, but she "knew the folkloric context better thany any of ther contemporaries" (Hemenway, 1977: 56) and Boas encouraged her to move in this direction. In February 1927, funded by a $1400 scholarship, she left New York for fieldwork in Florida. For various reasons this trip was not a great success, but later in the same year she set out again, this time financed under contract by Charlotte Mason, wealthy, eccentric patroness of several Afro-American writers. Now Hurston began to have much better success as a collector. She had become interested in getting information on hoodoo and in August, 1928, she arrived in New Orleans, where there was said to be a large number of practitioners.

Hurston later published her hoodoo data in a long *Journal of American Folklore* article (1931) and in her book, *Mules and Men* (1935). In New Orleans she found not only the "usual" conjure men and root doctors, but also the vestiges of an organized cult with rituals and dances. She apprenticed herself to a hoodoo man who claimed to be a grandnephew of Marie Laveau, and he initiated her as a priestess in a ceremony during which she lay on her stomach for sixty-nine hours and had psychic experiences after which various ritual practices, such as the slaughter of a sheep, were performed. Some may question that anything approaching a voodoo cult still existed in New Orleans in the late twenties and may thus doubt her account, especially given Hurston's talent for fiction and desire to use folklore to enrich creative writing. But she was a black woman (and an amazingly dynamic person), whereas most other investigators of the hoodoo world have been white men as well as "detached" questioners. As her biographer, Robert Hemenway, comments,

> Hurston collected conjure lore in the same way she collected anything else, by totally immersing herself in the lives of the people who lived it...Hurston was a black woman of great sympathy offering herself as an apprentice to the experienced sorcerer. She wished to learn, beginning with the simple and advancing to the complex. As a result, she not only gained a holistic view of the hoodoo process, but also experienced a series of impressive initiation ceremonies into the occult world (1977: 118)

Certainly her account of her New Orleans experiences is a most extraordinary one.[6]

Another very powerful force for the study of folklife in Louisiana was also at work in the 1930's, a force which has continued on to the present day. This was Fred Bowerman Kniffen and the "school" of cultural geography that he founded at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. Kniffen was born in Michigan in 1900 and received his Ph.D. from the University of California in 1929, where he was a student of the great anthropologist, A.L. Kroeber. His early publications had to do with Western Indians, but in 1935 he joined the Department of Geography and Anthropology at LSU and his attentions turned to Louisiana.[7]

Kniffen was to become recognized as the preeminent authority on American folk housing, and it was a pioneering article in 1936 called "Louisiana House Types" which was his first foray into this field. But Kniffen was not interested simply in houses as divorced from everything else, and over the next decade and beyond we see him evolving a perspective which attempts to tie folk artifacts into larger pictures of culture areas and cultural diffusion. Kniffen was probably influenced by the anthropologist Erland Nordenskiold, and he began to consider what he termed "culturogeographic areas," regions in which only the man-made forms would be considered. His own Louisiana fieldwork was extensive, covering about 15,000 houses all over the state, which he divided into categories according to various criteria. He did not intend merely to provide a typology, however, but to show how the architecture matched settlement patterns and the cultures of different groups, whether Acadian French, Anglo-Saxons from other parts of the South, or later Midwesterners. These points were reiterated in two later articles, one co-authored with Henry Glassie (Kniffen, 1965; Kniffen and Glassie, 1966) in which the major folk house types of the eastern United States are classified and treated in terms of the context of historical diffusion from certain centers outward (Glassie was later to modify these ideas in the direction of greater complexity and to add other elements of material folk culture, such as furniture).

Kniffen's theoretical perspectives can also be clearly seen in another study which had its beginnings in some of his Louisiana fieldwork, though ultimately its implications related to the American West. While doing fieldwork with the Koasati Indians, he happened to obtain a spinner for making rope from horsehair or Spanish moss (Kniffen, 1949). Eventually he traced the distribution of such spinners not only in Louisiana but all over the Western United States and discerned that their distribution matched that of other items, types of saddles, ropes, costume, and so on. From these folk artifacts and their distribution he was able to determine the existence of two major cattle ranching culturogeographic areas (Kniffen, 1953).

The influence of Kniffen has been considerable and widespread. Nationally he has influenced a generation of cultural geographers, and his work has been an important factor in moving folklorists toward the study not only of oral traditions but of material ones too. His influence on folklorists has been particularly through Henry Glassie, who moved to the very forefront of those who study material culture. (Though never a student of Kniffen in any formal sense, Glassie has repeatedly acknowledged his debt to the geographer; Glassie, incidentally, was a student at Tulane and has done fieldwork in Louisiana, though not of any particular importance in the larger context of his work.) In terms of Louisiana itself, Kniffen's impact has also been great or at least potentially great. For one thing, he fits indidual folk artifacts and even patterns of artifacts into larger cultural systems and notes how these systems are related to each other. This has particular implications for the study of north Louisiana Anglo-Saxon folklore, for unlike many who have studied folklore and folklife within the state, he has paid attention to the two major culture areas of the state and how they "come together." Virtually everyone else working at the same time (and a great many since) were concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with the cultures of French south Louisiana. Certainly Kniffen did not ignore the French element, but this was only one element, and he gave equal emphasis to the other elements as well in calling attention to the cultural configurations of the northern parts of the state. Further, he directly influenced a number of geographers trained at LSU to pursue Louisiana cultural studies.

Two such students, Malcolm Comeaux and William Knipmeyer, produced major dissertations on the southern part of the state. Knipmeyer's a compendious survey of a number of folk cultural forms—house types, other buildings, folk boats, folk occupations—as part of the cultural landscape of eastern French Louisiana (1956), Comeaux's a study specifically of such folk occupations as fishing, crayfishing, crabbing, frogging, hunting and Spanish moss gathering as these are practiced in the Atchafalaya Basin (and including those of the Anglo-Saxon groups settled around Bayou Sorrel and Bayou Chene) (1969). In another dissertation Martin Wright (1956) studied the extension into Louisiana of "lobes of Southern Hill culture," the most unique feature of which is the "preoccupation" with log construction; this work centered on log houses, notably the double pen type, thus not only dealing with the folk culture of the northern part of the state but also continuing Kniffen's interest in housing.

The Florida Parishes came under the scrutiny of yet another Kniffen student, Milton Newton, whose dissertation detailed what he termed the "peasant farm" in St. Helena Parish, its layout, structures, field crops, and animals, and the annual round of events which takes place within its confines. The cultural geography of the French- and Midwestern-influenced southwestern prairies of Louisiana was also describd in a Ph.D. dissertation by James W. Taylor (1956) in the same year as Knipmeyer and Wright's works.

H.F. Gregory was another Kniffen student, and, though he left LSU to take his Ph.D. at Southern Methodist University and has published most extensively on archaeological subjects, he has continued ethnographic fieldwork in the northern part of the state with Afro-American, Anglo-American, French, Spanish and Native American communities. In particular, he has written on African cultural elements in the Delta Parishes (1962) and on the commercial fishermen of the Black River area (1966). Gregory has been one of the most active fieldworkers in north Louisiana and in 1980 and 1981 brought his expertise to the services of the Natchitoches Folk Festival as well as to a major exhibition of folk crafts at the Alexandria Museum. Gregory and Knipmeyer joined the faculty at Northwestern State University and Newton remained at LSU to continue the Kniffen tradition of cultural geography and folklife studies there. LSU has, in fact, continued as a center for studies of folk housing. In addition to Newton, Jay D. Edwards, an anthropologist trained at Tulane and originally a specialist in Caribean cultures, as been enga in a major survey of French folk housing in the state, utilizing the services of a team of graduate students and others and funded by a number of grants. This survey involves not only fieldwork but historical documentation and an attempt to determine the historical antecedents of south Louisiana's folk architecture.

Another cultural geographer whose work in the 1930's bore upon Louisiana folklife was Lauren C. Post. Post was a native of Acadia Parish and, though not a Cajun, learned at an early age to speak Cajun French, which, he wrote, "helped me to acquire an appreciation of the old Acadian ways." After a hitch in the Navy he wound up at the University of California, where in 1937 he submitted the doctoral dissertation entiled "Cultural Geography of the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana," later modified to become the popular volume *Cajun Sketches* (first published in 1962 and reprinted in 1974 with a foreword by Governor Edwin Edwards). Post spent most of his career at San Diego State University in California, but he was on the LSU faculty for two years, and a number of his publications dealt with the folklife research he did within the state then and at other times. His mind was wide ranging and his publications reflect eclectic interests rather than a grand design such as Kniffen's Acadian weavers and spinners, cattle brands, chair making, country Mardi Gras, Cajun Music, fence types, fighting cocks, folk healing, and other subjects which, taken together, provide a rather full depiction of Acadian folklife. Post also took his interest in Louisiana folk culture from the field to the folk festival. He organized an historic appearance of Louisiana French folk artists at the National Folk Festival in Dallas—probably the first national representation of Louisiana Cajun culture in a folk festival setting—first in 1936 and later in subsequent years.

The period between the World Wars also saw other folkloristic activity. For example, the noted collector Herbert Halpert, later head of the Department of Folklore at Memorial University of Newfoundland, stopped in Louisiana in June 1939, as a minor part of a Southern folksong collecting trip sponsored by the Library of Congress and the Joint Committee on Folk Arts of the Works Progress Administration. He recorded several phonodiscs with material, mostly Creole songs, from two informants. In the English department at LSU, William A. Read, himself a dialectician and place-name scholar, directed a number of of theses on

Louisiana folklore subjects, such as Vallie Tinsley's "Some Negro Songs Heard on the Hills of North Louisiana" (1928). Also at LSU, the Extension Department created the Acadian Handicrafts Project under the direction of Louise Olivier. Although designed to facilitate the marketing of crafts items, the project caused to be gathered much information on Acadian traditional crafts, notably weaving, and Olivier even garnered some folktales. Also active in the 1930's was Edward Larocque Tinker. Although primarily a social and literary historian and collector of prints and books, including an outstanding group of early Louisiana imprints which he donated to the American Antiquarian Society, he was interested in folklore and authored articles on Louisiana French language (1935). He also wrote about a New Orleans Negro cult leader (1930), and in an historical novel, *Toucoutou*, he incorporated folksongs. With his wife, Frances Tinker, a New Orleans native, he co-authored a series of novelettes, *Old New Orleans*, which makes use of Creole lore. Tinker also penned an important biography of Lafcadio Hearn (1924).

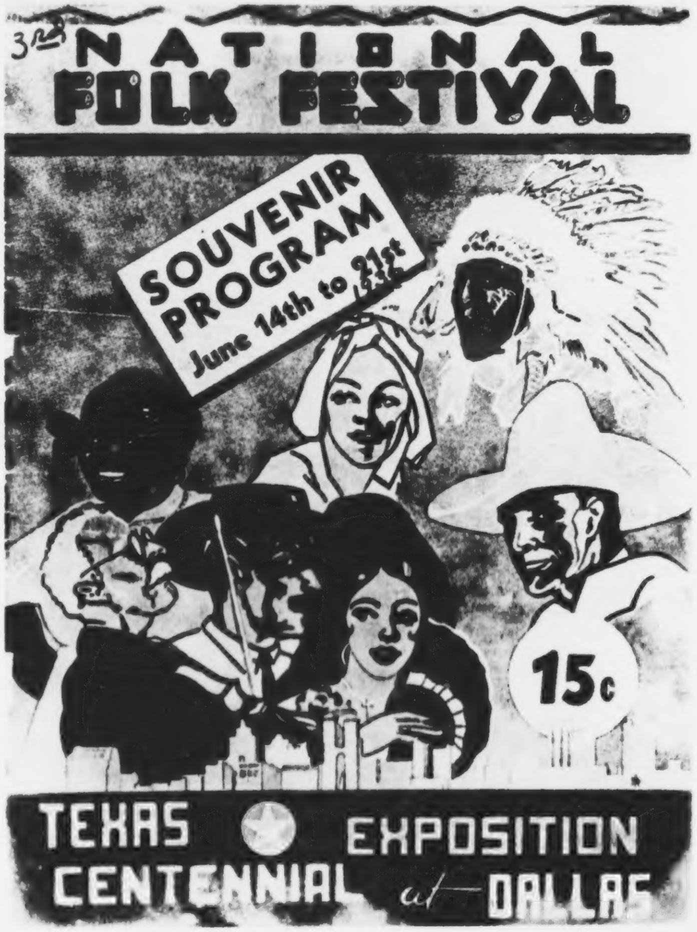
In some respects the most important undertaking of the period was that accomplished by the Louisiana Writers' Project. This project was not undertaken by people who were primarily interested in folklore and its end result was not the carefully recorded texts such as were set down by the Lomaxes, Whitefield, Saucier and Claudel, but it was remarkable in being a group effort which used a number of fieldworkers and in being an early and successful instance of government support for folklore research.[8]

The Louisiana Writers' Project was part of the larger Federal Writers' Project, which was in turn an aspect of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The WPA had been created in the midst of the Great Depression by the Roosevelt administration as one of several agencies to provide a measure of relief for the large numbers of unemployed Americans. Its function was to carry on "small useful projects designed to assure maximum employment in all localities." It was recognized that white collar workers as well as blue were in need of work and that a number of persons in cultural professions—actors, musicians, artists—were also unemployed. Thus several national cutural projects came into being: the Federal Art project, Federal Music Project and Federal Theater Project, as well as the Writers' Project, headed by Henry Alsberg.

The Writers' Project, which was to employ not only writers but librarians and others, adopted as its principal goal the compiling and publishing of a series of American guidebooks, to be as authoritative as the Baedekers of Europe. Originally there were to be five regional guides which would include a great variety of information, including information on customs and folklore, but later it was decided that each state would have an individual guide. Hence, each state would have a separate project. Chosen to head the Louisiana Project was Lyle Saxon, a native of Baton Rouge born in 1891. He had spent some years as a journalist, had turned to more creative free-lance work, and had been a member of the artistic colony that existed at Melrose Plantation south of Natchitoches. In October 1935, he assumed his duties as director of the Louisiana Project and was given an office in the Canal Bank Building in New Orleans. Saxon was initially assigned a quota of sixty-three employees (though he had originally anticipated hiring 154 and uncertainties about the size of his staff plagued the undertaking throughout its existence), and he set about hiring personnel, not only writers but also historians, teachers, unemployed lawyers and others, and established branch offices in a number of Louisiana cities, such as Baton Rouge, Shreveport and Monroe.

The job of the project was, essentially, to gather and order information, not only for the anticipated guidebook but also in connection with other related schemes such as a history of the Negro in Louisiana and a survey of historical records. To do so, a complex system was devised to provide a steady and systematic flow of data. At one end of the flow were the fieldworkers. Since many had never done research before, they were given detailed instructions, and a supervisor gave each a specific subject area to research. The research itself might be done through the utilization of documentary sources, through personal observation, or by interviewing people. The workers took field notes, then wrote what were called "field continuities," which were passed along to field editors, who produced "field editorial copy," which was sent to the state staff in New Orleans for the final in-state editing. Some of the fieldworkers were detailed to find folklore, and in fact the project wound up amassing a great deal of it. This was a result partly of the original inclusion of folklore and folklife in the national plan, and other states gathered folkloric data also, although Louisiana was probably the most zealous in this regard. Lyle Saxon, like Cable and Hearn before him, was something of a romantic, and the exotic cultural mix of the state and of New Orleans in particular intrigued him and led him to a particular interest in folklore which he was certainly able to indulge while involved with the Writer's Project.

The two guidebooks which came out of the project, the *New Orleans City Guide* (1938) and *Louisiana: A Guide to the State* (1945) clearly reflect that interest in folklore. The *City Guide* includes not only descriptions of chimney sweeps and *latanier* peddlers, but the actual texts of a Creole folksong and folktale and a list of charms with prices at a "voodoo drugstore," unusual items for any guidebook. There is a whole chapter on Negro spiritualist churches, one on Storyville and its cultural contributions, and of course chapters on Carnival and the cemeteries. Bits and pieces of information on folklife are



Cover and program page from the 1936 National Folk Festival. Note Acadian woman in stylized cover drawing. Photograph: Courtesy National Council for the Traditional Arts.

scattered throughout other chapters as well. The state guide actually contains somewhat less folklore, which is also less concentrated, though here also there is quited a bit: treasure lore, *fais-do dos*, the words to Cajun dance tunes, saints' processions, voodoo, costume, and Creole songs, for example. Even in the state guide much of the folklore is that of New Orleans, an indication of the Project's (and Saxon's) New Orleans-centered bias. This is evident also in the third major publication which came out of the project, *Gumbo Ya Ya: A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales* (Saxon, Dreyer and Tallant, 1945). This was not only the sole folklore volume to come out of the Louisiana Project (though is was actually published just after the project ended in 1945) but in fact one of only two major works of folklore to come out of the Federal Writers' Project as a whole for many years; and, indeed, it stands as a landmark. Despite its subtitle, it is not a collection of folktales at all, but rather a running account of mores, the lives of local characters, social history and ethnic cultures as well as folk customs festivals, cementeries and oral lore (though a number of folklore texts are given, especally songs, and there are lists of superstions and colloquialisms). In style the book is somewhat journalistic and emphasis is placed upon the colorful and the sensational, and, if one compares sections of the book to the relevant field continuities, it is clear that the final writers reshaped the field material substantially in those directions. Also, again despite the subtitle, the emphasis is on New Orleans rather than the state as a whole. Yet in spite of its flaws, *Gumbo Ya Ya* remains an important contribution, not only because it is such a readable account, or even because of the documentary photographs it contains, but because it does bring together so much information. The authors certainly had a "feel" for the folklife of the Crescent City and if they failed to live up to the standards for ethnographic documentation, so did they reach a sort of semi-poetic description of life which goes beyond such prosaic standards.[10]

THE POST WAR PERIOD

Fortier's New Orleans branch of the American Folklore Society had ceased to function even before his death in 1914, and there was no state-wide organization devoted to folklore study operating in Louisiana during the period when Lomax and Saucier and their contemporaries were undertaking their major fieldwork projects here. (This was hardly an unusual situation for the times; much larger states, such as New York and California, did not have state societies until the 1940's.) This lack was eliminated in 1956 when the Louisiana Folklore Society was founded in Baton Rouge. This society grew out of an LSU English department Folklore Committee chaired by Darwin Shrell and also including Harry Oster and Clayton Holaday. This committee arranged a program, presented on April 7, 1956, which was "planned to show the range of Louisiana folklore and to determine the extent of state-wide interest in the subject" (Shrell, 1960). The program featured several speakers, Shrell, Oster, Vallie Tinsley White, LSU geographer William Haag, and Stith Thompson, eminent Indiana University folklorist who was that year a visiting professor at the University of Texas. At a business meeting following the program, presided over by Nathaniel Caffee of the LSU English Department, about 150 people passed resolutions which formally established the LFS. By the end of July the group had eighty-one charter members, and its first annual meeting took place at LSU on April 27, 1957, with papers by a number of people, including Oster, Louise Olivier, Kniffen, Claudel and jazz authority Richard Allen. In May 1958, the first issue of the *Louisiana Folklore Miscellany* appeared (although, as will be discussed below, this was not the first publication of the Society). (Shrell, 1960; Rickels, 1969) The *Miscellany* has been published ever since, although generally on an irregular basis.

In a sense, the LFS has been a focus for most of the folkloristic activity in the state since 1956. It is not that the society has organized or funded research. Like most state folklore societies, the group has neither the infrastructure nor the money to do that. But a large number of persons in the state interested in folklore have been associated with the society and the society has provided a network for communication. The *Miscellany* has been the publication in which much of the serious writing on Louisiana folklore has appeared. Also, the existence of the society, with many of its members based in Louisiana colleges and universities, underscores the fact that interest in folklore in the state has moved toward greater institutional support and investment, with institutions of higher learning offering folklore courses and establishing archives and research institutes, and, since the late 1970's, with the support shown by state and federal government agencies. There has also been interest on the part of private organizations such as the Newport Folk Foundation.

LOUISIANA FOLKSONG
Jambalaya
Sung by HARRY OSTER

Cover of one of two LP's produced by Harry Oster for the Louisiana Folklore Society. Photograph: Louisiana State University Archives.

The most notable collector of Louisiana folklore during the late fifties and early sixties was a founder of the LFS, Harry Oster.[11] Oster came to teach in the English Department at LSU in 1955 with little thought of undertaking folklore research. As the result of his giving a successful lecture-concert of Child ballads, however, it was suggested that he might apply to the graduate school for funds to collect local folk materials, and when to his surprise he received a grant for five hundred dollars he set out into the field to do just that. At first progress was slow, but he began at last to uncover and record a wealth of materials ranging from ancient French ballads to Anglo-American play party songs, and in the course of his work he became known as one of the most active collectors in the country. His activities were noted by *Time* magazine, and the headline of a *New York Times* article about him proclaimed: "Professor Roams Bayou Area in Quest of Material."

Oster published two articles in the *Miscellany*, one on the folk ceremonies at a Negro Baptist church in Concordia Parish, one on Cajun country Mardi Gras (this latter co-authored with Revon Reed, local schoolteacher, radio announcer and promoter of Cajun music) (Oster, 1958; Oster and Reed, 1960). However, it was as a collector of music and an issuer of LP phonograph records that Oster became best known. The first record he produced was *A Sampler of Louisiana Folksongs* in 1957; this was a selection of his field materials, and he released copies with annotated booklets and jackets homemade by taping together pieces of hand-lithographed paper. This record and two subsequent ones in 1958 and 1959, respectively, *Louisiana Folksong Jambalaya* (Oster's own singing of Louisiana songs) and *Folksongs of the Louisiana Acadians*, were issued as publications of the LFS; so were two other records, *Angola Prison Spirituals* (1958) and *Angola Prisoners' Blues* (1959), the results of a desire on Oster's part to record Afro-American work songs which eventually led him to visit the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola, where he made a number of historic recordings of black inmates. Although Oster financed and distributed all of these records himself, the use of the LFS name as their "label" does represent an early and unique interest on the part of the scholarly organization in issuing commercial recordings of folk material.

Oster went on to produce other recordings of Louisiana music, including *Bayou Bluegrass: TheLouisiana Honeydippers* (1961), *Those Prison Blues: Robert Pete Williams* (1959), and two New Orleans albums in conjunction with Richard Allen. He founded the Folk-Lyric label (recordings now distributed by Arhoolie Records, see Appendix section), collaborated with Kenneth S. Goldstein, America's foremost producer of scholarly folk recordings, on records of British traditional materials, and in 1969, years after he had left LSU for the University of Iowa, published *Living Country Blues*, a major collection of blues texts based largely on his Louisiana fieldwork.

In the 1960's the Newport Folk Foundation took an interest in researching, recording and presenting Louisiana traditional music and, by assisting in the establishment of a Louisiana Folk Foundation by members of the LFS, helped to promote interest in the music of the state both within its borders and beyond. The Newport Folk Foundation had arisen out of the success of the famous Newport Jazz Festival as a nonprofit organization which would not only present a Newport Folk Festival but would also spend profits from the festival to encourage research on and the appreciation of American traditional music. In January 1964, Alan Lomax, then a director of the Folk Foundation, contacted Ralph Rinzler, folk music collector as well as a bluegrass performer, and suggested that he join Newport full time on a salaried basis and go to south Louisiana to find record and select Louisiana French musicians for Newport performances. Rinzler suspended the fieldwork he had been doing elsewhere and accepted the challenge. He contacted Oster (who had left LSU by then) and local folklore promoters and collectors such as Paul Tate (prominent Mamou attorney), Revon Reed, Richard Wagner and Milton and Patricia Rickels. Out of this collaboration there emerged a legal entity, the Louisiana Folk Foundation, with Tate as president, and the foundation for several years sponsored local folk festivals. As a result, Cajun performers went to Newport and beyond, and Rinzler made a series of important field tapes. Perhaps more important, the interest shown was a major element in the revival of interest in Cajun music. At the time Tate was to write:

> The Newport Folk Foundation is principally responsible for what is happening to Cajun music today. And with the recognition of the authenticity and legitimacy of Cajun music will come a greater appreciation and understanding of Acadian culture and the Acadan soul—by the Cajun as well as by those with whom he comes in contact. *(Newport Folk Festival Program*, 1966: 52).[12]

The Louisiana Folk Foundation (which existed until 1974) found support at the University of Southwestern Louisiana in Lafayette; not only were there interested faculty members, but a major festival was held on the campus in fall of 1966, sponsored jointly by the Newport and Louisiana foundations and the university itself.

This reflects the interest in folklore gradually growing through the sixties and accelerating in the seventies at the state's colleges and universities. A course in American folklore was established at USL in the mid-sixties by Patricia Rickels, who had joined the English faculty there in 1957. This popular course generated both student interest in folklore and student fieldwork (as did another USL English course on American humor, taught by Milton Rickels, an authority on the humor of the old Southwest) and helped to lay a strong foundation for the development of folklore at USL, a development which really began to blossom in the mid-seventies with the establishment of the center for Acadian and Creole Folklore.

Established by USL in 1974 this center was first headed by archivist Otis Hebert, until his untimely death. It was then taken over in 1977 by Barry Jean Ancelet, also a native speaker of Acadian French and a folklore M.A. from Indiana University. Ancelet was successful in obtaining grant funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, and under his direction the center became a very active focus for field collecting and an important archival depository. The center existed until 1980 with Ancelet moving to the center for Louisiana Studies at that time and continuing his field research under their auspices and with the Center's existing collections being moved to the USL Library.

To some degree the center grew in response to a growing sense of Cajun ethnic identity, a process which has also stimulated the development of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, and which has also helped to spawn the Tribute to Cajun Music, an annual music festival held in Lafayette since 1974, which features many Acadian and Creole musical performers and which was also organized in part by Ancelet. Another outgrowth of this "Cajun renaissance" has been the establishment at USL of a degree program in North American Francophone studies, directed by A. David Barry, a program in which folklore courses play a major role.

After Harry Oster left LSU in 1963 the English Department there was without a folklorist until Francis A. de Caro, an Indiana folklore Ph.D., joined the faculty in 1970. An introductory folklore course was finally established in 1974, other folklore courses have since been added, and in 1980 a folklore concentration within the English major and a less formal curriculum within the anthropology major were proposed. Rosan A. Jordan, another Indiana Ph.D., began teaching folklore at LSU in 1978. Interest in folklife continued within the Department of Geography and Anthropology, but the most significant folklore development at LSU was the creation of the Museum of Rural Life, an excellent outdoor folk museum similar to like institutions in Europe and situated on the Burden Research Plantation south of the main campus. The museum was largely the creation of one man, Steele Burden, member of a prominent Baton Rouge family and at one time landscape architect for the university. Interested in preserving the material remains of plantation life in the Lower Mississippi Valley, Burden at his own expense began acquiring and moving to the pantation, which his family donated to LSU, buildings and artifacts which he feared might otherwise disappear, and the museum began to take shape with an overseer's house, slave cabins, a plantation church and store, various work areas, and a graveyard complete with nineteenth-century wrought-iron crosses arranged to suggest a working plantation, as well as a vast assortment of miscellaneous artifacts on display in an adjacent building. The museum is open to the public on a limited basis and has not as yet been fully integrated into the teaching and research functions of LSU but stands as a potentially superb resource for the future.

LSU's Rural Life Museum in Baton Rouge. Photograph: Louisiana Office of Tourism.

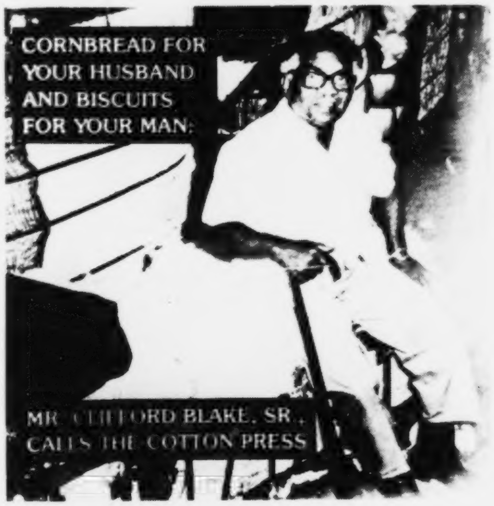
The Anglo-American Museum, also at LSU and dedicated principally to the fine arts, has also contributed to the study and public appreciation of material folk culture. In 1972, H. P. Bacot, the museum's curator, mounted a major exhibition of Louisiana folk art, partly in response to a challenge made by the folklorist Louis C. Jones that Southern museums should make the public as aware of Southern folk art as Northern museums had the folk art of their region. The exhibition included iron work, furniture, textiles, naive painting and sculpture, and other items. The museum also featured an exhibition of historical and contemporary Chitimacha Indian basketry in 1981. In 1980 the LSU Union presented an exhibition of Louisiana traditonal crafts organized by de Caro and Jordan. Although this exhibition featured relatively few artifacts, it was based on considerable field research and included photographic documentation. As was the case with the earlier Anglo-American show, an informative catalogue was published (Bacot, 1972; de Caro and Jordan, 1980).

Students at Nicholls State University in Thibodaux have had a folklore course available to them for a number of years, taught by LFS members Nolan LeCompte, Marie Fletcher and Patricia Perrin, and in 1979 a second course was added to the curriculum. In the same year another significant development in the study of Louisiana traditional culture took place at Nicholls,the establishment of the Center for Traditional Louisiana Boat Building by Joseph T. Butler and John R. Rochelle. The purpose of this center is to provide documentation of such Louisiana folk boat types as the pirogue and Lafitte skiff by amassing photographs and other records and interviewing retired and working boatbuilders.[13]

At the University of New Orleans a folklore course was established in the late sixties in the Anthropology Department, partly as a means of training students in fieldwork techniques, and this course has been taught by Ethelyn Orso, present editor of the *Louisiana Folklore Miscellany*. Orso has also utilized documentary film for Louisiana folklife subjects and produced one short film on the Mardi Gras Indians and another on St. Joseph's Day altars.

In the late 1970's Northwestern State University at Natchitoches emerged as a major force in folklore study in the state. There had been interest in folklife at Northwestern for many years, of course. Corinne Saucier had been on the faculty until her retirement in 1955, one university president was a cultural geographer who had studied with Kniffen, and a Center for Louisiana Studies was established in 1961 whose associates included those interested in the study of folk culture and whose journal, *Louisiana Studies*, came to publish a number of folklife-oriented articles. A folklore course was begun in 1968 by Donald Hatley when he joined the English faculty. Hatley became president of the LFS for 1971-72, but he and several others at Northwestern began to feel that the society's interests were largely limited to south Louisiana and the French-speaking cultures of the state and that its members had emphasized oral lore and neglected material culture. In the latter concern they were, of course, echoing a national trend as folklore scholars all over the country began to see a need for studying more than oral traditions. As a result, however, Hatley and some colleagues founded in 1976 the Folklife Society of Louisiana, which was to promote the study of the folklore and folklife of central and northern Louisiana with an emphasis on material culture. It was also designed to be less traditionally academic and literary in orientation than the LFS.

The Society began a publication, *Louisiana Folklife*, and at first attempted a program of quarterly meetings until that proved unfeasible. Then in 1978 its officers and members were instrumental in bringing about the creation of the Louisiana Folklife Center at Northwestern, separate from the Center for Louisiana Studies (which in 1976 had actually become the Center for Southern Studies and which had moved more in the direction of conventional historical studies) but closely allied with the Williamson Museum, of which H.F. Gregory was curator. The Center served to coordinate research efforts, to act as a resource agency on folklife for local teachers, and has issued LP phonograph recordings in cooperation with the State Folklife Program, *The North Louisiana String Band, Cornbread for Your Husband and Biscuits for Your Man,* and *Since Ol' Gabriel's Time: Hezekiah and the Houserockers*. These and future planned recordings are in part an outgrowth of the activity which as taken most of the Center's attention recently, the Natchitoches Folk Festival, first held during the summer of 1980. This event has presented a variety of traditional performers who have been documented via careful fieldwork and has each year focused on the folklife of a particular north Louisiana industry, cotton in 1980, timber in 1981. For example, the first of the records stemmed from the cotton compress calls performed by Clifford Blake in 1980. Both the Festival and the records certainly put the Folklife Society square in the tradition of the Louisiana Folk Foundation and Harry Oster, and this society has to date been more activist, more close-knit and more oriented toward collective work and toward reaching a broad public than the more academic and literary LFS.


CORNBREAD FOR YOUR HUSBAND AND BISCUITS FOR YOUR MAN:
MR. CLIFFORD BLAKE, SR., CALLS THE COTTON PRESS

There was considerable energy put into the study of Louisiana folklore in the sixties and seventies, although much of it went into teaching, museums and exhibitions, archiving, records and festivals rather than into conventional publications. Such was true of the country as a whole as folklorists began to revise their notion of what constituted "research" (or at least what were the acceptable end products of research) to include media which might reach a larger audience or might more fully and accurately present folk performers than journal articles or monographs could. Nonetheless, a stream of printed articles and occasional books did continue to flow. It is not the purpose of this essay to be bibliographic, but a perusal of the pages of the *Louisiana Folklore Miscellany, Louisiana Studies, Louisiana Folklife, Revue de Louisiane* and occasionally other periodicals reveals something of the folklore issues that have interested people in the state. One finds articles on a range of subjects that include the Easter Rock ceremonies in the Delta Parishes (Oster, 1958; Gregory, 1962), folklore in Louisiana literature (Anderson, 1958,1960, 1961a, 1961b; Roppolo, 1960; Tapley, 1976-80), Cajun music (Del Sesto, 1976-80; Comeaux, 1978; Brandon, 1976-80, 1976; Blanchet, 1970), healing and supernaturalism (Firmin, 1975; Post, 1975; Barrois, 1970; Abboud, 1968; Carbo, 1968; Rickels, 1961, 1965; Pebworth, 1965), Mardi Gras and other festival occasions, such as St. Joseph's Day (Reinecke, 1965; Oster and Reed, 1960; Miner, 1973; Martin, 1973; Orso and Kaveski, 1975), urban folklore (Harling, 1971), folktales and jokes (Smithe and Orso, 1973; Ancelet, 1975; Ancelet and Ryder, 1974), children's folklore (Soileau, 1976-1980), and cuisine (Gueymard, 1973; Landry, 1966). This is only a sample of articles and subjects. There have also been numerous master's theses and dissertations (such as Elizabeth Brandon's study of language and folkways in Vermilion Parish (1955), and occasional books, and numerous articles in national journals. Many of these are cited elsewhere in this volume.

Whereas earlier folklore research tended to be carried on by a few isolated individuals, today one finds a wide selection of people interested in Louisiana folklife and in writing about it, although, as in any state, there have been a few who have most consistently contributed their thoughts and research to the public. For example, in the 1950's John Q. Anderson, who published on Texas folklore as well as that of Louisiana, was particularly active, and Patricia Rickels has devoted much energy to the study of Acadian and Creole folklore since she came to USL in 1957, publishing several important articles (1961; 1965; 1975). Also, as in other places, the persons interested in folklore have often been those who, though not "trained" in folklore, have combined their expertise as scholars with their own knowledge of local cultures to which they have personal ties to produce intersting observations on their "native" lore. Perhaps foremost of such individuals has been George Reinecke of the University of New Orleans, trained in English literature at Harvard. As a member of the New Orleans Creole community, Reinecke grew up speaking French and learning a culture which was then on the verge of major transformations. He has been able to bring his insider's cultural knowledge, plus a great accumulation of other knowledge of south Louisiana history and cultural groups to the study of folklore and has published on a variety of topics, including ethnicity, folksongs, folk speech, Creole menus, Mardi Gras, tricksters, the New Orleans Twelfth Night cake, and the Wandering Jew (1965; 1970; 1971:1975:1978), and has often shared his knowledge in informal contexts. When the American Folklore Society met in New Orleans in 1975, he read a paper about the folklore he knew as a boy in that city, thus putting together the personal and scholarly, something which few in any discipline other than folkloristics allow for.

If any broad criticism is to be leveled at the work done in Louisiana folklore, not only that of the postwar period but also earlier, it is that there has been a concentration of interest in south Louisiana to the neglect of the northern part of the state. This is indeed true, though certainly there has been north Louisiana work, such as that done by Kniffen and his students, several articles which have appeared in *Louisiana Studies*, such as those by Gregory (1962, 1966), G.A. Stokes (1963), Goodloe Stuck (1971) and Kathleen Severance (1970), and even some articles in the *Miscellany*, such as Shirley Burris's on fish giging (1976-80), Ted-Larry Pebworth's on several subjects (1961; 1965), Hugh S. Brown's on hoodoo in Shreveport (1965), and Anna S. Burns's on sawmill town superstitions (1976-80). If the north has been neglected, it is to be hoped that this will hardly continue to be the case, with the Folklife Society of Louisiana and the Natchitoches Folk Festival active and the presence of a North Louisiana native who is a doctoral condidate in folklore at the University of Texas, Susan Roach Lankford, in the area doing considerable field work on a number of topics.[14]

The 1980's promise for folklife studies in the state major realignments of emphases and efforts in line with important developments of the late seventies, particularly the growing involvement of government in folk cultural matters on the state, federal and even local levels. This has been a national trend, but events in Louisiana have been such that the state is among those where the trend has been most dramatic. Federal government interest in folklore and folklife has been building for some years, particularly in those agencies concerned with cultural issues, such as the Smithsonian Institution and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). The Library of Congress had for years manintained the famous Archive of Folk Song; the Smithsonian began to work folklorists into research fellowships and to plan for national folk festivals; NEA established a Folk Arts Program. In 1976 the American Folklife Center was created by Congress as an agency within the Library of Congress. The National Park Service cooperated with the Smithsonian and the National Council for the Traditional Arts in producing festivals. On the state level, Pennsylvania had a state folklorist by the late 1960's and a few other states began to look in that direction.

At the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Detroit in 1977 three Louisiana folklorists , Barry Ancelet of USL and Rosan Jordan and Frank de Caro of LSU were talking with Roger D. Abrahams, University of Texas folklorist, and it was suggested that the Louisiana state government ought to be urged to greater involvement in folklife. The possibility of a small statewide meeting to do just that was discussed and, back in Baton Rouge, Jordan and de Caro approached Al Head, director of the Division of the Arts in the State Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. Head, who had directed the Stephen Foster Center in Florida, was sympathetic to folk arts (and had in fact already discussed possible state involvement in this area with Don Hatley) and agreed to help with the meeting, which was then organized by Jordan, de Caro and Ancelet. It took place in the Old State Capitol in Baton Rouge in December 1977, and was attended by about fifteen people. Abrahams and Nicholas Spitzer came as representatives of NEA, whose Folk Arts Program, headed now by Bess Lomax Hawes, daughter of John Lomax, was hoping to increase its level of support in the South. After a day of discussion, the conference participants urged the hiring of a Folk Arts Coordinator in the Division of the Arts and the publication of a directory of state folklife resources.

The position of Folk Arts Coordinator was indeed established, funded for three years by the NEA and in October, 1978, Nicholas Spitzer, a University of Texas folklore - anthropology doctoral candidate who had done considerable fieldwork in French Louisiana, was hired to fill the post. Since then the Folk Arts Coordinator and the division have moved to promote the folk arts in a number of ways. Great quantities of information have been gathered on the folk cultures of the state and on organizations and individuals interested in folklife. A statewide conference, attended by over 150 people, was held in May 1979, to bring together folklorists, state officials, arts activists and others to discuss folklife. A Folk Arts Panel was created to encourage and review appropriate grant applications. A second conference, devoted to north Louisiana, was held in Ferriday in May 1981, and work proceeded on the directory in which this essay appears and which contains other information on state involvement or potential involvement in folklife which need not be detailed here. In July 1981, Act 893 passed the State Legislature authorizing a separate Division of Folklife and creating a Louisiana Folklife Commission.

Another important impetus brought about by government has been the creation of the Jean Lafitte National Park by the National Park Service in 1977. A new concept in national parks, this is a cultural park which aims at preserving not only the landscape but the cultures within that landscape, and its creation has generated a good deal of research into Louisiana history and culture by Spitzer and others. The initial baseline document of this research was the *Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview* (1979). The public has also been made increasingly aware of folklife through festivas such as the Natchitoches Folk Festival and the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival; records, such as two produced by Spitzer, *La-La: Louisiana Black French Music* and *Zodico: Louisiana Creole Music*, and those produced by the state with the Louisiana Folklife Center at Northwestern; and museum exhibitions, including several at the Louisiana State Museum of New Orleans, most recently a major one organized in 1981 by Vaughn L. Glasgow and Tabatha Rossetter featuring Acadian weaving. A broader exhibit of this type was organized by the Alexandria Museum in 1981. Entitled "Doing it Right and Passing It On: North Louisiana Folk Crafts," it was researched by H.F. Gregory and his graduate students as well as Susan Roach-Lakford. And the mass media has turned its attention to folklife as a numer of film makers, such as Les Blank and Steve Duplantier, record folk culture on film or as television and radio shows, such as Louisiana Public Broadcasting's magazine format show, "Louisiana Alive," and National Public Radio's "Bon Cher Camarade: Cajun and Creole Music of Southwest Louisiana" bring Louisiana folk culture into countless living rooms. Thus a variety of new forces may shape folklife studies in Louisiana as we proceed further into the future.

NOTES

1. The standard bibliographic source for Southern travel writings is Clark (1956-59).

2. Information of Le Page has been drawn from the excellent introduction by Joseph G. Tregle, Jr. to a 1975 edition of Le Page's work (Tregle, 1975).

3. Biographical and critical works on Cable include Elstrom (1950), Bikle (1928), Rubin (1969), Butcher (1962), and Turner (1966).

4. The last two articles are reprinted in Goodman (1949: 268-281); for references to Hearn's newspaper and periodical publications see Perkins and Perkins (1934).

5. Information on Hearn has been drawn from Kunst (1969), Stevenson (1961), Perkins and Perkins (1934) and Tinker (1924). McNeil (1978) does specifically consider Hearn as a folklorist, though he gives little attention to Hearn's Louisiana interests.

6. Hurston wrote an autobiography (1942), and biographical information can also be found in Hemenway (1977), Gloster (1943), Byrd (1955), Blake (1960) and Lomax (1960).

7. For information on Kniffen, plus a way of conceptualizing Kniffen's work and significance, I am indebted to an upublished paper by David Stanley (n.d.).

8. The project is the subject of a dissertation which has been the source of much of my information (Clayton, 1974). Several of the photographers who documented folklife during the Depression for the Farm Security Administration, Russell Lee, Ben Shahn and Marion Post Wolcott, worked in Louisiana. Of course a number of other photographers, such as Elmore Morgan, have taken important folklife-related photos, but the history of documentary photography in the state is beyond the intended scope of this essay.

9. See, for example, Botkin (1945) and Brown (1978).

10. One might add that several Louisiana artists, such as Caroline Durieux, who was connected with the Writer's Project as an illustrator, and John McCrady, connected with the Federal Art Project, produced works which used folkloric subjects. Durieux, in particular, provided drawings for *Gumbo Ya-Ya.*

11. Oster has published a brief account of his Louisiana years (Oster, 1978).

12. My account of the Louisiana Folk Foundation is based on several Newport Folk Festival programs as well as a personal communication from Ralph Rinzler.

13. See *Louisiana Folklore Newsletter* 2 (May, 1984):4.

14. Another recent UT folklore/anthropology doctoral candidate, Tom Ireland, ahs been active in New Orleans.

15. In addition to the various sources cited I have had the benefit of personal communications from Herbert Halpert, Jay D. Edwards, Nicholas Spitzer, Patricia Rickels, and Ralph Rinzler.

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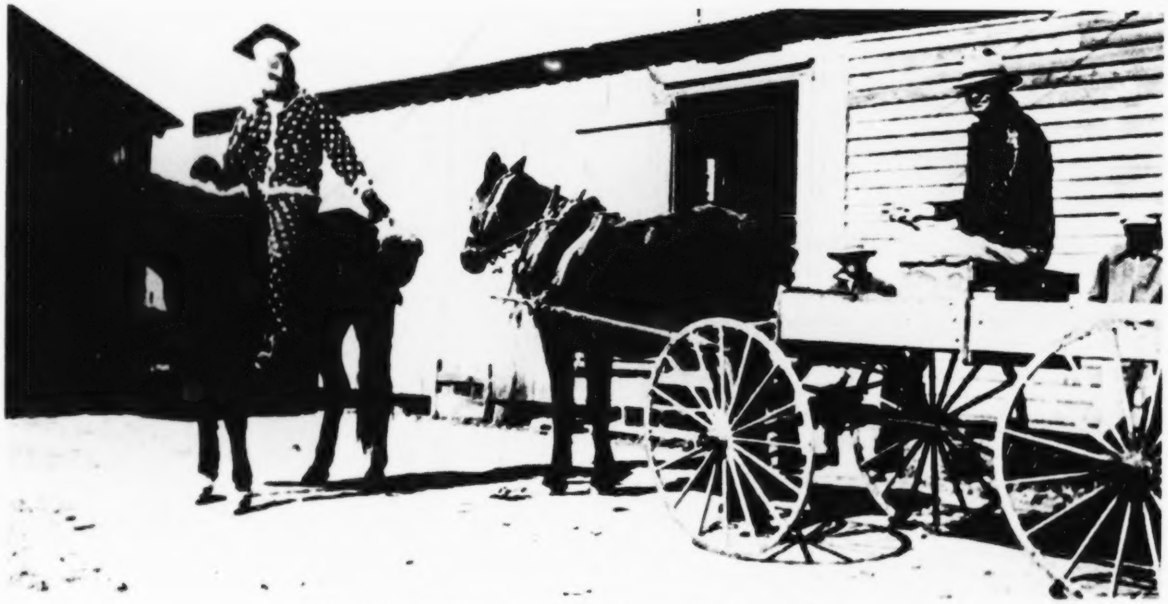


Cajun Mardi Gras, 1935. Photograph: Lauren Post.

LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN LOUISIANA

by J. L. Dillard

Language is the primary medium for the transmission of folk traditions such as beliefs, farming, fishing, hunting practices, and folk medicine, not to mention stories, songs, jokes and proverbs. Louisiana is a state that thinks and speaks in at least seven languages: English, French, French Creole, Spanish, Italian, Vietnamese, Hungarian and Croatian. To these we can add many dialects of French, Spanish and English. In the latter case, for example, there are large numbers of Cajun English and black English speakers as well as a variety of rural Anglo dialects from the Tidewater-influenced Florida Parishes to the Upland South areas of north Louisiana. There is also the famed Irish Channel and 9th Ward New Orleans pronunciation as well as smaller numbers of speakers of Indian languages, Gullah (English Creole) and Chinese, among others. A number of Louisianians are bilingual (especially Cajun French-English and Spanish-English). Some are trilingual (French Creole-Cajun French-English, Croatian-French-English, or "Isleño" Spanish-Cajun French-English).

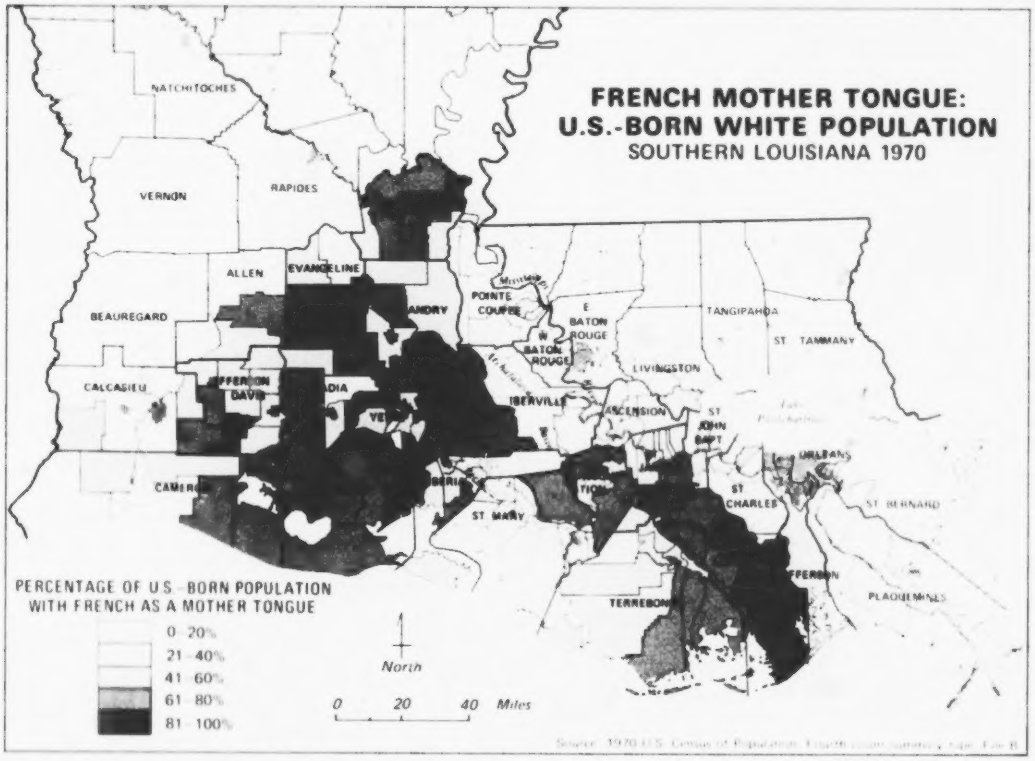
That language and cultural identity are linked is a truism. Further, there is no doubt that the continuation and mingling of the many oral language traditions in Louisiana have an important role to play symbolically and practically for the perpetuation of cultural diversity in the state. Yet it is equally clear, for example, that Cajuns who no longer speak French often still maintain other folk cultural traditions and their identity as Cajuns. The complex details of this sort of linkage between language and culture for all the folk groups in Louisiana is beyond the scope of this article. Yet in-depth sociolinguistic work on the many non-standard language bearers is in short supply for a state that is as aggressively interested in bilingual language retention and cultural preservation programs as is Louisiana. It is hoped that this article, concerned primarily with the historical causes for and a survey description of the present linguistic diversity, will serve as a baseline for future work. Professor Dillard of Northwestern State University in Natchitoches is an internationally known linguist with specialties in black English and the origins of creole languages. He is the author of Black English *(1972),* Black Names *(1976) and* A Lexicon of Black English *(1977), among other books and articles.*

The scope of interaction between dialects of the same language and between diverse languages in Louisiana is probably the greatest of all the states in the union. This is not to say that even New Orleans can compare with Los Angeles or New York in the number of languages spoken by recent immigrants. And it is a moot question whether any "ethnic" language has survived in Louisiana to as great a degree as the Spanish found throughout regions in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, etc. - and whether the total influence of French in Louisiana has been as great. However, in the richness of the special contact situations worked out for long-term multilingualism, Louisiana is unique. It is probably even more important than South Carolina in the history of special contact languages in this country, and in the total historical picture it rivals even an unusually complex West Indian island like Curacao.

The key word for much of this kind of language complexity is *Creole*, a term with many meanings for different people. Derived through French and Spanish *criollo* 'native born' (although, as will appear below, Portuguese *crioulo*, in the same meaning, is at least as likely a source), the word is sometimes used by the general public so as to exclude speakers of African ancestry and their language varieties. In the phrase *Creoles de couleur*, the term has long been used in Louisiana for those of mixed ancestry. The story of why linguists use the term to apply to the most probably African-influenced of the language varieties is closely tied up with the interpretation of the language picture in south Louisiana.

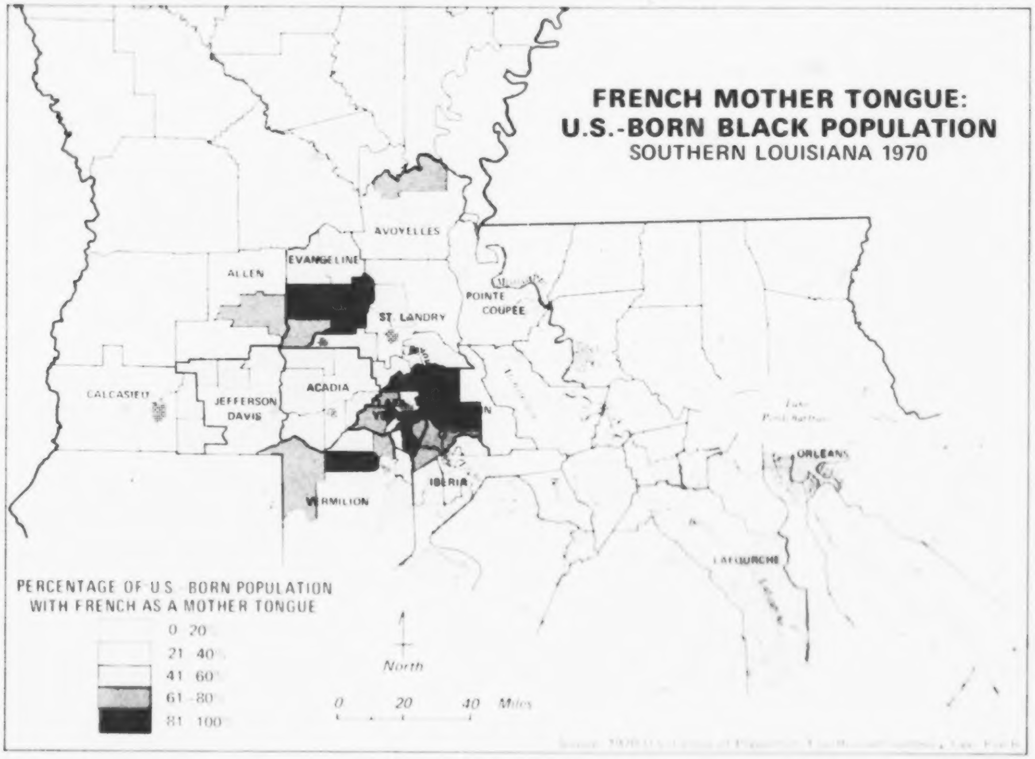
FRENCH IN LOUISIANA
(see Maps A—D)

By the early eighteenth century, French in Louisiana had turned from the language of explorers to that of permanent settlers. Although there is little or no record relevant to their actual speech, it is generally assumed that at least some of them—the highest-ranking—spoke a relatively prestigious and standard French. According to Read (1931) there has always been an important component of relatively standard French in Louisiana. It is also well known that there are at least two other varieties, Acadian ("Cajun," hereinafter referred to in the latter form) and "Gumbo," the French spoken primarily by blacks


FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE:
U.S.-BORN WHITE POPULATION
SOUTHERN LOUISIANA 1970
NATCHITOCHES
VERNON
RAPIDES
ALLEN
EVANGELINE
BEAUREGARD
CALCASIEU
JEFFERSON DAVIS
ACADIA
CAMERON
ST LANDRY
POINTE COUPEE
E BATON ROUGE
W BATON ROUGE
IBERVILLE
IBERIA
ST MARY
ASCENSION
LIVINGSTON
TANGIPAHOA
ST TAMMANY
ST JOHN BAPT
ST CHARLES
ORLEANS
ST BERNARD
JEFFERSON
PLAQUEMINES
TERREBONNE
Lake Pontchartrain
PERCENTAGE OF U.S.-BORN POPULATION WITH FRENCH AS A MOTHER TONGUE
0-20%
21-40%
41-60%
61-80%
81-100%
North
0 20 40 Miles
Source: 1970 U.S. Census of Population, Fourth count summary tape, File B

James P. Allen, Department of Geography California State University, Northridge.

MAP A


FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE:
U.S.-BORN BLACK POPULATION
SOUTHERN LOUISIANA 1970
AVOYELLES
ALLEN
EVANGELINE
ST LANDRY
POINTE COUPEE
CALCASIEU
JEFFERSON DAVIS
ACADIA
IBERIA
VERMILION
LAFOURCHE
ORLEANS
Lake Pontchartrain
PERCENTAGE OF U.S.-BORN POPULATION WITH FRENCH AS A MOTHER TONGUE
0-20%
21-40%
41-60%
61-80%
81-100%
North
0 20 40 Miles
Source: 1970 U.S. Census of Population, Fourth count summary tape, File B

MAP B

or "people of color." The last is related to varieties like Haitian and Martiniquan, and somewhat more distantly to Indian Ocean Creole, and represents what the linguist - sometimes in opposition to the local folk terminology - calls a Creole language.

Recent research, especially by Hull (1968, 1979) sheds some important light on these varieties. First, it is rather clear now that a Maritime French (paralleled by Maritime English and not only paralleled, but also probably influenced by Maritime Portuguese) existed by the time of the early French settlements. Hull (1968) points out how even the more nearly "standard" varieties of colonial French may have reflected to some degree this maritime influence. (For a parallel, see the discussion of Maritime or "*Isleños*" Spanish below.)

Cajun French, at once perhaps the best-known variety of Louisiana French and paradoxically the least likely to be called a "Creole" - though it is by some Louisiana speakers - represents, on an obvious historical level, the explusion from Acadia in Nova Scotia of several thousand French speakers who refused to submit to King George and the English language. The Acadian migration to Louisiana between 1764 and the 1790's brought a continuous stream of them into various unsettled regions. Cajun French has a large number of similarities, naturally, to Canadian French. Hull (1968) points out, however, that normal Cajun (and Louisiana) French affricates[č]—as in English words spelled with ch—and [ǰ]—as in English words like judge—are not found in Canadian French proper, including that of Nova Scotia. They are found in Maritime French, however; it should be remembered that the "Acadians" who came to Louisiana stopped over for some time in other colonies, and that possibly not every one of the migrants of the period came from Canada at all.

The French Creole, in the classical Caribbeanist's sense, which differs most greatly from either of these varieties, has been variously called *Gumbo, Français Nègre, Nèg*; or some such name, and has been, perhaps in too facile a manner, accorded influence from African languages. The association, whether completely accurate or not, is a natural one, since the first Negro slaves were brought to Louisiana in 1719 (a century after the first load arrived in Virginia), and they were near the number of the whites by 1724. That certain African customs have persisted is almost beyond doubt.

Questioned as to the nature of the French they spoke, my informants have characterized both their French and my attempts to produce Haitian Creole as *mo couri, mo vini*.[2] There is a certain aptness to the name. For one thing, it fixes on several of the classical Creole grammatical features: not only the quite superficial invariant pronoun (mo for both subject and object) but also the aspect-marked, tense-neutral (or deletable) verb. *Mo couri*, for example, can mean 'I go' or 'I went,' depending on the context, although a verb can be unambiguously marked for past tense with preverbal *te*. Although seldom treated formally, the different *distribution* of redundancies (not prevalence or *incidence* of redundancy, which exist in all language varieties) is one of the major differences between Creole languages and lexically related standard languages (Dillard 1977: 102-105).[3]

None of these varieties has remained in such isolation that it has not been influenced by the other two. And, despite the attempts of Francophile revivalist purists, it is probable that none of the three has remained uninfluenced by English.

Gumbo French Creole clearly has some features, if only morphological "simplification," in common with contact varieties (pidgins) used around the world. One of these would be the Indo-Chinese *Tây Bôy* (Reinecke, 1971). Although Pidgin French is by no means so widely attested as Pidgin English or, especially, Pidgin Portuguese, the existence of a morphologically simplified maritime contact variety (not necessarily identical to what Hull calls Maritime French) by at least as early as the eighteenth century seems assured. Raleigh Morgan, who worked in St. Martin Parish (1970), points out that *haler* , a nautical term, is used for 'pull'; *tirer* means 'milk'.

Africanization of French is not as useful an explanation of the process of development of that pidgin into a creole language as was once thought. As a complement to the African influence, a leveled[4] dialect of French used by sailors may have been widespread (Hull: 1979). In fact, not even the assumption that the pidgin developed "in the slave factories in Africa" (Brewer and Brandies, 1977:485) seems so certain any more.

In the earliest days, users of the Maritime French must have found it convenient to communicate with speakers of a slightly Africanized version of the same thing—in Africa, in the West Indes, and probably even in Louisiana—no matter what slight inconvenience may have been introduced by the need to use a few foreign words or turns of phrase. Hardly a better example could be given than the popular south Louisiana word *lagniappe*. The word is supposedly from the South American Indian language *Quechua*, but obviously requires maritime transmission from the Andes to reach Louisiana, not to mention being scattered around in West Indian Spanish (as *la ñapa)* and English. The earliest citation in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* clearly attributes this term to "our Creòle Negroes." Grammatical differences between French Creole and Standard French are generally considered to be great. Morgan (1972) points out how there are non-Gallic usages in Creole structures as simple as the definite article:

Creole

Dolo-la šo
(Noun-Determiner Adjective)
Dolo šo-la
(Noun Adjective-Determiner)

French

L'eau est chaude.
de l'eau chaude

English

The water is hot.
(some) hot water

A considerable reinforcement of French Creole came to Louisiana from Haiti with immigrants who fled from the Haitian War of Independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Goodman (1964) credits these immigrants with intoducing the Haitian possessive construction, which did not become very widespread, and theorized that the Louisiana preposed future time particle *ava*, (presumably from *avant*) as in *m'ava couri*, 'I am going to run, may have had a similar origin.

In nearly two centuries, this "Gumbo" French has lost a considerable number of users, has undergone a great deal of decreolization (influence from more standard French), and has borrowed extensively from English. Indeed, virtually every speaker of Gumbo has used one or both of the other two languages for about a century. Morgan (1964) shows decreolization toward French, including adoption of some idioms in */m ̃vikuri/* 'I feel like going' (influenced by Standard French *avoir envie de*), */nubEzwEndolo/* 'we need water' (influenced by *avoir besoin de*). Morgan also points out that "certain loan shifts in the dialect are obviously English and neither French nor African, such as */ārilif/* 'on relief', */peyeātā/* 'pay on time', and */ādife/* 'on the fire'. Morgan also (1959) points out the extensive use of English borrowings like *boss*.

The Parish of St. Martin, along with parts of Iberia, St. Landry, Lafayette, St. Mary and Pointe Coupee (see map 2), is the core area of Creole speaking in Louisiana. Morgan (1964) reports that St. Martin Parish Creole was "strongly calqued with Acadian French and English features," even when used between members of the same family.[5] Black speakers who sparingly use Creole, or any kind of French, are strongly aware of the use of the language in the "old home" area. An informant of mine in Beaumont, Texas, who could easily understand and reluctantly produce some of the Creole, explained to me that almost everyone in St. Martinville could speak "French"; he added, "In Africa I guess they don't speak nothing else."

Wider-ranging studies, not always done with the same amount of detail as Morgan's, show a considerable mixing of Creole and Cajun. As the musical type called *zydeco* may be practiced by either the Cajun or the Creole group, so the derivation of the word could be from any of the three varieties of French or even from an African language. The folk explanation accepted by both Cajuns and Creoles is that *zydeco*—itself a folk spelling—comes from *les haricots*, found in the song *z-haricots sont pas sales*, the attachment of the initial /z/ giving the derivation a Creole flavor, since Haitian and other related varieties make *les oiseau* into singular (or not necessarily plural) *zwazo*, etc. The connection with snap (or string) beans is questionable, and Ian F. Hancock (personal communication) points out that *Gur*, a West African language, has *zade-ko* ('dance').

If undisputed Africanisms in everyday usage are small in number, Trouillot (1972) points that, as in Haiti (Simpson, 1970) and Cuba (Cabrera, 1970), presumptive Africanisms are widely used in voodoo ceremonies as ritual-language words not literally understood by the participants - perhaps somewhat like *Hallelujah* or *Hosannah* in many Christian ceremonies.

Some relatively pessimistic linguists and anthropologists feel that both Cajun and Creole are losing ground, as are the culture they represent. Ditchy (1932) reports that Cajun was the language of three-fourths of the inhabitants of south Louisiana before 1861, but that the four years of the Civil War had "Anglicized" the soldier, the laborer, and the artisan.[6] It is interesting that, like other "non-standard" or non-prestige varieties, (cf. black English in Harrison [1884]). Cajun, like Gumbo, is frequently thought of as diminishing in use, if not on the verge of extinction. Often, this kind of report claims that the population which fromerly spoke the non-standard variety now speaks only the standard—with perhaps a few "stylistic" features (cf. Krapp [1925] and Smitherman [1973]) for black English.

For Cajun French, an interestingly different reaction has developed. Faulk (1977) presents a cumbersome English-based orthography (writing system) for Cajun which has drawn the wrath of Ancelet (1977) and others. Ancelet points out that Faulk's *Eel ā ahpre ahrōnja son shah* (p. 150) is an unnecessarily grotesque way of rendering what could be written *Il est après arranger son char* with essentially French orthography. Faulk does not and apparently neither has anyone else made any pretense of using a phonemic,[7] systematic phonetic, or other "linguistic" transcription system. Tentchoff (1975) presents perhaps the strongest case for fully autonomous treatment. Judging from reactions like that drawn by Hall (1953) for his modified phonemic system for Haitian Creole, a mildly Gallicized spelling system is more likely to meet acceptance than anything else. It just might be the right answer, after all.

It is interesting that Faulk seems to hedge a bit on the grammatical "peculiarities" of Cajun. One of the most frequently remarked characteristics, the use of *je* for the first person plural subject form, is replaced in his treatment by *on*: *on parle* rather than *je parlions*. (Following the suggestions of Ancelet and my own inclinations, I abandon the awkward orthography of Faulk even when citing examples from his work.) It is not perfectly clear from the writings of either Ancelet (1977) or Faulk, but it seems likely that the "middle generation of thirty and forty-year-olds who learned to speak French largely in spite of their parents and in spite of the school system" (Ancelet

1977:2), is the one which has abandoned this "bizarre" form. It is an especially strange paradox that the "poorly learned" Cajun of Ancelet's "middle" generation should be those Cajuns who themselves were gaining greatly in respectability, and at a time when knowing a smattering of the language became a status symbol to some Louisianians.

The respectability of and interest in the Cajuns has led to some changes in linguistic usage. In 1961, Babington and Atwood characterized *fais do do*, the adults' party for which at least the younger children were put to sleep, among usages confined to the rural parishes of (southern) Louisiana. But by 1981, the term had certainly appeared enough in popular publications to make it part of the receptive vocabulary of almost anyone in northern Louisiana. On the other hand, a lack of folkloric appeal probably explains why *poule d'eau* ('coot') and *bagasse* ('waste from sugar cane') have not spread much further north in recent times. However, gourmet appreciation of foods probably explains why *bisque* ('rich soup') has enjoyed considerable spread during the period.

An ambiguous role in the fate of native French dialects is played by the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL). Teams of *cooperants militaires* (Herold: 1972), some of whom were, ironically enough, in the beginning opting to teach two years in a foreign country rather than go into the military service, were the original teachers. The brand of French purveyed by CODOFIL is definitely standard, with no reference to the various *patois* of France. Many linguists and anthropologists are automatically inclined to view such persons as the natural enemies of Cajun and Creole; it is striking that Ancelet *(op. cit.)* does not react in the same manner. Some CODOFIL approval has been given to "*chants acadiens, jeux et danses qui accompagnent*" (Herold 1972:130). There is, here, the obvious danger of what has been done by French-speaking Haitians, by Standard English-speaking Jamaicans, and by many others in a non-traditional language situation: a condescending to the "charm" of the local variety without the according of respect due to a full-fledged language system.

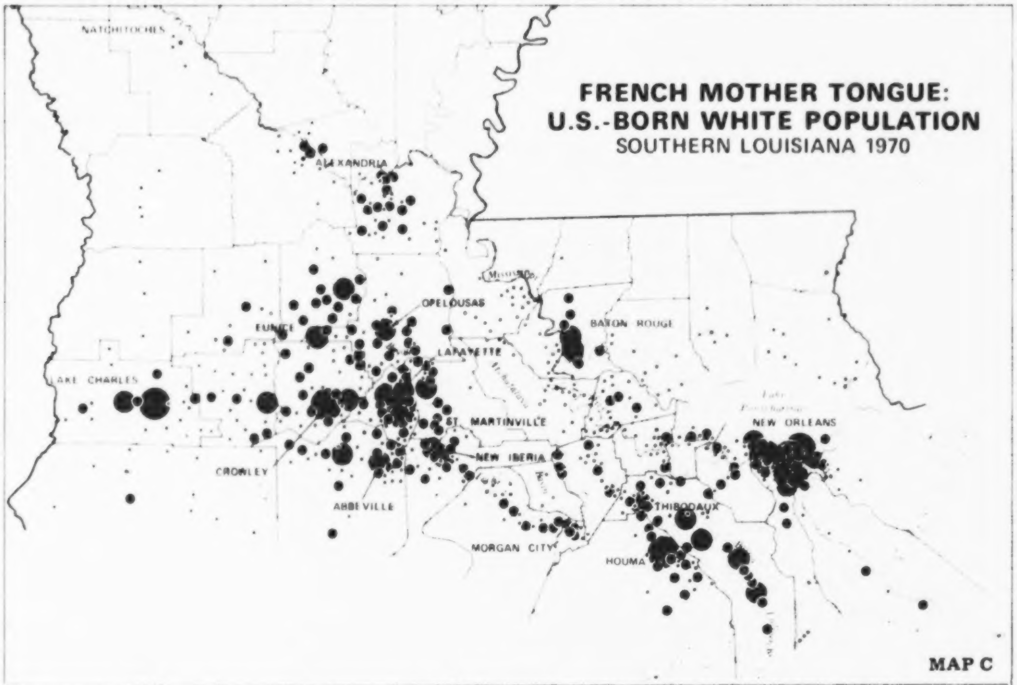
COLONIAL CONTACT AND TRADE LANGUAGES

French is spoken by many of the Chitimacha and Houma Indians, who seem to have abandoned their native languages except for a few old people who remember some texts. English is, of course, also widely used by those tribes. Limited data on the French suggest great similarity to Cajun, although whether the variety represents transmission from Canadian French of Nova Scotia or from Maritime French—or, more likely, both—is a historical question which seems hardly to have been posed yet.

The Caddos, the Adais, the Natchitoches and some other indigenous tribes having been driven out or exterminated, a significant portion of the Indian population came to Louisiana around 1764 in the general movement known as Indian Removal. The Choctaw and the Koasati (Coushatta) are now prominent among the Indian populations of Louisiana. The exact number of Indians in the state varies greatly from one estimate to another.[8] The languages they use are not subject to so much doubt, fortunately. Choctaw is probably responsible for the word for the most characteristic topographic feature of the state, bayou, although the *Oxford English Dictionary* strangely cites French *boyau* 'gut'. It is, of course, not impossible that the French word did have some reinforcing influence, especially in a shifting and multilingual picture.

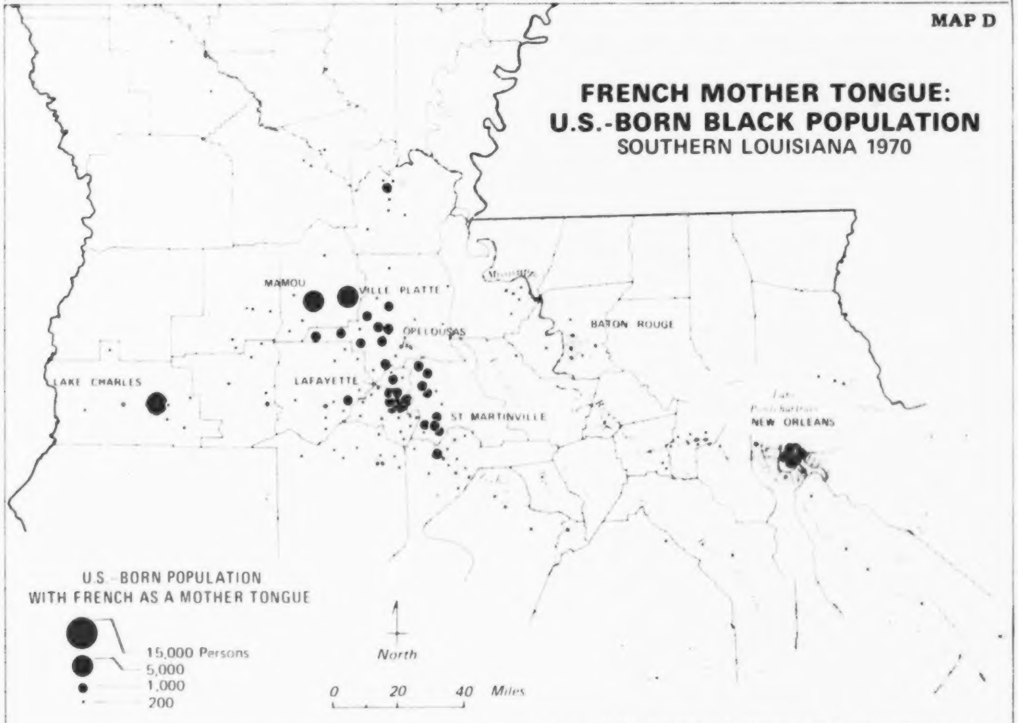
A prominent response to that multilingual situation was the Choctaw-based contact language called *Yama*, from its word for *yes*, or Mobilian Jargon. Mobilian Jargon was presumably an important Indian contact language from the past, although its nature and origin are not beyond dispute. Drechsel (1979) and Crawford (1978) find it to be of Indian origin—that is, not influenced by the European pidgin languages generated in contact with Indians. Mobilian Jargon must have been used *between* tribes where the contact situation did not permit simple bilingualism or even stable multilingualism to suffice. Nevertheless, the earliest records indicate the intermixing of Romance (probably Spanish) elements. Few speakers of even a little Mobilian Jargon remain, most of them are also Choctaw speakers, and the relationship of data recently collected to the "Jargon" when it was strongest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is far from clear.

The relationship of any of the varieties mentioned above or below to what cultural geographer Terry Jordan (1981) calls "a partially romance-based lingua franca of the Louisiana piney woods"[9] is even more problematic. Using historical reconstruction, Jordan sees this lingua franca as accompanying the spread from black-dominated South Carolina cattle growing areas, across the Gulf corridor to Mobile and Biloxi, and then to the piney woods of Louisiana, citing "a vanguard of Anglo cattle herders, *well mixed with French Cajuns* (emphasis added)" which "exploded into the tall grass coastal prairie of Louisiana to reach the borders of Spanish Texas" (1981:45). Jordan finds *crawl*, 'cattle pen' ultimately related to *corral* and a few other Afro-Romance words to be associated with that lingua franca. Dillard (1975, 1980) points out that a few English words which have */uw/* rather than the expected */ow/*, corresponding to Spanish, are most likely associated with some such lingua franca. *Calabosse* (Spanish *calabozo)* is actually recorded first from the Mobile area and soon thereafter from New Orleans. The subject is a fascinating one, but it is perhaps a digression from the topic of the languages in Louisiana today.


FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE:
U.S.-BORN WHITE POPULATION
SOUTHERN LOUISIANA 1970
NATCHITOCHES
ALEXANDRIA
OPELOUSAS
EUNICE
LAFAYETTE
BATON ROUGE
LAKE CHARLES
ST. MARTINVILLE
NEW IBERIA
NEW ORLEANS
CROWLEY
ABBEVILLE
THIBODAUX
MORGAN CITY
HOUMA
Lake Pontchartrain

MAP C

MAP D


FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE:
U.S.-BORN BLACK POPULATION
SOUTHERN LOUISIANA 1970
MAMOU
VILLE PLATTE
OPELOUSAS
BATON ROUGE
LAKE CHARLES
LAFAYETTE
ST. MARTINVILLE
Lake Pontchartrain
NEW ORLEANS
U.S.-BORN POPULATION
WITH FRENCH AS A MOTHER TONGUE
15,000 Persons
5,000
1,000
200
North
0
20
40
Miles

Source: 1970 U.S. Census of Population, Fourth count summary tape File B

It is also not easy for the historically-minded to ignore the pirates of Jean Lafitte, who occupied Grand Isle not far from this piney woods cattle trail and not very far south of the previously noted locus of Gumbo French Creole. The pirates were linguistically heterogeneous groups of men, and undocumented reports of a "French-Spanish patois" among them can be found in popular histories. Lafitte himself seems to have been able to function in standard French—which does not mean that all his men did.

ENGLISH

The cattle business which spread from Louisiana's piney woods to the Texas prairies was certainly conducted mainly by English speakers. It is conventional to begin treatments of the coming of English with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and with the "colonizing" efforts of Moses and Stephen F. Austin. Nevertheless, Babington and Atwood (1961) point out that some English speakers came in during the Spanish regime of roughly 1762-1800. (Dates are approximate because changes of jurisdiction were far from immediate and smooth.) What brand of English this was is apparently not attested.

English is certainly the dominant language in Louisiana today, although "accented" English is by no means a rarity. LeCompte (1967) found, not surprisingly, that Lafourche Parish and Grand Isle were in a "lexical transitional state," with increasing use of English vocabulary. Dialect writers by the dozens have used the Cajun-influenced use of sentence-final emphasis of the subject pronoun: *I don't like that, me.* Faulk (1977) gives a probably unintentional example of Cajun idiom in English: *Between you and me, I think he abuses on her.* The English dialect picture divides itself almost like that of French: Black English, Cajun-influenced English (Wise, 1933, otherwise known to outsiders primarily from the caricatures of comedians like Justin Wilson), and a range from a few Network Standard[10] speakers through a great variety of standard, semi-standard, and non-standard Anglo southern dialects.

Black English is as clearly a part of the dialect picture in Louisiana as it is in the inner cities of the North; only the historical accident that it was first studied in New York, Washington, Chicago, and Detroit leads to the still-used term "inner city" dialect. Black speakers in Louisiana—certainly in the northwestern area—play the dozens in the same manner and with the kind of skill described by Abrahams (1964) and Labov *et al.* (1968).[11]

Like "inner city" speakers, Louisiana blacks also use *been* as a preverbal marker for action performed significantly in the past: *I been put it out* is a somewhat scornful answer from a black housekeeper to her employer who questions her about putting out a fire. *I done put it out* would indicate that the action had only recently taken place. Many white speakers, in Louisiana as in other Southern states, have borrowed the latter but very few if any the former preverbal marker. A structure like *He been done gone home*, translatable roughly as 'He had just gone home'; is probably beyond white speakers, as is *Time we get there they be done gone.* 'When we get there they will have left already.'

Jay Edwards of LSU, tells me (personal communication) that he has found a few informants, elderly black males in the community of Waxia, ten miles north of Port Barre on Highway 6, who use not only *been + Verb*, which parallels *té + Verb*, so characteristic of French Creole (including Gumbo), but also *de + Verb*, which parallels *ap + Verb* in Louisiana French Creole and Hatian Creole, *ka + Verb* in Dominican French Creole, etc.He did not however, report *beena (bina)*, the usual morphophonemic (automatic pronunciation) varient of *been + de* before a verb.[12] Dillard (1972, 1976) has steadfastly maintained that *be + Verb (-ing)* is the replacement ("relexification") of *de*, with *-ing* becoming quasi-obligatory in imitation of Standard English. The effect is to decreolize or standardize Black English. This is known as the "creolist" theory of the origin of Black English.[13]

There are a few marginal usages which may represent survivals in complex syntactic (word ordering) structures, where the relatively high degree of grammatical awareness—except for trivial matters, any speaker lacking in professional linguistic training has a very high threshold of awareness of the structures of his own language—opperative in the limitation of a more prestigious variety would not work well. For example, in a recording of Clifford Blake of Natchitoches (Hatley, *et al.*, 1980), we find an elderly north Louisiana black informant saying

When I go to singing...you can see them /də/ go to moving

This /də/ which frequently occurs in phrases like *It started in /də/ raining*, can usually be rationalized as *to*, but

*When I go to singing...You can see them *to go to moving.*

is not acceptable in Standard English, as indicated by the asterisk.

Although it is not historically necessary in Louisiana, or in any other place for matter, that the entire process of pidginization, creolization, and (partial) decreolization take place—any stage being importable from the outside—there is a very great likelihood that Maritime English played almost as important as a role as Maritime French (or Maritime Spanish—see below) in this state. The Irish Channel of New Orleans, no longer populated by Irishmen, is the legendary source of the so called "Yat" /ɔy/ pronunciation in bird, third, etc., but the articulation is found in many maritime, insular, and coastal zones (Berger 1980).

The pronunciation extends far inland, especially in the variant [3:], where the dipthongal glide (the "i" of "oi" in folk treatment of the pronunciation) tends to be reduced or to disappear. It is found on the Mississippi Coast, up river to Baton Rouge and older people as far into East Texas as Nacogdoches use it frequently. Nevertheless, the concentration of the fully diphthongal articulation among working-class New Orleanians is heavy enough to give rise to frequent popular reports that many residents of that city speak "Brooklynese" (i.e., the dialect of the old Port of New York). If that were literally true, of course, it would be true also that many Brooklynites say *you all* or *y'awl*.

THE LANGUAGES OF INDIANS

If the conclusion of Brandt and McCrate (1981) is true, the Pidgin English of the Arizona Apaches and other western tribes must have passed through Louisiana at one time, transmitted at least partly by blacks. There are unverified (by me) reports of one or two extremely pidgin-like speakers among the Jena Choctaw.

Among the Elton Koasati (Coushatta), English varies from the elegant standard dialect of the tribal leader (not, technically, the chief), who in addition to speaking fluent Koasati can switch into slightly more vernacular English when he wants to, to pidgin-like structures of the nature *We no see too much goose down dere* (my field notes) from a speaker in his sixties. The same speaker, who is a good representative of the traditional culture and who served as informant for a linguist who made a description of Koasati, makes, among other objects, the traditional blow gun, which he always refers to as a *blew gun*. This speaker, who has a high degree of variability in shifting speech styles, uses something very like preverbal *been*: *I been born and raised 'round here.* He also uses zero copula:[14] *Tell me where he at* or *The bear so mad.* (In a tale in which most verbs are marked for past tense.) As in the case of the zero copula form cited above, the informant uses non-redundant past tense marking much the way described for Black English in Loflin, Sobin, and Dillard (1973): *The men started running when [the bear] coming.*

Koasati, otherwise, is the most flourishing of the Louisiana Indian languages, although they are in a sense immigrants, having arrived in 1764. There are about 350 fluent speakers, all or most of them capable of using English well, and the younger generation is completely bilingual.

Besides its relationship to Mobilian Jargon, Choctaw is the Louisiana Indian language most usable and used with out-of-state Indians, both in Oklahoma and in Mississippi. Dialect differences have been noted but are apparently no great barrier to communication. The Jena Choctaw tribe, which numbers about 150 who hold on to certain tribal customs, has at most twenty fluent Choctaw speakers. (This is unfortunate, since the chief once defined a Choctaw, in a newspaper interview, as one who speaks Choctaw.) Of these, four speakers are Choctaw dominant; i.e., more proficient in that language than in English. A somewhat ill-fated attempt to revive Choctaw was made in 1977, with an adviser from an applied linguistics program and great reliance on the dictionary by Byington (1915). The program seemed not to stimulate any interest among the children—and therefore was marked almost automatically for defeat—although several of the younger adults were deeply involved. Nevertheless, according to H.F. Gregory (personal communication), the few *Choctaw* speakers do maintain the language in a wide variety of contexts.

Awareness of English pervaded the Choctaw-learning program in one session at which I was a consultant. Great embarrassment was exhibited at a request for the word for turkey, */fakit/*, apparently because of its resemblance to an obscene English phrase. Great variation in the pronunciation of Choctaw was recorded in my field notes; several forms were accepted, others rejected when the notes were read back. Still, I am not perfectly sure that the transcriptions were inaccurate. Attitudinal factors may keep the speakers from acknowledging variants which actually do occur, at least from some speakers. English varies greatly according to context within the tribal group; I transcribed both *(pU't-ɨ-)* and *(prEt-ɨ-)* 'pretty' from the tribal chief, the former in informal and the latter in formal speech.

SPANISH AND ITALIAN

It may seem strange to accord Spanish the place of a minority language in Louisiana, considering the historical importance of that language. Despite its widespread popularity as a school language (students have for generations perpetuated the idea that it is "easier to pronounce" than French or German), rather few Louisianians seem to feel any loyalty to it. There are not, for example, state historical markers in Spanish as there are in French (bilingual with English). Many students come to LSU and Tulane from South America and Puerto Rico to study law and medicine, and there are large numbers of Spanish speakers in ESL programs throughout the state, but none of these seem to use much Spanish with native Louisianians. The Indian groups of the past used Spanish, mixed in one way or another with Mobilian Jargon and perhaps some other lingua franca;[15] but, although rumors of Indian-influenced Spanish persist, actual speakers are difficult to find. One may also locate Filipinos from former stilt settlements in lower Barataria who speak the language.

The historically most important variety of Spanish in Louisiana is *"Isleño,"* spoken by a large group in St. Bernard Parish. These speakers of what must have been a blend of Spanish dialects for maritime use—comparable to the Maritime French discussed by Hull—had strong influence on the Spanish of Puerto Rico (Alvarez Nazario, 1972). Despite a strong element of African influence (Alvarez Nazario, 1974), Puerto Rican Spanish resembles that of the Canary Islands more than any other variety. Relying on MacCurdy (1950), Alvarez Nazario (1972) finds a great resemblance to Louisianian Spanish. In the long run, the similarities can hardly be explained in any way except by the postulation of a Maritime Spanish. A kind of Spanish revival is very active in St. Bernard parish at this writing.

In northwest Louisiana, a community of over one hundred Spanish speakers around Ebarb reveals, according to Gregory (personal communication), little or no knowledge of the vocabulary treated by Alvarez Nazario and MacCurdy. These may be immigrants from Mexico. Another group around Spanish Lake, variously reported as between a dozen and fifty, claims to be from "Spain," and field interviews were able to identify one word, *pezcuezo* 'neck', which agrees with the *Isleño* vocabulary. This is admittedly unimpressive evidence for the use of the *Isleño* dialect in the Spanish Lake area. In families where names like Flores are pronounced */flor+ỵz/* ("floor-ease") oral traditions are perhaps not entirely trustworthy.

An entirely new group of Spanish speakers from the circum-Caribbean has arrived in Louisiana over the last twenty years—although New Orleans as a port city has received Spanish speakers since the eighteenth century–beginning with an influx of Cubans and followed by Colombians, Venezuelans, Nicaraguans, black Hondurans and a variety of ther nationalities. Each group, depending on ethnicity and class, has produced different dialectal variations of Spanish. Taken as a whole, they are a more active speech community in terms of number and use among younger people than the *Isleno's* or northwestern border speakers.

ITALIAN, YUGOSLAVIAN, HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN

There are many people of Italian descent in Louisiana, but little information on the use of the language. Said to be largely of Sicilian extraction, they tend to locate in the larger cities; fairly well-informed estimates report as many as 50,000 of them. It seems that the usual immigrant pattern prevails: only people over fifty seem to use Italian to any great extent, although the next younger generation can probably understand a great deal.

Of the many Slavonian Louisianians in the lower delta parishes (St. Bernard and Plaquemines) and New Orleans, "Yugoslavian" is spoken. Most of these people are of Dalmatian extraction and speak what is known in ethnic rather than national terms as "Serbo-Croatian."

A substantial number of Hungarian speakers came to Albany in Livingston Parish around three generations ago. Interviewees make varying claims about the use of the language, from the rather fantastic statement that some 2,700 people still speak Hungarian to the rather more realistic one that only the older generation really speaks it and the young adult generation understands a little. One thirty-eight year old informant claimed to be "sort of fluent," but admitted the need to resort to English vocabulary frequently. A few of the older people also speak German, bringing along some of the language situation of the old country. Nelson (1956) studied the English of the group. He found many phonological influences, especially more from hungarian than from Southern dialect. Using only six informants, held to be "representative of the community," he reported to no one's surprise that the influence of Hungarian was stronger on the speech of older informants.

There is even less precise information on German speakers in Louisiana, although it is well known that Germans were prominent among nineteenth-century settlers. Many of them quickly underwent language shift, becoming *les Allemands*. One German professor reports contact with farmers around Eunice who spoke "archaic" German (*Ihr* for *Sie*, e.g.). Other sites for potential speakers are Roberts Cove in Acadia Parish and a few neighborhoods in New Orleans.

VIETNAMESE AND OTHER ASIANS

Perhaps the most recent group of non-English speakers is the Vietnamese, of whom some 12,000 have come to Louisiana after the surrender of the southern part of their country. They tend to congregate around New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Gulf Coast fishing areas, although a few students stray up to northwest Louisiana. A fairly large number of the oldest Vietnamese use some French, dating from the time when French was the official language of the country, and there are probably a few speakers of *Tẫy Bộy*. The majority speak Vietnamese in all age groups, though the parent and older generations are most likely to be monolingual. It is not known—although it would be extremely interesting—whether Vietnamese speakers of French varieties have any extensive contact with Louisiana French speakers. There are also reports of Asians from various nations in the shrimp trade along the coast, and of course there are some speakers of Chinese and Japanese in Louisiana.

Although English is clearly the language of official, public and commercial usage in Louisiana, the observer who looks beneath the surface will find the great diversity of French Cajun and French Creole, Spanish, Indian languages, Black English, a variety of Upland South, Tidewater and Deep South Anglo dialects, as well as the languages of immigrants in the last one hundred years from Italians and Dalmatians to Vietnamese. Add to this the urban New Orleans and riverine Irish Channel or "Yat" accents as well as many other sub-regional, familial and personal variations, and we have a linguistic situation as rich and complex as the music, food and architecture for which the state is also renowned .

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

In dealing professionally with language, and perhaps especially with dialects, it is often impossible to adhere strictly to the conventional orthographic system of the language. This may be especially true of a variety like "Gumbo" French Creole, which has no official writing system. Transcriptions used by linguists are based on the Roman alphabet, as is ordinary English spelling, but special, more consistent pronunciation values are attached to each character ("letter"). The adaptation of the Roman alphabet most usually employed is called the IPA (International Phonetic Association), and transcriptions according to that system are enclosed in square brackets ([ ]). Very many symbols, including numerous diacritics, may be utilized with the IPA framework; but linguists long ago realized that it is impossible to transcribe "exactly" what a speaker says. Thus, the "phonemic" principle developed, whereby sound units having a significant (contrastive, in the traditional system) function for the given language were closed in slashes (//). See footnote 7. In quoting linguists like Raleigh Morgan, I have used exactly their transcriptions, including, in Morgan's case, tilde (~), which is the transcription for nasalization. If a linguist like Morgan uses both /an/ and / ã /, he means that there is a significant difference, capable of distinguishing units like words, between the two seqeunces.

In one place in my own transcription of Black English, I have used the IPA transcription / də / because the interpretation is subject to argument. (The pronunciation is about what popular writers would spell "duh.") Specifically, another linguist might interpret what I have written as [d] as phonemic /t/, asserting that the change in pronunciation from the citation form of the word ("voicing") can be explained in terms of adjacent sounds, an extremely common phonemenon in language.

There are also more recent phonological theorists who question the validity of the contrast approach that supports phonemic transcription, and who utilize some type of systematic phonetic approach. Most anthropological linguists—and all, so far as I know, who have worked on Louisiana dialects—have used the older system, however. For this reason, and to avoid further complication in what is certainly not a simple matter, I have avoided thse more recent questions of phonological theory.

FOOTNOTES

1. Most historians of European languages in the New World (and Africa, etc.) are now agreed that groups of sailors from, *e.g.*, England, on becoming part of a ship's crew to go to the Americas, would not be able to continue speaking their regional dialects. They would form a sort of compromise with speakers of other dialects of the same language who came from different areas and often had greatly different native dialects. This is one kind of "maritime" language. Another is a pidgin, which is a simplified version of the European language used in a multilingual rather than a multidialectal situation. Pidgin languages were often subject to secondary influence from non-European languages, especially West African languages. Pidgins were often "creolized"; that is, they became the only, or major, useful language of a speech community and thereby the native language of that community.

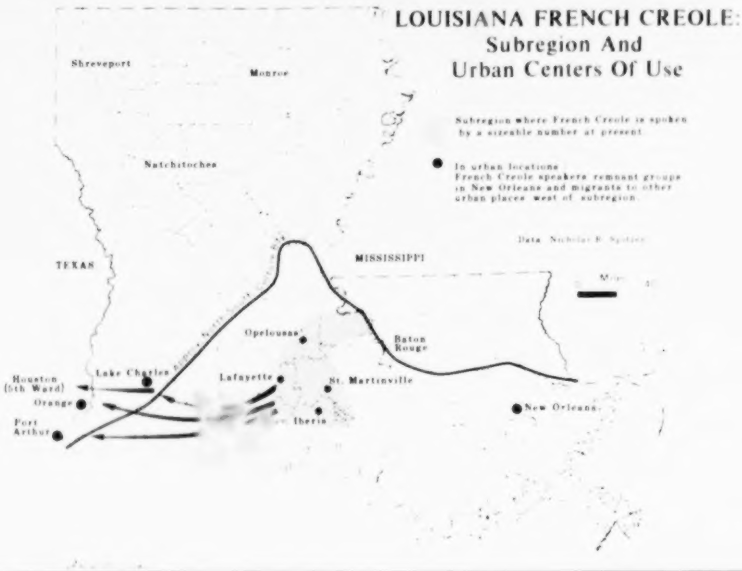
2. This designation is often shortened to *courivini*.

3. Although the non-professional linguist seldom notices it, especially in his native language, redundancy is built into all grammars in one way or another. For example, the English sentence: "Those three boys all have bicycles" signals in four ways that the subject is plural: *those* (plural of *that*), *three*, *boys* (plural of *boy*) and *have* (plural, where a singular subject would take *has*). Handbooks of usage do not attack this kind of redundancy because it is characteristic of Standard English.

4. A "leveled" dialect is a kind of compromise between different dialects, also sometimes called a *kcine*. See fn. 1 concerning the maritime dialect, the result of such a leveling.

5. A "calque" is the filling of a slot in one language with material from another. The English speaker who knows very little French and says, *Je suis vingt ans vieux* for "I am twenty years old" has indulged in several calques from his own language. In contct language situations, this calquing often becomes relatively permanent.

6. As would be expected, World War II had an even greater impact on the French speakers.



LOUISIANA FRENCH CREOLE:
Subregion And
Urban Centers Of Use

Shreveport
Monroe
Natchitoches
TEXAS
MISSISSIPPI
Opelousas
Baton Rouge
Lake Charles
Lafayette
St. Martinville
Houston (5th Ward)
Orange
Port Arthur
Iberia
New Orleans
Subregion where French Creole is spoken by a sizeable number at present
In urban locations French Creole speakers remnant groups in New Orleans and migrants to other urban places west of subregion
Data: Nicholas R. Spitzer

7. A phoneme is a contrastively significant sound in a given language. Since English *bowels* and *vowels* are not the same, we can say that /b/ and /v/ are different "phonemes" in English. Spanish speakers sometimes confuse the two words because Spanish does not have the same contrast. In the studies referred to in this essay, based on contrastive phonemics, The English "th-sound" would be considered to be two different phonemes: */e/* in *think* and */ë/* in *then*. These procedures are not te latest word in theoretical phonology by any means, but they are still used, for convenience at least, in primarily historical studies.

8. The principal reason for this problem is that many, perhaps most. Louisiana Indians do not live in tribal groups on reservations. Gregory (personal communication) has indicated frequently that there are many more Indians in Louisiana than are recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

9. A lingua franca is a language used especially in multilingual contact situations, where some compromise language has to be adopted. It may be the language of one of the speakers (like English, when a speaker of that language talks to a group whose native languages are Cajun French, Spanish, etc., in this country today) or it may be a special language developed for the purpose, like a pidgin (see fn. 1).

10. Network Standard is the dialect of newscasters on national television and of most actors, except some comedians, on the same medium. Network Standard closely resembles what the schools often call "good" English.

11. The dozens (also called "jonin" and various other things) is a kind of traditional verbal duel involving insults. Those insults often relate to the sexual behavior of the opponent's relatives, with the most telling insult being against the other's mother.

12. Morphophonemic variation refers to the kind of out-of-awareness variation which is common in structures like the "regular" past tense of English verbs. The "-ed" ending is pronounced with a vowel plus /d/ in *wanted*; as /t/ in washed; and as /d/ in *showed*. Most monolingual speakers are not aware of such factors until they hear a foreigner who tends to use the vowel in all of these; *want-ed, wash-ed, snow-ed*. It is the same kind of variation, basically, and most of us are more easily aware of it, that makes us say *sent* and not *send-ed*.

13. The creolist theory of ack English asserts that the same thing happened with the English of the slaves as happened with French Creole (see footnote 1). A pidgin language used in the slave trade became the native language of slaves, especially field hands, on the plantations.

14. A copula is what the school grammars call a "linking" verb: "The bear *is* mad./ The bear *was* mad." When no overt verb form is needed (as in a lot of pidgin and creole and in some "natural" languages like Russian), we refer to "zero copula." It is characteristic of Pidgin English (and of black English) that zero copula may occur in either a present-tense or a past-tense situation. Information about the relative time of the action is provided by other cues in the discourse, such as time adverbs.

15. See Gustav Dresel's *Houston Journal*, translated from German and edited by Max Freund, The University of Texas Press, 1954, p. 137. The original German edition, as well, contains Mobilian jargon *shockema*, "good" and Spanish *plata* 'silver.'

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Isleno *decima* singer Josephine Acosta by her home altar, St. Bernard Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer

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II. ETHNICITY, REGION, OCCUPATION AND FAMILY:
The Social Contexts for Louisiana Folklife

Traditional culture is shared within social groups. These might be communities in one locality, such as those found in a lumber camp, a cluster of hill farmsteads, an urban ethnic neighborhood or an extended family. On the other hand, they may be dispersed over a large area or region such as French Louisiana, the Florida Parishes, Barataria Bay or the Atchafalaya Basin. Members of such regional groups may not know one another personally, but they can recognize those who live in an area and share in the culture of the region or subregion. It should also be noted that ethnic groups in particular often consciously utilize their traditional cultural materials, be they foodways, language, occupations or music, to symbolize their culture to other groups in the region or to those who are outsiders in a broader sense. Indeed folklorists and anthropologists have often focused specifically on traditional practices that groups use to represent their sense of belonging to a culture. However, when groups consciously examine and present their traditional arts and other activities, a basic question can be raised. If traditional culture is used to symbolize who they are, is it still traditional? If Cajuns hold "Cajun Day" or a "Crawfish Festival," is this practice part of their traditional culture or is it what they are choosing to say about their traditional culture—that once existed —to the outsider as well as themselves? The opposite case would be people who live so traditionally that they do not view their culture as unique or in need of special celebration, as in the case of some elderly, rural whites and blacks in Louisiana. Finally, there are those traditional groups such as Italians who have long celebrated their ethnicity as well as the importance of family and community groups, as a matter of course, during St. Joseph rituals. That is, these people, though long in contact with larger society, still follow the traditional holiday and practices as part of their own culture as well as a symbol of groupness to the larger society. Most public expressions of folklife today include varying degrees of tradition, self-consciously revived or unconsciously carried on.

In the three essays that immediately follow, ethnic groups and their traditions are discussed. Rosan Jordan deals with the social and theoretical aspects of ethnicity in relation to folklife in general. In reading her comments it may be useful to remember that all that is ethnic is not "folk." Indeed much ethnic culture in America is the product of highly literate people, many of whom pay homage to their folk traditions, especially the arts, but do not carry on the oral and other traditions of folk culture. At the same time if one accepts that any group can share a "folklore," then even elite groups have traditions, from Mardi Gras balls to haute cuisine.

The essays that follow Dr. Jordan's are about New Orleans by two native New Orleanians. As such they focus on one of the most ethnically unique cities in America and the world. New Orleans as an international Caribbean-Gulf Coast port has received diverse immigrants from Europe, Africa, Latin America and the interior of the United States since its founding in 1718. Dr. George Reinecke is a Harvard-trained medievalist of European Creole descent. In addition to chronicling the ethnohistory of the city into the twentieth-century, Dr. Reinecke also asserts that New Orleans natives as a whole, whatever their particular ethnic background, have forged a citywide cultural identity through a process of creolization, whereby they may be considered an ethnic group when compared to the cultural values of mainstream America.

The final essay on ethnicity, followed by a bibliography of New Orleans ethnic culture, is by Dr. Joseph V. Guillotte III, a professor of anthropology and native of the 9th Ward. Dr. Guillotte focuses on the ethnic mix of New Orleans today and how the process of cultural mingling over time has led to the creolized identity of the present day. The maintenance and breaking of ethnic boundaries is also discussed. The study of kinship and genealogy is especially significant to anthropologists. People often use genealogies to reconstruct personal and group history in a way that reflects favorably upon their past and present status. Looking at this process is as important as the attempt at objective reconstruction of a family history. As the kinship chart in the article shows, many New Orleanians have a wide variety of ethnic groups in their ancestry; therefore, family and ethnic folklife are heavily intertwined.

The folklife of ethnic groups in Louisiana can be explored in any number of urban and rural settings. These model articles should inspire similar work in Baton Rouge, Lake Charles, Shreveport, Monroe and Alexandria, among other cities. All are greatly in need of more understanding of their ethnic cultural traditions. Later essays in this section will deal with ethnicity in rural and regional settings.

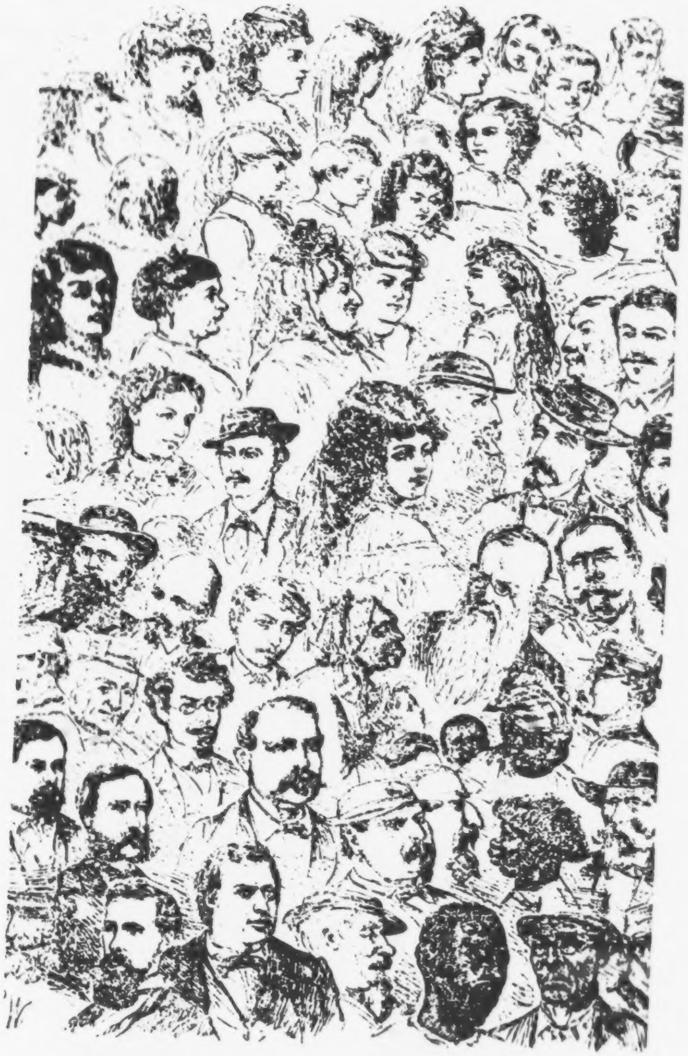
A constant flow of immigrants has made New Orleans one of the most ethnically diverse cities in America. Photograph: Justin Locke. (National Geographic Society.)

FOLKLORE AND ETHNICITY: SOME THEORECTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

by Rosan A. Jordan

Dr. Jordan is an Associate Professor of English at LSU and has done fieldwork in Mexico, Texas and Louisiana. She has collaborated on a major exhibit of Louisiana folk crafts at LSU and recently edited a volume on women's folklore.

Definitions of folklore and folklife[1] usually include some discussion of the concept of "the folk," that is, the group of people who create and use "lore." Although the term folk originally applied almost exclusively to peasants, American folklorists have insisted that any people who interact socially in groups do almost inevitably share a body of lore, no matter what class they belong to. Groups studied by American folklorists have ranged throughout the social spectrum and have included college students, ethnic groups and members of various occupations, as well as residents of isolated rural areas such as Appalachia or French Louisiana. The point here, however, is that folklore is generated and performed in groups. Focusing on the interaction of people within groups is therefore one logical approach to the study of folklore (or folklife). Such a focus leads the investigator to a specific body of material which can then be interpreted in terms of its meaning in context. On the other hand, looking at folkloric expression is also an excellent way of "defining" a group and of approaching the study of it. In other words, we might say that the members of a given group are those people who share in a certain body of traditional knowledge and behavior and that, furthermore, the study of that body of shared traditions can reveal a great deal about the group itself, just as looking at folklore as an expression of group concerns can provide a basis for interpreting the folklore. The folklorist might begin by asking questions such as: What stories do members of this group tell? What proverbs, riddles, or rhymes do they use? How do they celebrate holidays, births, marriages, etc.? While exploring these issues, the folklorist also seeks answers to a more difficult set of questions: What do these traditions reveal about the group? What view of the world is reflected in this group's folklore? What do these traditions do for the people who maintain them?



"Many Faces" by A.L. Waud Every Saturday July 1, 1871. (Historic New Orleans Collection.)

From the folklorist's point of view, then, the most interesting function of a group is to provide a context from the expression of shared knowledge, or lore. People who participate in a group know certain things in common and look at the world from a similar perspective, and their common concerns are reflected in their traditional expressions. Moreover, individuals in the group may answer for themselves the question "Who am I?" in terms of the groups they belong to, i.e., "I am a Cajun," or "I am an oil worker," or "I am a Catholic." That is, the group may have an identificational function in offering its members a sense of shared identity based on a common factor such as occupation, ethnicity, region, religion, neighborhood, etc. When we start to look at individual people, however, the question of identity is complicated by the fact that in this country an individual may, and usually does, belong simultaneously to more than one group, and some groups will obviously be more significant to him than others. A general rule of thumb is, the greater the extent to which membership in a group determines 1) who a person interacts with, 2) his concept of who he is, and 3) his cultural outlook, the greater the significance of the group might be said to be for him. Furthermore, for a given individual, being part of a particular group may be influential in one of these areas and less influential in another area. For example, he might take pride in identifying with a certain group, but the group might nevertheless play only a small part in determining his social networks or his cultural outlook. That is, a person who enjoys identifying himself as, say, Irish (especially on certain ritual or holiday occasions) may nevertheless marry outside the ethnic group and form friendships mostly outside the group. Another individual, on the other hand, might stay within the social networks of an ethnic group but consciously eschew many of its cultural forms and draw only minimally on the group for his sense of identity. This partial rejection of the group and its culture is a common (but not the only possible) reaction of individuals who are caught by circumstances (such as family ties, limited means, or skin color) within a group which they feel offers them low status because of negative stereotypes associated with it (Jordan, 1975). For example, until fairly recently Cajun French speakers were sometimes pressured to feel ashamed of their language and culture and some individuals undoubtedly internalized negative perceptions of the group and reacted by attempting to dissociate themselves from it. Many deliberately refrained from teaching their children Cajun French.

In general, however, ethnic groups are among the most basic and important of the groups Americans participate in. The popular "melting pot" theory of American immigration notwithstanding, it has become increasingly apparent in recent years that ethnicity remains an important force in the lives of Americans, even those who belong to groups which have been in this country for several generations and which are often considered to have been assimilated into the mainstream of American culture.[2] Such groups often cling to certain selective cultural traits which thus become symbolic of ethnic identity. Language, food, music and religion are examples of cultural features which, because of their symbolic associations, often provide individuals within ethnic groups a means of expressing ethnic identity and of demonstrating their commonality with other members of the group. Especially important among the cultural forms which symbolize and express ethnicity is folklore (or folklife): tales, songs, crafts, foodways, holiday rituals and other traditions.[3]

As in other groups, then, members of ethnic groups interact together and share cultural concerns, which are expressed in the group's traditions. Like other groups, the ethnic group offers its members a sense of shared identity which is symbolized by some of its cultural expressions and which individuals may draw upon in varying degrees. In the case of ethnic groups, this identity is based on common ancestry, either real or fictitious[4] Physical features (such as color or physiognomy), however, are of only secondary importance in actually determining an individual's ethnicity. More important is his participation in a shared cultural outlook and in ethnic social networks, together with how he identifies himself and how others identify him. What happens is that, like the cultural expressions mentioned above, physical traits associated with the group often develop into important symbols of ethnic identity. That actual ancestry and physical traits are not primary determiners of ethnicity is demonstrated by the fact that ethnic boundaries have been known to shift with a change in historical circumstances. In much of south Louisiana, for example, many people of diverse national origins today call themselves Cajuns; a French spelling of non-French surnames may serve to express that Cajun identity. What is important here is not actual blood lines, but how people identify themselves and how others identify them (see Spitzer, 1977). Of course a sense of identity derives also from the fact that those who have been absorbed into the group share in its cultural concerns and expressions.

Immigrants from a number of East European countries, to give another example, have settled in communities in Livingston Parish in southeastern Louisiana. Today, many members of these communities— even people whose names give evidence of divergent ancestry —identify themselves specifically as Hungarian-Americans and celebrate that identity on various festival occasions (see Degh, 1977-78). Obviously, however, immigrant groups in this country have adapted to the American cultural environment, and the traditions they maintain, as well as the identity they celebrate in exercising those traditions, are no longer identical to the traditions and identity the immigrants brought with them; instead, the traditions which survive today are those which have proved useful and suitable–almost certainly in altered form—in the new environment. Moreover, the process is ongoing; cultural forms evolve, new ones are created, and old ones are forgotten in response to changing conditions, influences, needs, etc. Various historical circumstances and the nature of the host culture into which the group moves are important factors in this process. Thus an ethnic group should not be considered merely an updated version of a former immigrant group.[5] It may have as its source one or even several immigrant groups, but all that is necessary is a sense of common ancestry (usually beyond the bounds of a single family) which sets the group apart from others within the national culture. Using this definition, Anglo-American whites and Afro-Americans would properly be described as ethnic groups, although, because they are so large and diversified, subgroups within these groups based on class or region would probably represent more meaningful entities in terms of their influence on the lives of individuals.

The history of the immigration or migration and synthesis of many ethnic groups into New Orleans illustrates very well the complexities of culture change as a dynamic process. George Reinecke describes how group after group, arriving in New Orleans, interacted with the already established French-dominated culture. Some groups were more readily absorbed than others, but each group arrived with its unique characteristics, adjusted in its own way, and made its own contributions to the cultural landscape of New Orleans, creating in the process what Reinecke argues is a distinctive "New Orleans ethnicity" to which all its subgroups have contributed and which produces "differences in custom, outlook, and values when compared with the remainder of the United States. . ." (1978: 25). Whether or not the group consciousness of New Orleanians should properly be called ethnicity, Reinecke's description does illustrate the nonstatic nature of group boundaries and identities and of culture change in response to the new influences.[6]

Frequently outsiders may think of an ethnic group as fairly homogeneous, but insiders recognize differences within the group based on class, region, urban versus rural residence, or generation. Texas Chicanos, for example, see many cultural differences between themselves and New Mexicans or Californians, and "bayou Cajuns" differ in some cultural traits from "prairie Cajuns."

Because outsiders and insiders frequently have different perceptions of a group, it is necessary when speaking of ethnic folklore to make several distinctions. First it is useful to distinguish between folklore which is used only within the group and that which is also used with outsiders, at festivals or at other events which serve as public presentations, or celebrations of ethnic identity. Then again, we may distinguish between in-group folklore which is used primarily in private spheres (as part of family and religious life) and that which is used in public (but in-group) spheres (at clubs, dances, etc.). Some folkloric expressions may be reserved entirely for use in private or at least with insiders; some may be used in a variety of situations but may carry a different meaning relative to the occasion and audience. For example, ethnic food may have different associations for an individual when it is served at home than when it is sold at a public festival (see Rikoon, 1980). More esoteric forms of folklore (in-group humor or slang, for example) may be understood only by insiders and function to affirm an individual's sense of belonging to the group by virtue of his insider's knowledge (see Jordan, 1981). Cultural expressions used in public presentations of Identity–particularly when the audience includes outsiders —are apt to be very carefully and selectively chosen. Foodways and music often function as positive assertions of ethnic identity and of allowed ethnic difference when performed in a public arena (foodways and music being two areas where people are most readily allowed to be "different" in America). Sometimes an ethnic group may become so associated with a region that symbolic expressions of its identity become significant even for individuals outside the group, and the group itself becomes almost symbolic of regional identity. For example, crawfish have in recent years become a symbol of Cajun identity, and both crawfish and Cajuns are associated in the popular mind with south Louisiana as a region, even though Cajuns are by no means the only important ethnic group in the area (see Gutierrez, 1984).

Finally, we must also distinguish between folklore used by a group and folklore about the group which is used by outsiders.[7] The latter will reflect a stereotype which group members will consider simplified, at least partially if not completely wrong, and possibly offensive (the watermelon-eating Negro, the moonshine-making "Hillbilly," or the stupendously dumb Pole, for example). The same stories about a group may, in fact, be told by both outsiders and insiders, but their meanings will obviously be different in each instance. The stereotype of a group reflected in the folklore about it may actually be one which its members enjoy—at least part of the time—the accuracy or inaccuracy of the stereotype not being the issue here. Louisiana Cajuns, for example, may be able to enhance a social occasion by reminding themselves that as Cajuns they are especially gifted in knowing how to have a good time; or an individual who works long and hard and bears many responsibilties may nevertheless enjoy thinking of himself as a carefree and fun-loving Cajun and he may when with outsiders temporarily conform to their expectations, even if such behavior is atypical. In any case, stereotypes of a group held by outsiders affect the group's image of itself and the nature of the identification it offers its members. When being identified as a member of a given ethnic group brings with it a low status and discriminatory treatment, some individuals will dissociate themselves from the group insofar as they are able to do so. Nevertheless, the positive psychological function of ethnicity as a source of identity in a large, sometimes bleak industrialized society is significant enough (at least for many people) to partially offset any disadvantages that that identity might bring along with it. For those people remaining within the group, a negative image may even be turned around and laughed at when, for example, jokes which reflect a negative image of the group are told within the group itself; in the right context, these jokes, in effect, turn the tables and satirize the stereotype rather than ridiculing the group identity. The message they carry is "See, we know what 'they' think about us and we can laugh about it because we know ourselves and we understand the complexity of the issues which form the background for the behavior 'they' are oversimplifying. And besides, the pain of it all is lessened when we can laugh about things."

Attitudes prevalent in the larger society thus have an effect on the dynamics of the groups within it. Prejudicial attitudes toward the group may weaken group ties for some individuals, especially if increasing status by leaving the group is possible for them. And when an individual's interaction with the group becomes minimal for whatever reason, then he will become increasingly an outsider, who ceases to share in the folkloric expressions of the group. Other individuals, on the other hand, may find their commitment to the group strengthened by a sense of shared suffering or a common fate. The more intensely people interact and share common interests and emotions, the more folkloric behavior they are apt to have in common. (Conversely, sharing traditions can of course strengthen feelings of belonging.) Thus questions of identity, social networks, and shared cultural forms are clearly interrelated and overlapping, and as a configuration, these forces play a role in the shaping of ethnic folk traditions.

NOTES

1. As used in this essay, the term folklore is largely synonymous with the general use of the term folklife in the rest of this manual.

2. See Abrahams and Kalcik (1978) for a discussion of the recent revival of ethnic consciousness among diverse ethnic groups.

3. See Kalcik and Hawes (1976) for a discussion of the Smithsonian's public presentation of American ethnic culture at its annual folklife festival.

A Creole of Color woman restores a tomb prior to All Saints Day in New Orleans. Photograph: Porche-West.

4. Important sociological analyses of ethnicity as a concept include Gordon (1964); Shibutani and Kwan (1965); and Glazer and Moynihan (1975).

5. For further discussion of how ethnic groups reshape old world class and culture differences in the new world, see Barth (1969); and Klymascz (1972).

6. George B. Tindall (1976) suggests that Southerners as a subgroup in the United States should be regarded as a kind of ethnic group; likewise, John Shelton Reed (1972) notes that the concept of being Southern functions like ethnicity in determining social networks, cultural forms, and identity.

7. The important distinction between the folklore *of* the group and folklore *about* the group circulated by outsiders is elaborated by William Hugh Jansen (1959).

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THE NATIONAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS OF NEW ORLEANS

by George F. Reinecke

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As a port, regional metropolis and long-time capital of a province, territory and state, New Orleans has drawn to itself ever since its foundation in 1718 a great variety of Europeans, Americans, Africans, Antilleans, Latin Americans and Asians. Many of these arrived in substantial numbers quite early in the city's history; they usually constituted an ethnic unit of longer or shorter duration. Chief attention must here be given to the more numerous elements, though minor units will also be noted briefly. It is also rather evident that in influencing each other and being influenced, these various ethnic units have created a local ethnicity, unlike any of its antecedents and yet unlike the product of the great American melting pot.

The process I refer to may be called "creolization." By this term I do not refer to any dialect of Louisiana French or English, nor to any racial group, nor to the culture of any national or racial group of old-world origin. Rather, I mean the synthesis of the various cultures in the unique New Orleans melting pot as they interacted one by one with the original French, Franco-American or Afro-French population. Until the mid-nineteenth century, they were for the most part easily absorbed into the group of French speakers in the city, but even long after this language-group was in turn swallowed up by English, the New Orleans lifestyle, common in large measure to black and white, remains markedly distinct from that of other American places. Thus it is that I propose that we call the process by which this cultural identity came into being a process of "creolization," though the word "Creole" itself will be used in its older senses, to mean the members of the French-language culture of New Orleans and its region or the French-Black dialect which exists both in south Louisiana and in the Caribbean islands.

More than 200 years ago a local woman of French origins appeared before the Superior Council of colonial Louisiana to make a deposition concerning her share of her European grandfather's estate. In brief, what she did was to appoint attorneys to sell her part of the land in France. This was her reason: "I am a Creole of Louisiana," she told the Council, "and have no thought of ever going to live in France." 160 years later, I remember another Louisiana woman of French descent sobbing about her great-niece's intended marriage. She wept because the groom was *"un americain."* She was a fifth-generation New Orleanian.

Many of the French who arrived in New Orleans during its first forty years were Canadians. These natives of what is now Quebec (not to be confused with Acadians) had already penetrated the Great Lakes and the rivers of the Mississippi valley for furs and for France, spreading a tenuous web of French presence from Detroit to St. Louis and Vincennes to the Gulf. They were already Americans, for the settlement of French Canada had begun more than a century before. These hardy men and women were accustomed to solitude, to Indians, to privations, and to near-Arctic weather. Some were the sons of the local Canadian nobility, recent creations of the French government. Others were simple *coureurs de bois* . It was surely their aptitude for survival that kept the colony going in the face of extraordinary mismanagement in France. Both Le Moyne d'Iberville, the founder of the Louisiana colony, and his younger brother, Bienville, founder of New Orleans, came from the Canadian "noblesse." So were such early New Orleans landowners as the Livilliers, Chalmettes, Trudeaus and Denis de la Rondes, to name but a few.

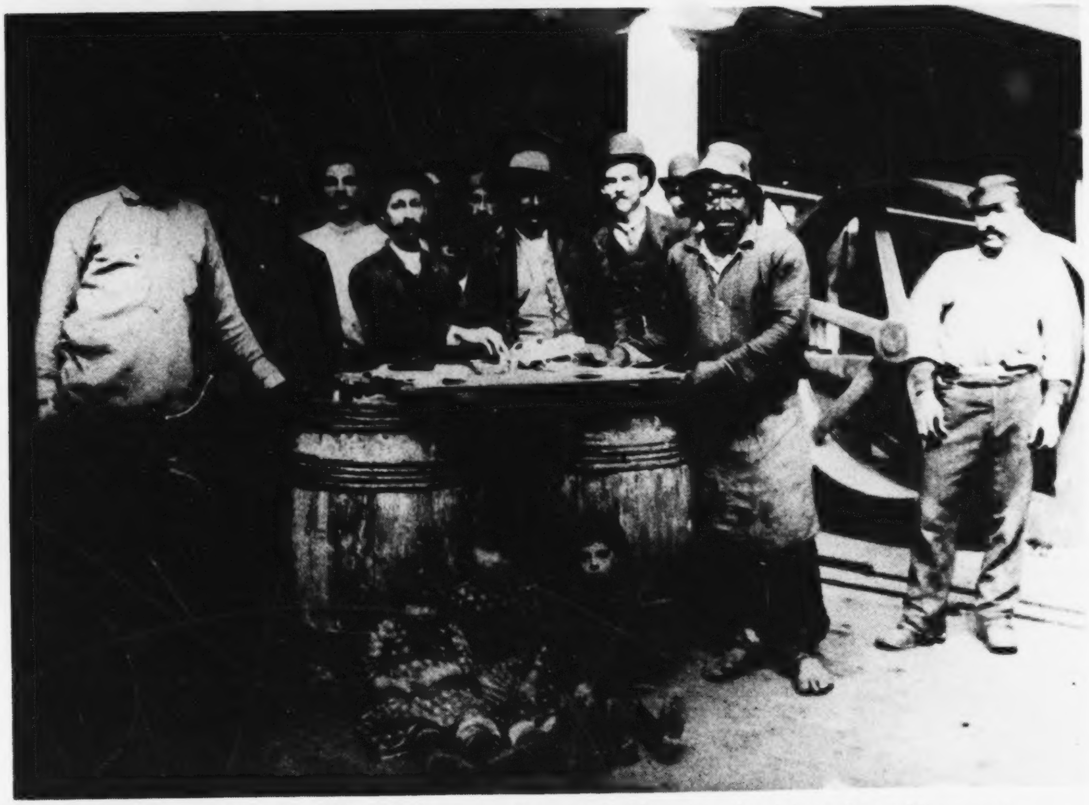
The second main source of early colonization was France itself. Although the military abounded in mercenaries of various European origins, most were surely French. French too was the clergy and all that part of the civil administration which was not Canadian. The remainder of the French immigrants was an ill-adapted group for pioneering. The best had come out to repair their fortunes in the mistaken belief that there was fast money to be made in the new colony. The least likely to work out were the minor criminals, vagrants and women of immoral life who were brought to New Orleans by the government as a result of a dragnet operation to find sufficient bodies to make the colony seem to prosper. This kind of recruitment gained permanent artistic expression in the eighteenth century writer Prevost's *Manon Lescaut*, later made into operas by both Massenet and Puccini.

As Louisiana passed through the hands of the private entrepreneur Crozat and the Mississippi Company headed by John Law, it took a few years before France began to send orphan girls of decent upbringing to provide wives and bourgeois family life for the area and its new capital. One Creole historian has proposed that the victims of the dragnet left no offspring; this is too nice to be true, but it is likely that their survival rate was low, since they were not attuned to wilderness living or hard agricultural tasks. Within a decade of the city's foundation, the "home office" of John Law's Mississippi Company in Paris was sending over German peasants to settle above the city and grow food for the inhabitants, something the French either would not or could not do. On the other hand, we know from the surviving letters of one of the first Ursuline nuns (1727) that the town was full of velvet and brocade (doubtless somewhat roach-eaten), and that the outpost already piqued itself on its imitation of Parisian elegance.

The third class of French are the Acadian refugees from British barbarism who settled the Mississippi river above the German Coast and the Attakapas area in south-central Louisiana. These displaced persons began to arrive in New Orleans about the time the French were ceding Louisiana to the Spanish (both the displacement and the cession were results of the French and Indian War). A few of these intermarried with other French families already in Louisiana and settled in New Orleans. Chiefly, however, they remained rural and agricultural until the first world war, since which large numbers of "Cajuns" have come to live in New Orleans, and especially its southwestern suburbs. Fully nine out of ten of those people who still speak French in greater New Orleans are the descendants of these Nova Scotian refugees.

A fourth group, refugees again, were the inhabitants of "Saint-Domingue" or present day Haiti, who began to turn up in New Orleans about thirty years after the Acadians began to arrive. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, "Saint-Domingue" was the richest of all European colonies because of a strict slave-based plantation system dedicated chiefly to the production of sugar. The propertied classes lived luxuriously. Between the dominant class and their slaves there developed a middle class of "People of Color." As an aftermath of the French Revolution, the slaves rose against France and their masters. Under a flag made by tearing the white out of the tricolor they drove out Napoleon's soldiers and sent the propertied classes into often impoverished exile. Many, both of pure French and of mixed ancestry, arrived little by little in New Orleans. Unlike the Acadians, they mostly remained in the city, so that they eventually doubled its population and added sophistication to its tone, since they turned to schools, to newspapers, to music and the stage in their search for the means of life. Most of them were still legally Frenchmen at the time of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, but they blended easily with the earlier French-speaking populations, intermarrying with them and altering the French accent of New Orleans, so that New Orleans French and Creole are markedly different in accent and vocabulary from Canadian or "Cajun" French. Some of the Haitian refugees stayed for a number of years in eastern Cuba before settling in New Orleans. Others sojourned for some decades in Jamaica. Incidentally, it is probable that "red beans and rice," the classic poor man's dish of New Orleans, was originally an adaptation of a dish common in the greater Antilles and made from a reddish pea rather than the local kidney bean (or red bean) of New Orleans. French New Orleanians of recent times at least have called kidney beans *pois rouges* or "red peas", not *haricots* or beans, as one might logically expect.

A fifth and often unnoticed large source of French population was an almost continuous flow of immigration from France throughout the nineteenth century. It is this continued stream which accounts for much of the vitality of the French language in New Orleans throughout the century. Following hard on the heels of aristocratic Royalists chased out by the Revolution came revolutionaries disenchanted with Napoleon. After Waterloo, they were followed by disappointed veterans. Each change of government sent its quota, but local prosperity at midcentury attracted much commerce with France; cotton and sugar were exchanged for wine, luxury items, and even cobblestones. Many Frenchmen therefore came to seek their fortunes or represent their firms; most were from the area of the port of Bordeaux, through which much of the commerce was funneled. There was some antipathy between the older and new French populations at first; the new French lined up politically with the Irish and Germans in the Democratic party while some of the old Catholic French rather naively joined the Know-Nothings. But by the Civil War these differences were pretty much healed, and the children of the new arrivals, many of whom had become quite prominent in the boom economy, were easily accepted into the new clearly separate Creole culture and language-group. Meanwhile, it was not uncommon for such newcomers to form permanent or short-term associations with free women of color, whether Louisianian from the beginning or more recently arrived from Haiti. In so doing they only imitated the established Caucasian Creole custom, and added to the nonwhite French-speaking population.



Sugar Mill payday, ca 1900. Photograph: George F. Mugnier. (Louisiana State Museum.)

New Orleans Spiritual Church shows a blending of Afro-American fundamental Protestantism and Afro-French Catholic ritual. Bishop Lydia Gilford performs a healing ceremony. Photograph: Michael P. Smith.

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The sixth and last substantial French immigration took place after the Civil War. These were peasants from the Pyrenees who found work as dairymen, butchers, restauranteurs and waiters. Many of their descendants made their mark in life, but they were not usually absorbed into the Creole ethnic group. Perhaps Americanization was by now more attractive to them. The Creoles themselves had been too traumatized by the war to continue to absorb newwcomers, or simply felt compelled to assert their former position in life by declining to "know" the newly landed Pyrenean *Gascons* and their children.

In the twentieth century, immigration from France has been much reduced, and such few as have come here have kept to themselves or associated with the general English-speaking population more than with the senescent French-language creole group. Though to this day there survive a handful of "French" associations of a social, literary, or dramatic type, most of them Creole in origin, the French-speaking membership of groups like *L'Athenee Louisianais, Les Causeries du Lundi*, etc., is made up mostly of French nationals and American academics.

Yet this does not mean that a pride in French ancestry, a devotion to old customs such as the Epiphany Cake and the visits to ancestral tombs on All Saints Day, a serious dedication to good food and drink, a general (if sometimes lukewarm) identification with the Catholic church and a surviving preference for endogamy have ceased to exist as real forces in New Orleanians of French descent. Indeed, several of these traits permeate to a similar degree the rest of the "creolized" culture of New Orleans.

Persons of black African descent have been in New Orleans, like the French, from the first day of the city's existence. They descend, if their ancestors arrived early, from the people of Senegambia, the Windward Coast of West Africa, Benin, and from Angola, further south. The early distinctions carefully drawn between them soon became blurred and forgotten even by most of the blacks themselves. But there is one line of distinction among New Orleanians of African descent which has not been forgotten. This is the difference between French-aligned (or Creole) and "American" blacks.

Some of the first blacks came almost directly to Louisiana from Africa through the entrepot of Martinique. Others came from the French islands, especially Haiti, and were already American when they arrived in Louisiana. It was rather impractical to bring to an untamed colony in the midst of a great wilderness a group of recently enslaved Africans unable to communicate with their French masters. The creole blacks of the Antilles, already accustomed to their servitude and speaking Antillean "Creole," seem to have bridged the gap. This form of French survives in New Orleans today; I am told Mayor Morial has some command of Creole.

Later, as the security of the colony grew, a greater number of African blacks were brought into the colony, whether legally or by "blackbirding" after the international slave trade was proscribed. Some of these were absorbed into the periphery of the Creole population, others into that of the newer English-speaking population. Other English-speaking blacks arrived when white settlers from the southeast or Kentucky brought their slaves to Louisiana to open up new farmland. Adding to this category were those who were "sold down the river" from the upper South with its depleted acreage of tobacco lands. Relatively few of these English-speaking blacks found their way to urban New Orleans, though a good number drifted to the city after the Civil War. In the mid-twentieth century poor living conditions in the adjacent Anglo-Saxon rural South, resulting as much from an agricultural revolution which tended to abolish the field-hand and sharecropper as from racial antipathies, sent thousands of the unemployed to New Orleans as well as the cities of the North.

Among the Creole black population, both through a two-century-long process within Louisiana and the Haitian migration previously mentioned, there grew up a large class of light-skinned "people of color," usually free or emancipated, but not possessing until our own time (except during Reconstruction) all the civil rights of the Caucasian population. These "Freemen of Color" were especially numerous in New Orleans. Commonly, the French had been reluctant to enslave their own offspring, often bestowing on them their own names and seeing to their education, whether in a trade, or in the schools and universities of France. Free People of Color published poetry and drama, sculpted in wood, did splendid ornamental iron work, put out newspapers, and conducted large businesses, owning blocks of urban real estate and major plantations long before the Civil War. As early as 1815, batallions of these American citizens fought in the Battle of New Orleans. The more educated spoke standard French as well as their own dialect, which, on the other hand, was readily spoken by most New Orleans Creole whites all through the nineteenth century. Though Creole blacks (they preferred to be called *gens de couleur* or "people of color") practiced many occupations, especially those related to building, it was their skills at music and cookery which have proved the most significant. From the one has sprung the unique New Orleans Creole cuisine, and from the other, in large part, came New Orleans' most exportable item, traditional jazz. The preference of the Spanish and southern French for highly seasoned foods helps explain the quality of New Orleans cooking, but at all times, the practitioners have been chiefly black Creoles. So, too, one can partially explain jazz by the facts that nineteenth-century whites trained people of color to play European instruments to provide music for white people's dances, and that they tolerated the preservation of African dance rhythms by permitting public black dancing on Sundays, something generally proscribed in Protestant areas. Yet, again, the practitioners were at first exclusively blacks, both "American" and Creole. Many Creole musicians are to be counted among the jazz greats of the early and mid-twentieth century.

Members of the Creole black group retain their special identity today, even after two generations (as is sometimes the case) of residence in Los Angeles or Chicago. Characteristically the Creole blacks lived in the Treme neighborhood, the Faubourg Marigny, or the St. Bernard district, all below Canal Street, though many have now moved into the formerly white parts of "Downtown" and the new eastern suburbs. It was members of this group which practiced voodoo and produced the famous Laveau family. It was long usual for the black Creole to assert his superiority over "American" blacks, and to discourage fraternization and intermarriage, at least until after World War II.

Culturally the rest of the black population has been, it would seem, less subject to the phenomenon of creolization than other portions of the citizenry. Until the post World War II period, their chief foci were grass-roots churches, small, usually Baptist, most of whose members occupied very low rungs on the economic ladder. Yet self-help was to combine with Northern missionary zeal in the post-Civil War era to found three institutions of higher learning whose graduates provided the growing number of professionals, teachers, civil service people and clergymen. This class of graduates eventually took the chief role in bringing about the dramatic social changes of modern times, along with such Creole leaders as Plessy and A.P. Tureaud, the civil rights lawyer and leader. Among Creole blacks, elementary and secondary education emerged in the nineteenth century under Catholic auspices, and notably produced a black order of teaching nuns. I have said that Baptists and Catholics predominate. Yet most Protestant groups have Negro churches in the city, among which one may be surprised to find Lutherans and Congregationalists.

There was always a degree of geographical separation between Creole-language and English-speaking blacks in New Orleans. Canal Street was the dividing line, except that the lower Ninth Ward, far "downtown," was and is more like "uptown" than like the traditional Creole neighborhoods.

After 1918, a synthesis was noticeable. Jazz was being played on both sides of Canal, and downtown seasoning was penetrating uptown kitchens. The slow disappearance of Creole language and the unity demanded by the herculean efforts at self-realization among all blacks have led to a great diminution of differences in our time.

The first wave of Germans to arrive in the vicinity of New Orleans has been already mentioned. These early eighteenth-century Louisianians were chiefly rural, and concentrated along the Mississippi, north and west of the city. They were largely illiterate, unambitious at first, and remarkably prolific. The greatest concentration were from the Rhenish Palatinate. Most of them had their origins somewhat obscured by the respelling of their names attributable to the French churchmen and civil authority, so that Troxler became Trosclair, Traeger became Tregle, and Dubs, Toups. After the settlement of the first Acadians a little above them, these Germans, already largely Gallicized, intermarried with the Acadians and with Creole French. A good many of them eventually moved to town; but even those that stayed had lost their German ethnicity and taken on a Creole identity before the next wave of Germans, one with less impact, at least in New Orleans, settled in various parts of the state, and especially the Florida parishes (i.e. the vicinity of Baton Rouge) shortly after Louisiana became a state. This settlement doubtless accounts for place names like Kleinpeter, Geismar, Hohen Solms, Essen Lane and Dutchtown in the vicinity of the present capital. Some of the second-wave Germans also sooner or later settled in New Orleans, e.g. Frederick Reinecke, who moved from Baton Rouge in 1815. Other Germans drifted into New Orleans direct from Europe all through the first four decades of the century, at first largely drawn by the tobacco trade. These came in sufficiently small numbers to be absorbed quickly, whether by the French language or English language population.

In the 1840's and 1850's the German immigration follows the pattern of the nation as a whole. Great numbers of Protestant and Catholic Germans arrived to find prosperity in the generally up-swinging economy. They founded their own churches, schools, social clubs and lodges, theaters, and daily newspapers, settling mostly outside the French Quarter in the Eighth and Ninth wards downtown and in such uptown suburbs as Lafayette (now Jackson Ave. area), Jefferson (now Napoleon Ave. section) and Carrollton. As elsewhere, after a generation or two these mid-century Germans found themselves easily and insensibly merging into the American mainstream, but there were still substantial evidences of German culture at the outbreak of World War I. Then, in an emotional climate which forbade Beethoven and rechristened sauerkraut as "liberty cabbage," the vigilance committees made any public identification with German roots hazardous. I know of an upper-class New Orleanian who bore a German middle name, and was in those days visited at home by a pistol-packing "loyalty committee" which impugned his fidelity to the American cause and generally sought to intimidate him until he showed them on the wall behind him the portrait of his German ancestor as a revolutionary officer. Under the picture was a framed letter of thanks to this officer from George Washington. The telling point, though, is that thousands of people with German names were just as American but had no such portrait or letter. Today, one would hardly know that there were German language churches and schools in New Orleans as recently as 1917. The German societies for the most part disbanded. German disappeared as an elective in the public high schools. The Lutherans today tend to retain a sense of ethnicity through their own churches and parochial schools, whereas the Catholics have intermarried more with other ethnic groups. The great German immigration left New Orleans a beer-drinking city, but except in a few households, characteristically German food has been creolized if it survives at all. A well-known case in point would be the famous old German restaurant on St. Charles Street, with its red-bean lunches. The *Deutsches Haus* organization still exists, but mainly as a rallying point for first-generation Germans and their families, and these are few in number. The very large immigration, which could at one time support several German theaters, has retained surprisingly little identity, save for family names, religion, and physical types. It leaves its traces chiefly in a few fine old buildings (notably St. Mary's Assumption on Constance Street) and in some words and phrases characteristic of the New Orleans English dialect. Where else, for instance, does "I live by mama" (compare German *bei*) mean "at my mother's house"?

Like the Germans, the people of Ireland began to arrive in the earliest days of the colony. The Irish have sought the aid of France and Spain against England throughout most of modern history. In the eighteenth century, many Catholic Irish, especially the more prominent class, took service with the kings of Spain or France, in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. For this reason one finds a good many Frenchmen to this day who bear Irish names. Marechal MacMahon was an early president of the Third Republic One of the early French officers who received grants of lands in and about New Orleans and established a prominent Creole family was the Chevalier de Macarty. A few others of less importance were also quickly absorbed into the French milieu.

The Spanish government, however, was much more generous in its use of Irish soldiers and Irish clergy to serve the Louisiana colony. The harsh but effective Alejandro O'Reilly, a native of Dublin, suppressed the French uprising against the first Spanish governor and remained to govern the colony himself. Casa Calvo's mother was an O'Farrill. Governor Carondelet had a sister-in-law named Plunkett, Lord Dunsany's daughter. O'Reilly himself was under the direct command of one of his relatives, Richard Wall, then in charge at Havana. This Hiberno-Spanish presence attracted some merchant-class Irish, especially from the English colonies. One of these, Oliver Pollock, with a house in New Orleans, was a major help in provisioning the American Revolution. Some say that Carondelet used Irish to dig his extension of Bayou St. John to the area of Basin Street. Even if this is a confusion by historians with similar later excavations, there would have doubtless been enough Irish to form an English-language nucleus for the English-speaking Americans who first trickled into the Spanish city, then poured in after its cession to the United States.

But even though the Irish could very well take an "I was here before you" attitude to their WASP brethren in New Orleans, the history of the main Irish immigration is much like that which characterized the ports of our eastern seaboard.

The institutions which these nineteenth-century immigrants developed were in many ways equally typical. The Irish, like the Germans, needed separate Catholic churches for obvious language reasons. The second Catholic parish in New Orleans was St. Patrick's on Camp Street. St. Patrick's Hall on Lafayette Square was an important meeting place. The name of Hibernia Bank explains its origin. The large number of clergy and nuns which the immigrant population attracted eventually gave to the institutions of the Catholic church an Irish coloring out of all proportion to the total number of Irish in the Catholic Diocese. To this day a parochial school child (some 60,000 in Greater New Orleans), whether named Boisseau or Maniscalco or Schulz, had better wear something green to school on St. Patrick's day or beware the consequences.

The new Irish were mostly manual laborers when the great wave started to arrive in the 1820's, but they rapidly moved into the construction trades, the saloon business, city politics and the police. Nowadays, intermarriage, chiefly with other Catholic ethnic groups, has nearly effaced the special Irish identity, except for a degree of sentimental observance of the seventeenth of March, and even the various St. Patrick's day parades and banquets have floats, as for Mardi Gras, and feature "queens" who often bear "Cajun" or Italian names. The old Irish Channel, the poor Irish district along the river above Howard Avenue, has long since lost most of its residential character, or has become a neighborhood for transients with no special ethnic flavor. For a long time the Irish lived mostly along or above Canal Street, outside the characteristically Latin part of New Orleans, but the great flight to the suburbs has tended to obliterate even this regional distinction. Nowadays, a family of Irish name, if this name is not a mask for a number of cross-marriages, is likely to eat a little more blandly and less imaginatively than the rest of the New Orleans population, to be wary of garlic and tomatoes, to be a little more puritanical and pious, but to indulge in substantial drinking of spirits, especially on Sundays after Mass. Otherwise Irishness in New Orleans is a nostalgic and somewhat artificially preserved phenomenon today, and Irish immigration here, unlike, say in Boston, has become the tiniest of trickles, except that the last decade has seen some resurgence of the Irish priest and nun.

Spaniards and Spanish-Americans have been settling in New Orleans almost without interruption from the 1760's to the present. With the Spanish colonial government which replaced that of France less than fifty years after the foundation of the city, there arrived various major and minor civil officials and a substantial number of officers and regular soldiers. Some of these were married men with children. If they themselves did not acquire lands and business interests in the colony, often their children did, and remained to marry and reside permanently in New Orleans. Many others were single, and took the examples of Governor Galvez (m. St. Maxent) and Miro (m. Le Breton) in marrying into the French planter class. Thus Antonio Cruzat, Spanish officer and son of the lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, married Victoire Chalmette and remained as Treasurer of the City of New Orleans for many years under the American regime; the parvenu millionaire Andres Almonester married the beautiful but dumb "Louison" Denis de la Ronde.

These officials and their children were soon followed by immigrants of the merchant class, mostly from Catalonia and Andalusia, who continued to arrive all through the first half of the nineteenth century. In mid-century New Orleans Catalans all but monopolized the grocery trade. They were also known as keepers of small drinking places, then called "cabarets." On the initiative of Governor Galvez, whose purpose was to develop a loyal indigenous population, a third class of Spaniards began systematically to settle strategic locations in south Louisiana, notably around Donaldsonville, at New Iberia, and just a few miles from New Orleans in the marshy area which he named St. Bernard, where the language and folklore of Spain survive today. The settlement of St. Bernard was recruited chiefly among natives of the Canary Islands, and the people of Spanish tongue in St. Bernard still identify themselves as *Islenos*, whereas the French called them *Islingues*. In New Orleans, linguistic absorption into the French-speaking majority was rapid, and became inevitable after the Louisiana Purchase. Characteristically, the New Orleans Creole of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century scarcely knew whether Gonzales and Garcia were French names or not. They were surely Creole. This fact has given rise to the incorrect notion that a Creole must be of French and Spanish descent, though in fact there were French and Irish and German Creoles in New Orleans before the cession to Spain. The Spanish merchants had in fact often married wives of French descent. Thus Manuel Blasco, native of Alicante, dealing in olive oil and wine, arrived single in the early nineteenth century and married a daughter of the local Richoux family, French on her father's side but colonial Spanish on her mother's, hence her given name, Carmelite. Their son Henri, who married my great-grandmother (a Franco-German Creole) at the end of the Civil War, gave her as a gift a copy of Victor Hugo's *Contemplations* (in French), a book the family still possesses.

Some of the Spanish were in fact Hispano-Americans, but rather few came from Mexico or Central America. The Spanish chain of command passed from Madrid to Havana to New Orleans, and the sea routes stopped in Cuba as well. Thus there was a substantial movement of people to New Orleans from that island. Though as a consequence of Latin-American political upheavals various political refugees settled either permanently or for a time in New Orleans (for instance, Benito Juarez made his living here for a time as a cigar-maker), it was not until the age of aviation that large numbers of Hondurans and Guatemalans began to move here, drawn by a favorable labor market, poverty at home, cheap fares (New Orleans is closer to Honduras than to Chicago) and political uncertainty.

After Castro seized power in Cuba, they were joined by a steady stream of Cubans, at first chiefly of the moneyed and professional class, who found a home, not a few of them coming to relatives already long established in New Orleans. Their advent has caused the visible presence of the Latin-American to increase in the city, with Cuban groceries, Latin meat markets, Spanish movies and restaurants with names like "La Caridad." Some now estimate that there are now 100,000 Spanish speakers in the area of greater New Orleans. Though this is perhaps exaggerated, there can be no doubt that the large Hispanic presence is a postwar phenomenon, and that Cubans and Hondurans make up the largest subgroups at present. There is comparatively little linguistic continuity with the eighteenth and nineteenth century Spanish, though there is doubtless considerably more in such disparate things as religious outlook, cookery, and sex-patterns.

An Italian presence is detectable in Louisiana from its earliest days, through Tonti (or Tonty), the important French officer who was moving up and down the river in the first years of the colony, troubleshooting and impressing the Indians with his iron artificial arm. Though the son of a Neopolitan financier, Tonti was of course in the French service. One may be surprised that in spite of the prominent role of Italians in New Orleans politics, he has never been commemorated further than by having a side street named after him.

Connections of Italy with Spain were stronger, however, and a fair number of Italians in the Spanish civil or military service settled in New Orleans, though sometimes a French spelling or pronunciation obscures this fact, as in the case of the Bouligny family. In the next century, a good many Italians were seamen, ship owners and the like. A number of Jean Lafitte's associates bore such names as Paturzo, Chigizola and Belucci (Beluche). Music and art, as might be expected, were also prominent areas of Italian presence. The immigration of large numbers of Sicilian peasants began in the second half of the century. Though most first came to do agricultural work on plantations, it was not long before they were coming to the city to work on the docks. The last decade of the century found them settled in ever-increasing numbers in the Vieux Carre, which was then like little Italy, with its focal point being the Italian church, built a century before by Almonester as a chapel for the Ursulines.

Resentment against the newcomers reached a peak toward the end of the century, when the Irish police chief was assassinated, supposedly by certain disaffected Sicilians. These were arrested, tried, and acquitted, but before they could be released, they were lynched in Congo Square by a mob that forced its way into Parish Prison. The death of Chief Hennessey and its ghastly consequence served to perpetuate hostilities which have barely died down in our own time. The severe cutback in southern European immigration to the United States greatly diminished the number of new Italian arrivals after World War I. Meanwhile the older immigrants had established themselves in the grocery and food trades, in popular and classical music, and a great variety of other trades and businesses. By and large, they lived in the downtown or "Mediterranean" half of the city, though the corner grocery took them into every ward and precinct.

Sixty years have now passed since massive Italian immigration ended. The Italian-speaking young or even middle-aged person is now a rarity. Nonetheless, New Orleans Italians into our own day often live close to one another, preserve ethnic customs and devotions such as the cult of St. Rosalie, characterized by processions with the statue of the saint carried on a dais, and the St. Joseph Altars of March 19, which feature elaborate Italian dishes and breads distributed to the poor after an allegorical Christian pageant by the children of the family and neighborhood. A few Italian mutual benevolence societies still survive, though "Italian Hall' on Esplanade has been converted to other purposes. The south Italian cuisine has left its mark everywhere on the New Orleans restaurant scene, and even among the most Creole of families, Italian dishes such as meatballs and spaghetti are of everyday consumption.

The younger and more prosperous Italians of New Orleans have followed the Irish in showing a romantic and sometimes intentionally comic ethnic sense, staging "civic" St. Joseph Altars, sponsoring Italian golf tournaments, backing the "Piazza d'Italia" on Poydras St., and distributing bumper stickers with such legends as "Mafia Staff Car" and "You keepa you hand offa ma car." But throughout New Orleans and adjacent parishes, within the last thirty or forty years the young Italians are increasingly intermarrying with the rest of the population, perhaps largely because of friendships formed in the parochial schools.

Thus the French, the blacks, the Spanish, the Germans, the Irish, and the Italians constitute the largest ethnic groups to settle in New Orleans. There are however, a number of smaller immigrant groups in the last century and the present one which are just as interesting. Among these are the Jews, the Greeks, the Yugoslavs (Dalmatians, Slavonians), the "Arbreshe" or Albano-Sicilians, the Lebanese, the Filipinos, and the Chinese. Of more recent arrival are the Koreans and Vietnamese, the Japanese and immigrants from India.

The first Jews in Louisiana surely date back to eighteenth-century days, but they became more visible only under the American domination, since the Spanish were hostile to their presence. Most of the early Jews came from the Antilles and from the American eastern seaboard, and counted in their number many Sephardic or Hispano-Mediterranean Jews, of whom Judah Touro, the philanthropist, became the most prominent. So generous were his gifts to almshouses, orphanages, hospitals, synagogues and churches that the city fathers once named Canal Street in his honor, though the change never met with popular acceptance. A good many among the early Jews, both Sephardic and German, found brides among the local French Christian population, and one finds Levys and Cohens among the New Orleans Creole families. The Jews from Germany generally prospered as retail merchants, quickly taking on many of the cultural traits of the rest of the population, and tending to an easygoing brand of Reformism. Only late in the nineteenth century do poor Jews from Eastern Europe begin to arrive, and then in far smaller numbers than in the cities of the East. We find most of these working in the clothing and furniture retail businesses. Whereas New Orleans resembles New York in having large Irish, German and Italian settlement, its Jewish population has consituted a much smaller percentage of the whole. There has never been a true "Jewish quarter," though, as soon as there was an American or "Uptown" neighborhood, the Jews, like the Irish, preferred it to the old predominantly French section. All the synagogues and temples of greater New Orleans are on the "uptown" side of Canal (or Touro) Street. Only in recent years have a few of these ventured from the vicinity of St. Charles Avenue to suburbs such as Clearview and Lakeview. If Jews are noticed in New Orleans today, it is either in the business world, in the religious news, or as the unquestioned leaders of fund-raising for a variety of cultural and civic activities. It would seem that if any but the minimal religious and folk customs are practiced by either Sephardic or German Jewish families, it must be by way of conscious revival. The Eastern European Jews, more recently arrived, are also more generally orthodox, and likely to conduct themselves in a separate lifestyle.

There were some Greeks in New Orleans in Spanish days. Thus there was in the late eighteenth century a Creole Spanish officer named Dragon whose daughter married another Greek named Dimitry in the early nineteenth century. Others started to arrive in substantial numbers well before mid-century, frequenting the area of the French Market, still affecting the Near Eastern fez. Some of them sold sweets and ice cream on the streets. The Greek Orthodox Church in New Orleans is the oldest in the United States, dating to the 1850's. Whereas many Greek immigrants to the rest of the United States opened restaurants, here they found this field already crowded at first, and many took up the sweetshop and confectionery business, hat-blocking, shoe repairing and boot polishing before branching out into a variety of other professions and enterprises. Their tendency to find wives in the old country and their separate religious practices and calendar have kept the Greeks of New Orleans to this day a very tight community, often bilingual and fiercely proud of their ancestry.

The Yugoslav community of New Orleans and Plaquemines Parish is prosperous today because they began the cultivation of the Louisiana oyster, until then gathered in its wild state. They developed here techniques they already employed at home in the Adriatic, so that today the harvesting and merchandising of the much-loved local oyster is chiefly in the hands of these Dalmatians. They also developed greatly the orange culture of Plaquemines and made orange wine a well-known local delicacy. Like the Greeks, many liked to bring over wives from the homeland, and relatives as well, so that the colony has been ethnically replenished as the years go by. Today a large percentage of our Yugoslavs have made their mark in the professions. They generally retain their Catholic affiliation, and many refer to themselves as Austrians, because of their citizenship when they migrated (most of the "Austrians" in the 1970 Census of Louisiana are really Dalmatians); in the nineteenth century they were more generally called Slavonians. In recent years this group has become very successful in popularizing its native cuisine, or in adapting its cooking to the seafood tastes of creolized New Orleanians. Nowadays, one can detect a strong tendency among the Yugoslavs to intermarry with the rest of the population, rather like the Italians.

The Arbreshe ("Tarbreshe" includes a definite article) or Albano-Sicilians were Orthodox Christians who fled Ottoman persecution in the late Renaissance and left Albania for resettlement in a few towns of Sicily, where they retained their Albanian tongue (Gheg), beliefs, religious practices and culinary recipes. Many of them came to New Orleans with the other Sicilians in the later nineteenth century, especially from the town of Contessa Entellina. At first they kept at a certain distance from other Sicilian immigrants, and these last often referred to the Albanians as "Guegue" with a shade of dislike implied. With the disappearance in more recent times both of the Italian and Albanian tongues, and because the Uniate Greek rite was never established formally here, the distinction between these Arbreshe and the Italian Sicilians, never perceived too clearly by the rest of the population, is now losing significance to the younger Arbreshe themselves. Former Mayor Schiro is a descendant of these Albanians.

The late nineteenth century and early twentieth saw a substantial influx of Christian Syro-Lebanese all over south Louisiana and parts of Mississippi. These were initially peddlers and merchants, selling dry goods and groceries in the country towns of the area, and buying from others who were jobbers in New Orleans. All used the Arabic tongue among themselves and worshiped in Latin Rite Catholic churches for lack of their own establishment, though the old people used Arabic prayerbooks when they attended. Today, many are prominent doctors, lawyers, politicians and businessmen. This small industrious group has never had a quarter nor been very conspicuous in New Orleans, though their presence is more obvious in the Acadian parts of Louisiana. Many Lebanese brought here a fluent knowledge of French. Therefore, at first, most lived in the downtown Creole part of town. They retain their ethnic customs and foods to a degree, and some continue to bring over relatives rather like the Greeks and Yugoslavs.

It seems likely that family tradition is correct in putting the first Filipino seamen in New Orleans during the Spanish domination. They would have come first to Vera Cruz, arriving there from Acapulco, which had a steady trade with the Philippines. Their association with fishing has been strong. In the 1870's Lafcadio Hearn wrote an illustrated article on the Filipino settlement of St. Malo in St. Bernard Parish, with its native buildings built over water. There were similar villages to the west of the Mississippi, such as Bassa Bassa in Barataria Bay. About the turn of the century, there was a small Filipino enclave on Bayou St. John in New Orleans proper, and others lived in the lower French Quarter, adjacent to the French Market and its fish trade. The Filipinos were semi-Spanish in culture and outlook. Their benevolent society, which published its bylaws not long after the Civil War, was called the "Sociedad Hispano-Filipina" and wrote its pamphlet in Spanish. They have never been present in very large numbers, though they were reinforced by further immigrants after the Spanish-American War. They have retained a fairly close unity, though there have been a few marriages outside the community. The independence of the Philippines and higher education have fostered an increased pride in the native costume, attitudes and identity. Recent repression in the Islands has sent a few liberal intellectual exiles to join the community.

It is hard to say how long the Chinese have been in New Orleans. Certainly, there were Chinese working the Millaudun Plantation near today's Tulane University in the 1870's. There was a substantial "Chinatown" near the present main Public Library well before the beginning of the present century. Furthermore, the warm and humid climate and the popularity of starched shirts and suits among the male population made a Chinese laundry as common a facility in the neighborhoods as the Italian grocery. The Chinese also seem to have been engaged in selling dried Louisiana shrimp, prepared in the swamps below New Orleans. Their chief market was doubtless found in supplying their own homes and restaurants throughout America. There were a few unpretentious Chinese restaurants in the city, at least from the beginning of the twentieth century. These have really snowballed in our time to several dozen throughout the metropolitan area, some of them very sophisticated places, and increased immigration in recent years has helped staff these. Of course the Chinese are also to be found in nearly all the professions and intellectual pursuits. Though some retained their own religious practices, locally many joined the Presbyterian church, and a Chinese congregation exists. Perhaps more than any other local ethnic group of long standing, the Chinese have retained their own speech, attitudes, and domestic culture.

Of other Far Eastern peoples, only the Vietnamese are here in substantial numbers. The reason for their presence is evident. The U.S. government brought them to America as refugees from the communists, and they gravitated to south Louisiana because of the sub-tropical climate, the fishing, and the French-Catholic presence. Most of the Vietnamese who have settled in West Jefferson and in the Versailles section of East New Orleans are Catholics. They have their own churches under the auspices of the New Orleans diocese; a number of them were already priests when they arrived. These churches practice many folk-customs not found in the Roman Church. Vietnamese have started some businesses such as groceries and restaurants, and found employment in all sorts of retail stores. They seem determined to provide for the higher education of their young people, and show an industry and ability to help themselves reminiscent of the first wave of Cuban refugees from Castro. It is too early to forecast just what will be the result of the increased wealth and position of the Vietnamese in a decade or two. One might guess that they will not remain as aloof as the Chinese have.

Japanese and Koreans are here in rather small numbers since the 1950's, and are visible through the presence of several ethnic restaurants. Most of them are either academics and medical personnel or engaged in foreign trade, especially since America has imported so many products from both countries. None of their national or cultural groups have much public visibility. The same can be said of the Indians and Pakistanis who are present as medical personnel, college faculty members and students. They tend to retain some aspects of national dress, and to show up in unexpected jobs —my auto repair man wears a Sikh turban, and all his helpers seem to be from the subcontinent. For all of these newer Asiatic groups, we must reserve most comment until they have grown and matured as part of New Orleans.

As for the older groups, though there are some tightly knit exceptions, most have passed through the strongly differentiated first and second generations to a period of powerful forces moving toward absorption into the remainder of the community. Only after prosperity and education have had an effect and another generation has appeared can we detect an emotional search for ethnic roots, always sincere, sometimes misguided, and occasionally descending to the ridiculous, as in "fractured French" business names or green beer on Saint Patrick's day.

Little noticed by most, however, is that, beginning with the French culture as acted upon by the African, Antillean, German, Spanish, Irish, Italian, and, of course, "American," New Orleans has created a civic culture which resembles a separate ethnicity. This process, which I have called "creolization," has left its mark on almost every modern New Orleanian, leaving him with differences in custom, outlook, and values from the rest of the United States, and resulting in the powerful resistance of the New Orleanian to leaving his town, even though he might better himself in so doing. I see this early in my college students. I know that it is the reason for my remaining here myself. Some call it provincial; some say it is bad or silly not to try to be like Houston or Chicago, but the ethnicity of the New Orleanian, his Creolehood, in the broader sense, is a real and powerful fact.

Filipino netmaker Narciso Pentano, Barataria. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Jean Lafitte National Park.)

CREOLIZATION AND ETHNICITY

by Joseph V. Guillotte III

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In this essay I shall discuss a topic which in one sense is antipathetic to the topic of ethnicity. This is the breakdown of ethnic boundaries through marriage and the blending of characteristics of diverse ethnic origins. However, in another sense, one cannot discuss such a process without first coming to grips with the concept of ethnicity. I hope to show how both ethnic groups and ethnic mixture are very vital to the processes and adaptation in our community.

New Orleans throughout her history has been affected by seaborne contacts. The geography of the Mississippi delta had isolated the city throughout much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from intensive land contact with the rest of the North American continent. Rather, the river, the Gulf of Mexico, and Lake Pontchartrain have been her main outlets to the world throughout the early development of the community. In this respect, New Orleans resembled the Swahili ports of East Africa before the advent of late-nineteenth century German and British colonial domination. These commercial enclaves, whose populations created a unique culture composed of Persian, African, Indonesian and Arab elements, looked not to the hinterland of East Africa for cultural stimulation but rather seaward to the Hadramaut of southern Arabia and other regions on the shore of the Indian Ocean. New Orleans affected a similar stance in that she looked to the sea and the peoples who arrived via seaborne commerce for cultural contributions.

History and geography gave our city an initial cultural debt to French and African civilizations. The Spanish rule over the French territory intensified Mediterranean influences in the southern part of what came to be the state of Louisiana. The political turmoil of nineteenth-century Europe added German and Irish to the city in the early nineteenth century. Later in the century Italian and Yugoslav immigration continued the early Mediterranean influence which began a century and a half earlier. In recent decades, Greeks, Cubans and Vietnamese, among others, have migrated to the New Orleans area. There is no reason to believe that the process of migration is over or that new groups from disadvantaged parts of the world will not make their way to our city.

The various ethnic groups which have arrived in New Orleans were either ignored or met with hostility. The earliest non-French to arrive were African slaves. These were certainly unwilling migrants, but their labors built the city. Although rigidly legislated against insofar as their freedom of movement and their interaction with whites were concerned, some of them became free and intermingled with their European masters to form a unique status group which ultimately came to be called Creoles of Color. When the Spanish took over the administration of the Louisiana colony, French resentment and even violence were directed against the new rulers. The Anglo-Americans who migrated into the New Orleans region after the Louisiana Purchase were in their turn resented by the inhabitants. The Creole-American antipathy and rivalry lasted for decades. Both groups manipulated and exploited the Irish who came here in the 1830's and after. The Irish competed for menial jobs with free and slave

Passing the cabbage at a St. Patricks Day parade in New Orleans. Photograph: Michael P. Smith.

LIVE
COCKTAIL HOUR
HOLIDAYS
FALSTAFF

Back Street parading of the Mardi Gras Indians demonstrates the cultural influence of the West Indies and Africa. Photograph: Porche-West.

Negroes, and this resulted in mutual hatred between these two ethnic groups. Anti-Italian sentiment was most dramatically manifested as well in the lynching and shooting of eleven Italian prisoners at the Old Parish Prison on March 14, 1891. Although exonerated of murder charges they were believed to be guilty of slaying Police Chief Hennessey. Other Italians were lynched in Tallulah and Hahnville during the same decade. In my own neighborhood of Bucktown, I heard of Vietnamese-owned shrimp boats being sunk in the Seventeenth Street Canal in the summer of 1977. My informants (and neighbors) told me that these newcomers were resented because they were believed to be given advantage over the older fishermen by munificent grants and loans from the federal government and Catholic Charities.

The preceding paragraph is a very sketchy list of some of the animosities directed against ethnic groups throughout the history of New Orleans. If one went into detail on this subject of ethnic exclusion, no doubt one could compile a catalogue of calamities. Attention to this aspect of ethnic acceptance (or repulsion) alone would lead the investigator to conclude that these animosities were instrumental in creating ethnic boundaries. However, I believe that my discussion will indicate that some of these boundaries through time become very porous.

A newcomer to this city is soon made aware of the word *Creole* used either as a noun or adjective. One can hear or read the word applied to people, cuisine, vegetables, architecture and language. To arrive at a minimal definition of the word as it is used by New Orleanians one would have to formulate a concept that covers all of the usages of the word. One would have to answer such questions as: What do Creole tomatoes, Creole cottages, Creoles of Color, French Creole, Creole French and Creole gumbo all have in common? Well, among other things, they all refer to foreign components that are domestically combined. The components come from Africa, France, the Caribbean, practically every country of Europe as well as other parts of the world. It is in New Orleans that the creolization, mixing, blending or syncretizing process takes place which is so crucial to my definition. I should stress here that this is a folk definition. That is, it is one which is arrived at by eliciting information from native speakers and which synthesizes their usage. It might not be the definition which a particular segment of the folk would accept but one which I as an anthropologist develop by questioning a large number of New Orleans informants from several races, classes, and occupations. As this concept applies to ethnicity, it means essentially intermarriage or mixing of ethnic groups. Again, foreign components domestically assembled! I believe that a certain amount of creolization is always going on, even among groups that often stress ethnic purity. To give an individual example, I cite the case of one of my students whom I have known for two years. When I first met him he was quite emphatic about stressing his Greek origin. He was contemplating joining the Greek Orthodox Church and was interested in researching modern and classical Greek history and culture. Early this year this student enrolled in another of my classes and seemingly had not diminished his interest in his Greek identity. I must admit then that I was somewhat surprised to see him marching in the forefront of the Saint Joseph Day parade with an Italian-American Marching Society this past March. The following week when I questioned him about this apparent change of ethnic allegiance, he seemed to take it in stride and saw no contradiction about holding two ethnic identities at different times.

In once sense, the Greek Italian-American student typifies many of us. We are able to situationally identify with a variety of associations. This is very New Orleanian and very human. I believe that this example illustrates how a person who I would call Creole (which implies blending or mixture) is at the same time able to identify with certain ethnic groups.

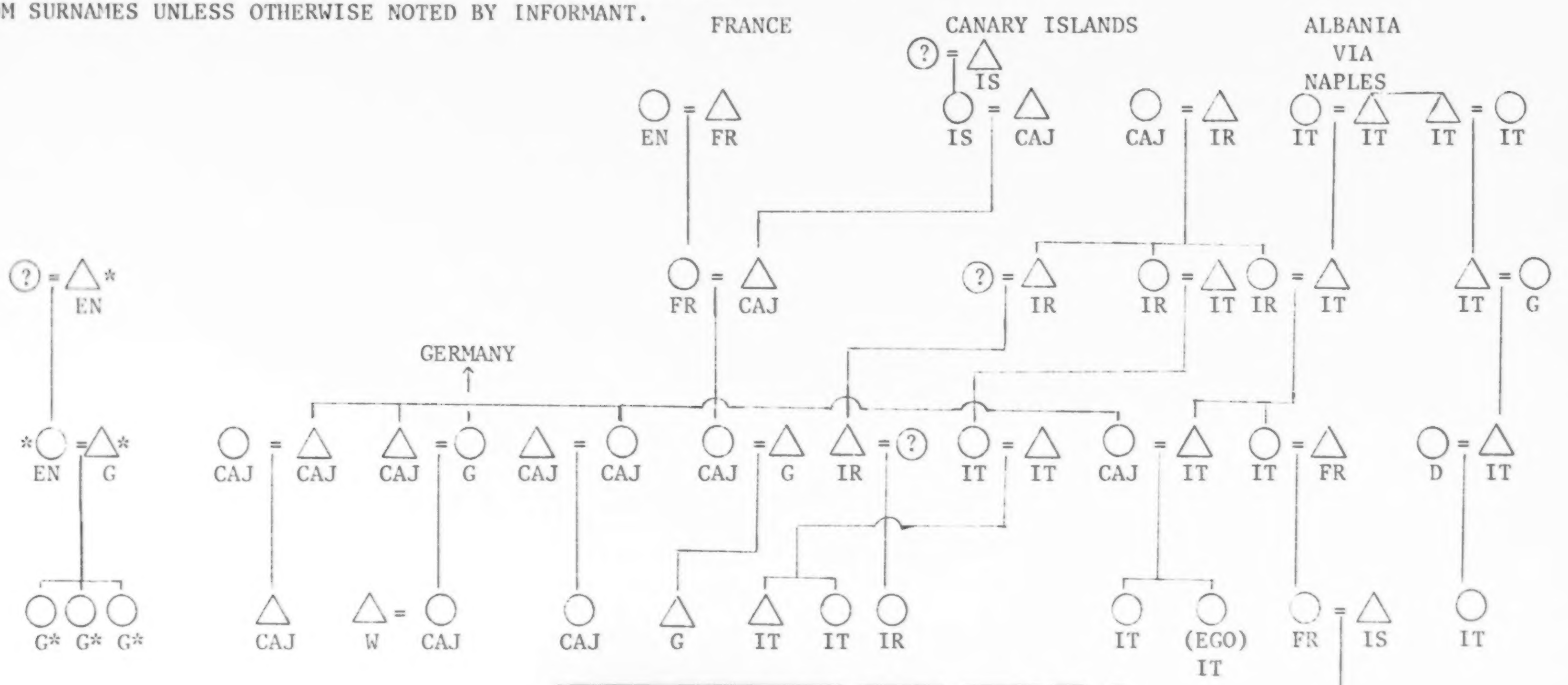
The term *ethnicity* generally emphasizes a specific group and its culture. Ethnicity would seem to be concerned with isolation and exclusiveness rather than mixture. Perhaps. Nevertheless, in the remainder of this essay I shall discuss the ways that people from a variety of backgrounds managed to maintain ethnic affiliations and at the same time combined through marriage or fictive kinship with other ethnic groups.

To give an idea of what happens to an immigrant and what types of networks of association develop over the generations, I have drawn upon a technique of sociocultural anthropology— the genealogical method. During the past several years I have been teaching a course in social structure at UNO. In lieu of a term paper I assigned my students the task of compiling a genealogy. The purpose of this was manifold. First of all, I wanted them to realize by personal "field" investigation just what concepts of kinship and marriage prevailed in their own backgrounds. Secondly, they could compare and contrast this data with what scholars had generalized about American kinship. Thirdly, they could set their data against more exotic forms we had studied.

These genealogies are also family histories. They relate, as far back as the student could trace, origins, travels, and occupations of the individuals connected to the genealogy. It is in this respect that they become relevant to our purposes, the tracing of ethnic origins and ethnic interactions. This, of course, is done at a very personal level. Some of these genealogies are astounding. The grand prize goes to one which covered eleven generations and included over 1800 people. Some are much shallower in depth but rich in collateral associations. One might say that these genealogies are slices through time that reveal our citizens' most basic biological and social contacts. They get down to the very crucial requisites

SAMPLE MULTI-ETHNIC GENEOLOGY OF A NEW ORLEANIAN (Guillotte: 1981)

UNMARRIED SIBLINGS DELETED, ETHNIC AFFILIATIONS DERIVED FROM SURNAMES UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED BY INFORMANT.



FRANCE
CANARY ISLANDS
ALBANIA VIA NAPLES
?
IS
EN FR IS CAJ CAJ IR IT IT IT IT
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EN
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GERMANY
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?
IT IT CAJ IT IT FR D IT
G* G* G* CAJ W CAJ CAJ G IT IT IR IT (EGO) IT FR IS IT
IS IS IS

CAJ - CAJUN
D - DUTCH
EN - ENGLISH
F - FICTIVE KIN
FR - FRENCH
G - GERMAN
IR - IRISH
IS - ISLENO
IT - ITALIAN
W - WELSH

△ - MALE
○ - FEMALE
= - MARRIAGE
| - DESCENT
△ ○ - SIBLINGS

LEGEND

The author (looking up) shows Islano men their geneaology chart.
Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

of humanity—birth, marriage, and death.

These personal histories reveal more about ethnicity than was intended or proposed by the project. They reveal that in the backgrounds of most of us, but a few generations removed from the present, our ancestors underwent adventure, deprivation, and grand travels and travails. Hopefully we shall be able to make some generalizations about the processes that are revealed in these very human documents.

I selected twenty of these genealogies and went through them with an eye to matters that pertain to ethnicity. I would like to present some of the information and insights that these data reveal. First of all, I was impressed by the multiethnic strands which tie an individual to other groups. These strands are sometimes also multiracial. In discussing ethnicity and cultural exclusiveness, we often lose sight of the possibility that even the most apparently homogenous group probably had a heterogenous origin. When I was doing research in Tanzania, East Africa, I lived near and did some study of a tribal people called Mbugwe. At first glance these folk would seem to epitomize ethnic homogeneity. They all (men and women) had their hair cut in the same manner. Both sexes wore toga-like cloths, usually of a plaid pattern. Male and female had the same type of tribal initiation scars upon their cheeks. They lived in the same type of flat-roofed house made of millet stalks and acacia branches. In brief, this whole society seemed to be in uniform. Nevertheless, when I began to question a person about his or her family background, invariably they would bring in a grandparent who derived from another tribe. Usually this was revealed after the informant emphasized that he or she was "pure" Mbugwe.

My New Orleans sample reveals the same pattern. Usually the farther back a person can trace forebears in the New Orleans area the less likelihood there is of a genealogy being of an exclusive ethnic derivation. The origins in these twenty genealogies are German, English, French, Irish, Italian, African, Cajun, French-Canadian, American Indian, Cornish, Australian, Welsh, German Jewish, Sicilian, Danish, Spanish, Cuban, Hungarian, Greek, Norwegian, Thai, Albanian, and Canary Islands. There was not a single genealogy that was derived exclusively from one ethnic group.

The travels of the immigrants indicated that New Orleans was in many cases the last or second to last stop on a complicated itinerary from the country of origin. What we see as immigration is not a simple process of individuals or small groups leaving one place and coming to another with no intervening residences. Rather, it seems that in the industrialized world, moving on is a fact of life and economic adaptation. These are some sample itineraries that reveal themselves over time from these family histories:

(1) Germany to Paradis, Louisiana, to New Orleans.

(2) France to Massachusetts to Florida to New Orleans.

(3) Spain to Cuba to New Orleans.

(4) The case of a Creole of Color—African branch combined with French in Santo Domingo, moved to New Orleans in 1790's and later intermarried with Spanish and Italian.

(5) Rome to Sicily to New Orleans to Leesville, Louisiana, to Lake Charles to New Orleans.

(6) Tours, France, to Lucca, Italy, to Paris to Montreal to Jefferson Parish.

(7) Albania to Sicily to New Orleans.

These lines of movement seldom pertain to one individual or group but to a family over time. Sometimes several generations are involved in such peregrinations.

Why did they come? The answer to this question is crucial to an understanding of the character of these people. Most of us have ties that bind us to a location, even a miserable location. There is a domestic inertia which is difficult to break. We can glibly state that economic disadvantages are the main reasons for immigrants leaving their homeland and setting out for a strange country. This does explain part of the reason for removal. But it does not explain all. If economic disadvantages impelled migration, why did not *all* Irish leave Erin during the potato famine? Why did not all under- or unemployed Germans leave their country? Most do not. Most resign themselves to making the best of a bad situation. I suggest that the immigrant is someone with more than the normal share of desperate courage that breaks these inertial bonds of homelands. Some, of course, have no choice in the matter and are political exiles that literally have to flee for their lives.

In our sample there are several cases that stand out as examples of noneconomic motives for migration. A young Irish Catholic woman married to a Protestant saw her marriage falling apart because of religious differences. She divorced her husband and took her small daughter on a voyage to Australia. Her ship was wrecked at the mouth of the Mississippi, and she found herself alone in New Orleans, where she ultimately met and married a young German man who had come from Berlin via France to the city. Another example is the slave revolt in Santo Domingo (which ultimately resulted in the formation of the nation of Haiti) that was the impetus propelling some of our ancestors to New Orleans.

A trend seen among Cuban immigrants is that forebears were sent to Cuba for military service. Some were sent to fight against the Americans in the Spanish-American War, and settled down in independent Cuba afterwards. An interesting note is that while in Spain these people would not have had the opportunity to intermingle since they were from different regions of the country. However, in Cuba, their common Spanish background gave them more in common with each other than they had with the indigenous Cubans. E.E. Evans-Pritchard mentioned this relative nature of ethnicity in his book *The Nuer*:

> If one meets an Englishman in Germany and asks him where his home is, he may reply that it is in England. If one meets the same man in London and asks him the same question he will tell one that his home is in Oxfordshire, whereas if one meets him in that country he will tell one the name of the town or village in which he lives. If questioned in his town or village he will mention his particular street, and if questioned in his street he will indicate his house.

So it is with ourselves. We have expanding and contracting boundaries to our ethnicity and identity. We can broadly generalize or be more specific as the situation requires. These Cubans of Spanish extraction formed a separate community within Cuba and were there an ethnic group. Here, they identify with Cubans from other areas. The common denominator is being Cuban in the North American situation.

A Sicilian family gives us some insight into the brutally poor state that prevailed in that island and in southern Italy at the turn of the century. The eldest brothers and sisters came over first. As young men reached their seventeenth birthday, they emigrated to avoid being inducted into the Italian army. When they reached Louisiana they often took menial work such as laboring in sugar cane fields and saved enough to bring over their younger brothers and sisters as they in turn reached the age of seventeen. The last to migrate was the widowed mother with her small children. Very frequently this was the pattern since women married men older than themselves and were often widowed by the time their eldest children had reached maturity.

One criterion of ethnicity is intermarriage. That is, an ethnic group is, among other things, a marriage pool or breeding population. It seems apparent that an ethnic group will maintain its identity as long as most of its members are marrying each other. When this ceases there is a good chance that the group will be absorbed into another population. As I have mentioned, in my sample we can perceive much marriage with other ethnic groups. Some family traditions are so mixed that we could say that creolization has taken place. Ethnic identity takes second place to a wider range of common denominators such as locality, religion, and even profession. Yet ethnic identities do persist. For example, a German family emphasized ethnicity over other considerations. Here ethnicity seemed even more important than religion since members are both Lutheran and Catholic. However, even in the most ethnically homogeneous families in the sample there are Italian and French connections.

People who migrated to the Cajun country were usually absorbed into the rural Louisiana French community within a generation or two. Sheer numbers of the host population would bring this about if the immigrating group was not large enough to provide wives for its members. However, after moving to New Orleans as some of our sample did, the general inclination of ethnic intermarriage prevailed.

One of the Cuban students, a young woman, showed almost exclusively Hispanic relatives. She was one of the most salient cases of ethnic homogeneity. However, she now is engaged to a New Orleans native of rather typical French, German, Irish, and French-Canadian background. If we will look again at this young woman's genealogy a few years from now, she will include all of these ethnic groups as in-laws.

One family, long settled in Louisiana, traces primarily French, Spanish and occasional Italian ancestry. The unusual aspect of this chart is that there is a definite tradition of miscegenation or interracial concubinage that is claimed by the informants. Included in the genealogy is a Creole of Color, a woman who would legally be classified as black before the Civil Rights laws were enacted. I suspect that the usual course of events in such a liaison would be that the white Creole father would acknowledge his paternity of the child born to his Creole of Color mistress, but this relationship would not be acknowledged by other members of the paternal family. However, in this case the *mulatre* woman happened to have a deed for a Spanish land grant rich in minerals in Plaquemine Parish. Consequently, all were happy to claim their "colored cousin," since by doing so there was hope of profit some day.

Two Italian families show less ethnic intermarriage than do others, although such marriages are there. An interesting note here is that both of them show creolization in the European tradition before coming to Louisiana. Both show relatives from Albania who emigrated to Sicily, absorbed that culture through several generations, and then emigrated to New Orleans. One reason why Italians seem to be more ethnically homogeneous is that numbers are on their side. So many of them emigrated that it was relatively easy for young Italian-Americans to find a spouse within their own ethnic group.

Generally what a perusal of these genealogies reveals is the binding together of representatives of several ethnic groups over time. Tendencies towards like-marrying-like might occur for the first three or four generations of life in the United States; but eventually these genealogies become more multiethnic as we reach the present. The ultimate result of this intermarriage is the creation of bridges between ethnic groups. In social anthropology we would state that cross-cutting ties develop. This means that an individual is often placed in the rather uncomfortable position of being a mediator between feuding in-laws who belong to different ethnic groups. Situations in which such a person has divided loyalties become more and more possible. Stressful as these situations are to the individual, they nevertheless represent an important adhesive that binds a complex and multiethnic society together.

The Vietnamese are one of the latest groups to add to the New Orleans ethnic mix. Here a toast is offered at a Vietnamese wedding. Photograph: Mark Sindler.

lives, especially in a Catholic city such as New Orleans, there are individuals who loom large in our heritage yet who are not related to us through blood or marriage. I am speaking of fictive kin. These are people who are more than casual acquaintances or close friends. An example would be a godparent-godchild relationship which is quite common in Catholic households. The godparents might not be related in any genealogical sense to a particular person, yet they are treated as close kinsmen. They treat their godchildren as they would their own nieces and nephews, and in many cases families are bound together for several generations by connections of this kind. For example, in my own background which is predominantly French Creole but with Irish, Norwegian and German relatives, there has been a fictive kin relationship with an Italian family since the turn of the century. These people are more than close friends. Younger people refer to older members of the fictive kin family by kin terms such as uncle or aunt. We bury each other's dead, rejoice in each other's marriages and births, entertain each other often, and generally feel that the other family is available in an emergency for solace or support. Yet these people would not be listed on my genealogical chart. After I made my students sensitive to such a relationship, they were quick to identify such in their own families' histories. In many cases the fictive kinfolk were of another ethnic group.

Thus far I have been speaking about relationships between kinsmen and in-laws. These are types of relationships symbolized on a genealogical chart. Yet in many cases in our

In this essay I hope that I have touched on some of the complexity of ethnic interaction and how difficult it is to pin down ethnicity to a particular type of interaction. Ethnic identity is situational. It is at times fiercely loyalist. At other times it is underplayed. The interaction and intermarriage of ethnic groups that I have discussed does not really hinder the perpetuation of ethnic groups over a long period of time. I strongly suspect that such contacts help to vitalize them. In a paradoxical way mixture permits us to have an ethnic identity. It opens up channels of communication with other groups. Total isolation and in-group marriage could spell doom for the ethnic group. It would be cut off from most participation in the economic and political life in the community of a complex industrialized society. As it now stands, we are left with a choice to emphasize or deemphasize our ethnicity as it suits us. Creolization and ethnic identity do not cancel each other out. Creolization gives the individual more flexibility in asserting and perpetuating his or her own ethnicity. To choose an apt culinary metaphor, I see the process very like the preparation of a file gumbo. Different ingredients such as andouille, chicken, oysters, veal and rice all retain their appearance but at the same time flavor each other.

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Wall of Cajun violin maker Lionel Leleux's home, Vermilion Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Smithsonian Institution.)

SOUTH LOUISIANA: UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN A FOLK REGION

by Nicholas R. Spitzer

The essay that follows is a broad overview of the people and processes that make south Louisiana a unique region in the United States. Although the area is sometimes called French Louisiana, because of the dominant influence of Old World French, Cajun and Creole populations, not everybody in south Louisiana is of French cultural background. Nor is there a unified dialect of Louisiana French, and all those who do have French ethnicity in one form or another do not necessarily speak French today. The cultural diversity of the region is discussed in terms of the ways in which certain groups have remained separate from or mingled with the French culture(s) over the last three centuries to form a unified whole.

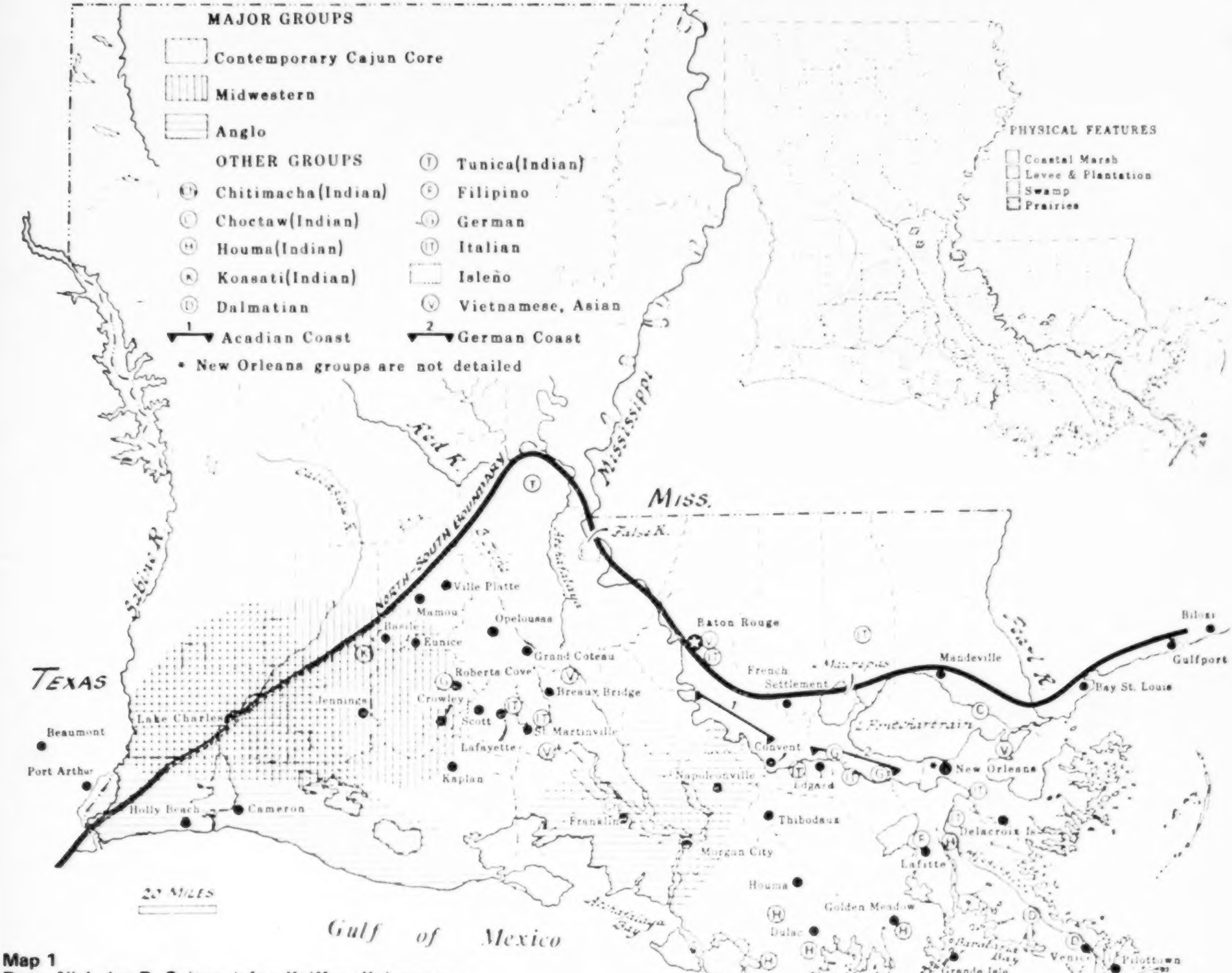
Today south Louisiana continues a decade-long cultural renaissance based largely on the survival of its French folklife, as well as the traditions of other folk groups. This regional renaissance is more than a romantic revival of folk culture. However, romantic ideas about the region (the story of Evangeline and the environmental prowess of the Cajuns) also are part of the present day thinking about the area and its history. Such romanticism—and pride—is reflected in the creation of festivals that celebrate ethnicity, heritage, food and products as well as in the resurgence of more traditional things like Cajun music, zydeco, Indian crafts and Isleño ethnicity. This article, which complements the much longer following essay on north Louisiana by Susan Roach-Lankford, is brief in part because much of the information on the relatively well documented south Louisiana is found in essays on boats, housing, foodways and occupations elsewhere in this Guide.

The author, Nicholas R. Spitzer, has worked as a folklorist in south Louisiana since 1974. He has directed the Louisiana Folk Arts and later Folklife Program of the Division of the Arts since 1978. In addition to working with folk cultures statewide, he has done in-depth fieldwork in Creole communities and produced several LPs of zydeco and Cajun music, a National Public Radio program on south Louisiana, and more recently, a film about zydeco music and Creole culture. Those interested in in-depth coverage of south Louisiana's ethnic groups and sub-regions should consult the Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview, *edited by Spitzer for the Jean Lafitte National Park in 1979.*[1]

The varied folk traditions of south Louisiana, from Cajun music and Creole zydeco to cooking gumbo, building Lafitte skiffs, and preparing Italian St. Joseph altars, reflect the great diversity of the region's natural and cultural environments. To describe French southern Louisiana as a diverse "folk region," however, is difficult, for such areas are generally defined as culturally homogenous, with relatively stable populations.

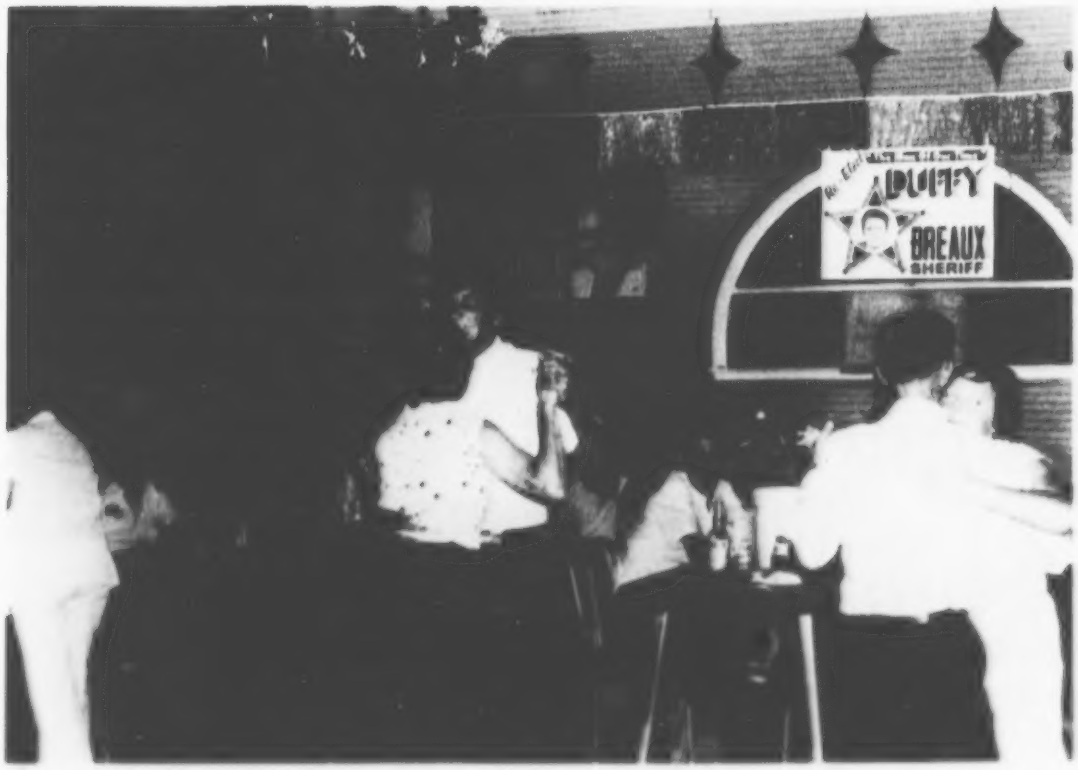
To be sure, there are regional unifying features in south Louisiana: the French language (Cajun dialects and Creole), with at least half a million speakers, Catholicism (over 50 percent), festivals, folk foodways (gumbo, jambalaya, *boudin* sausage, *andouille*, etc.) and traditional material culture (Creole cottages and folk boats). Each of these features also has a great deal of sub-regional variation due to cultural variation, isolation, historical circumstance or environmental adaptation. For example, Creole, the Afro-French language of the plantation areas, is spoken largely

SOUTH LOUISIANA FOLK REGIONS


MAJOR GROUPS
Contemporary Cajun Core
Midwestern
Anglo
OTHER GROUPS
Chitimacha(Indian)
Choctaw(Indian)
Houma(Indian)
Koasati(Indian)
Dalmatian
Tunica(Indian)
Filipino
German
Italian
Isleño
Vietnamese, Asian
Acadian Coast
German Coast
* New Orleans groups are not detailed
PHYSICAL FEATURES
Coastal Marsh
Levee & Plantation
Swamp
Prairies
TEXAS
MISS.
Sabine R.
Red R.
Mississippi
False R.
NORTH-SOUTH BOUNDARY
Atchafalaya
Pearl R.
Ville Platte
Mamou
Basile
Eunice
Opelousas
Grand Coteau
Roberts Cove
Crowley
Breaux Bridge
Jennings
Scott
St. Martinville
Lafayette
Kaplan
Lake Charles
Beaumont
Port Arthur
Holly Beach
Cameron
Baton Rouge
French Settlement
Maurepas
Mandeville
Pontchartrain
Biloxi
Gulfport
Bay St. Louis
Convent
Edgard
Napoleonville
New Orleans
Thibodaux
Franklin
Morgan City
Delacroix Is.
Lafitte
Houma
Golden Meadow
Dulac
Grande Isle
Barataria Bay
Venice
Pilottown
Atchafalaya Bay
20 MILES
Gulf of Mexico

Map 1
Data: Nicholas R. Spitzer (after Kniffen, Knipmeyer, Newton).
Cartography by Ada L. Newton

Creole sharecropper Alcius "B-5" Fontenot and two of his seventeen children on their farmstead in southwest Louisiana. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.


Re-Elect
DUFFY
BREAUX
SHERIFF

Scene at a Cajun dancehall near Galliano. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Jean Lafitte National Park.)

in a sub-region west of the Atchafalaya Basin, while Cajun French is spoken on the prairies. The latter dialect is decidely nasal with flat vowels when compared to the dialect spoken in the town of French Settlement east of the Mississippi or the remnant New Orleans French, both of which sound a bit more continental than Cajun French. Similarly, Catholicism varies from the grand tradition evoked by cathedrals in Lafayette and New Orleans to folk practices such as shrimp fleet and cane field blessings, home altars, yard virgins, *traiteurs* (folk medicine treaters) and, among a few Italian communities, processions on saints' days.

Festivals range from the large public Mardi Gras float parades of New Orleans, to the city's back streets devoted to the Afro-Caribbean black "Indians," as well as the rural country Cajun *courir de Mardi Gras*,where costumed clowns and rogues go house to house in search of chickens for a communal gumbo. There are also a burgeoning number of neo-festivals that celebrate crawfish, oysters, oil and ethnicity, courtesy of the local Cajun Jaycees or Bayou Lions Club. These festivals are not traditional folk events when compared to rural Mardi Gras, Christmas bonfires on the Mississippi (*feux de joie*) or Italian saints' celebrations for St. Joseph, St. Rosalie or St. Amico. However, the newer celebrations often do have traditional elements inserted into their structure such as Cajun music at Festivals Acadiens in Lafayette, *decima* singing at the Spanish Heritage Festival in St. Bernard Parish, or local folk foodways at nearly all the events (see appendix 5).

Food, though universally well seasoned and a social focal point throughout French Louisiana, also varies widely. Gumbo on the prairies is usually made with chicken and sausage in a dark roux, while the gumbo of the lower coast is likely to contain seafood. In New Orleans tomato transforms the dish into one the prairie dwellers would scarcely recognize as gumbo (see essay by Gutierrez).

Folk housing in the form of Creole and Acadian cottages shows some continuity of type. Still, fishermen's and trapper's houses near the water tend to be built on stilts and of simpler construction, while the inland housing along the bayous and on the prairies may be more elaborate with *bousillage* (mud and moss) walls,half-timbering, a second floor *garconniere* and central chimneys (see essay by Newton).

Folk boats built in wood are particularly subject to environmental variation. The *pirogue*, originally an Indian boat found along the coast, is used wherever there is a veneer of moisture from prairie canal to lower coast *trainasse* (a tiny path cut for a *pirogue*). The Lafitte skiff tends to be a lower-coast and offshore boat for small-scale shrimping. Despite their shallow drafts, Creole skiffs and *bateaux* have great stability when loaded, and are used in the flat water of inland swamp basins and slow bayous for crawfishing and catfishing (see essay by Comeaux).

This overall array of cultural forms in south Louisiana today is a product of nearly three hundred years of settlement. The earliest colonists tended to occupy the high ground along the Mississippi and the major bayous. It was here that French and German concessions (large land grants), *habitations* (smaller grants) and later, plantations for indigo and tobacco, were developed as part of the larger French West Indian plantation sphere of the 18th century. In the nineteenth century sugar became the dominant crop among the French and especially the newer American plantations.

In addition to plantation society were the Acadians, *petits habitants*, exiled from Nova Scotia who arrived after 1765 to become small farmers and fishermen. The Acadians of Canada became the "Cajuns" of Louisiana. Aside from the linguistic shift that took place in the name, more profound natural and cultural changes affected the group as they left a cold Atlantic coastal environment for the semitropical swamp, levee, prairie and coastal lands of south Louisiana. The first Cajuns settled levee lands along the "Acadian Coast" and "German Coast" of the Mississippi in long-lot parcels perpendicular to the water course and measured in the French *arpent* unit. The social economy of plantation growth later forced many of these smaller farmers to move into less desirable areas along the lower coast and into the Atchafalaya Swamp basin. Many Cajuns had also already settled successfully along upper Bayou Teche to the west, and some of these people spilled out onto the prairies. Today the vast "sea" of rice- and soybean-growing prairies as well as the shrimp, oyster and oil areas to the east in coastal Lafourche and Terrebonne parishes form the core of modern Cajun life (see Map 1).

The farmer-planter-mercantilists of direct French descent, German colonists, Spaniards arriving during the Spanish regime (1768-1803), *Isleños* from the Canary Islands, the Cajuns, black slaves and native Indian tribes (Bayou Goula, Houma, Choctaw) comprised most of the eighteenth-century south Louisiana population. American planters and some yeoman farmers from the Upland South arrived in the early nineteenth century. Later ethnic immigrants from Europe also added to this mix. These included Italians, Dalmations and Germans. The Italians sometimes replaced the freed slaves as sugar workers, while the Dalmatians from Yugoslavia (some by way of Baltimore) brought the knowledge and technology of fishing for oysters in lugger-style boats to the lower coast around the turn of the century. In addition to German immigrants who settled in New Orleans, many American-midwestern German farmers moved to the prairies of southwest Louisiana in the 1880's where they developed rice cultivation on a large scale.

Certainly the major non-European influence in this colonial and immigrant "gumbo" of cultures was from Africa and the West Indies. Louisiana planters had brought 28,000 slaves to cut cane and make sugar from Senegal, Dahomey and the Congo through the French West Indian trade of the eighteenth century. The early colonists, primarily French-Spanish in origin, referred to themselves as "Creoles" (from the Portuguese *Criuolo*: native to the region), meaning that they were descendants of Europeans born in the New World. When the European Creoles mixed with the slave populations in the West Indies and Louisiana, they produced an intermediate group called the Creoles of Color—the offspring of planters and slaves. Such light-skinned, often very European people were likely to be freed and given land (*gens libres de couleur*), unlike those in the Anglo-dominated South. After the Haitian uprisings in what had been the French sugar colony of St. Domingue, Caribbean refugees flooded New Orleans from 1804 to 1810. These included white French planters, Creoles of Color and French slaves. This influx added a strong West Indian flavor to south Louisiana culture. It profoundly affected south Louisiana architecture (Creole cottages, shotgun houses and wraparound porches), music (Caribbean rhythmic influence on zydeco, old-time jazz and New Orleans street music), food (gumbo, red beans and rice), religion (persistence of voodoo) and language (further emphasis on a Caribbean type of French Creole language). One can also credit the modern persistence of body art (india ink tattoo and scarification) among some blacks to this Afro-Caribbean influence. The French slaves and especially the lighter free people began to use the term "Creole" to distinguish themselves from the American blacks and the Anglo masters in New Orleans and plantation areas as well as from the Cajun peasantry encountered when such Creoles of Color migrated onto the prairies in search of land in the first half of the 19th century.

Given this complex history of contact and change, "Creole" in Louisiana today can mean diametric opposites as well as a broad range in-between, depending upon who is talking to whom about what. In the levee plantation areas around New Orleans, a Creole still tends to be thought of as a descendant from the old European colonial families. However, along Bayou Teche and out onto the prairies, the Creoles usually are those who were historically free people and now share Cajun culture to some degree. These "black Creoles" often overlap culturally with Cajuns in their speech style, religion and, to a lesser extent, music, but they are still socially distinct. As a result the term "black Cajun" is usually not an acceptable one to Cajuns or such Creoles.

Further complicating matters is the previously mentioned Creole language, which is the Afro-French speech found in St. Martin, St. Landry, Pointe Coupee and Iberia parishes, where the strongest French plantation economy was retained (see map p.45, Dillard essay, this volume). In French Creole, spoken by people of all colors, *mo couri* means "I go;" *mo té couri* is "I went;" *mo te pe couri* is "I was going" and so on. This language is remarkably similar to Haitian Creole and that spoken in other places of Afro-French contact in Africa, the West Indies and the Indian Ocean. Cajun French, on the other hand, is a mingling of seventeenth-century Acadian French and maritime French, with recent strong grammatical influences from English as well as earlier word borrowings from Indian, Spanish, German and African languages. Cajun French and Creole speakers alike in Louisiana will tell you, "The French, it changes every thirty miles." Most people who speak one type of Louisiana French can understand the other forms; however, foreign French-speaking visitors are not always as able to comprehend local dialects.

A great irony in the persistence of French folk culture in south Louisiana is that it is often among black Creoles and French-speaking Houma Indians that one finds the strongest retention of French traditions in such cultural aspects as language, religion, folk beliefs and foodways. At the same time there are a number of areas in which these and other cultural groups have also kept their identity distinct from Cajuns. For example, among the Houma Indians, who number nearly 6,000 in lower Terrebonne, Lafourche and lower Jefferson parishes, there is a reviving orientation to the tribe. Though linguistic retention is slight, there are such things as crafts (making blowguns for sport hunting and weaving palmetto baskets) and traditional environmental uses that maintain Indian identity. In the latter area the Houmas are known as great fishermen, boat builders and trappers. They also have a large number of people who are knowledgable about plant and other natural curatives. Indeed, the Indian treaters were often the source for natural medicines used by the Europeans according to folk pharmaceutical inventories made by anthropologist Frank Speck in the forties.

Two other tribes in south Louisiana, the Coushatta in Elton and the Chitimacha in Charenton, are less mingled than the Houmas with Cajun French culture though members of both groups do speak French in many cases. The Coushatta are quite conservative of their Indian traditions with the few hundred living on their reservation who speak the native language as well as some who speak the old Mississippi Valley trade *lingua franca* known as Mobilian. The Coushatta are well known for their coiled pine straw and raffia baskets as well as colorful patch clothing. Of particular interest are their effigy baskets of frogs, alligator and armadillo that have emerged in contact with the tourist craft industry of the last thirty years. The Chitimacha also number several hundred on their reservation in St. Mary Parish. They, like the Houma, maintain a trapping-fishing-agriculturalist lifestyle not unlike nearby Cajuns (and Anglos) at the edge of the Atchafalaya Basin (see essay by Gregory this volume).

An Indian cultural remnant of special note is the Choctaws, now heavily mixed with French, black and Anglo peoples, on the northshore of Lake Pontchartrain The last Choctaw basket maker near Lacombe died in the sixties, but a few people still make blowguns in the area and retain their Indian identity. Because there are similar mixes of populations in the vicinity of the Houmas and in western Louisiana, pejorative terms such as "Sabine" and "Redbone" have arisen among some locals to denote these communities. Such terms are vigorously rejected by Indian groups and the people usually move toward Indian, French or black affiliation depending upon appearance and cultural predilection.

Contemporary European groups that maintain distinct identity from the French-Cajun culture include *Islenos*, Italians and the Slavonians or Dalmatians. The Spanish-speaking Islenos are primarily found today as fishermen, hunters and trappers in lower St. Bernard Parish as well as one small group upriver in Ascension Parish. In addition to having a few of their number who still sing the ancient Spanish ballad forms called *decimas* (songs which run the gamut from tales of the Medieval Crusades to the man who "hurt his back" picking up a welfare check), a dish from southern Spain called *caldo* (meat and vegetable soup) is still served in Isleno homes. The Islenos, like the other ethnic groups in south Louisiana, pride themselves on their environmental exploitation skills. This is so much the case that anthropologist Joseph Guillotte, who has worked extensively with the group, has suggested that one aspect in particular, duck hunting, is a key symbol in their modern ethnic identity.

The Islenos in neighboring Plaquemines Parish were largely acculturated and assimilated by dominant French or Anglo populations over the years. However, another group in the lower delta of Plaquemines that has remained quite separate is the Dalmatians or Slavonians from Yugoslavia. Popularly called "Tackos" (probably a corruption of the Isleno word for Austrian: *Austrico*), the Dalmatians are renowned as oyster fishermen, which, as with the Isleno association with ducks, forms a modern livelihood-based symbol for their ethnicity. In addition to carrying on Croatian speech and foodways such as *pusherada* pastries, there are as yet unrecorded songs and dances kept alive as well as games such as *bocce* (lawn bowling in Europe) which is played in the lower delta on courts made of crushed shell.

Italians are quite populous in the northern parts of both St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes as well as along the Mississippi River. Although some came as laborers to replace blacks in the sugar cane fields, others also came as merchants and traders. Outside New Orleans, and in smaller cities where the Italian communities are substantial and diverse, people often worked first as truck farmers and later as produce wholesalers and retailers. In addition to mingling their rich food traditions with those of south Louisiana, Italian Catholicism, including the Sicilian-influenced St. Joseph altars, is the source of processions for St. Amico and St. Rosalie annually in the Donaldsonville and New Orleans West Bank areas.

Despite the presence of strong Mediterranean-Catholic groups such as these in south Louisiana it would be wrong to ignore the influences of Protestant English, Scotch and Irish peoples. For example, St. Mary Parish is Anglo-dominated, and thus the house forms and the speech of local whites and blacks reflect Tidewater and Upland South origins as well as some south Louisiana influence. In areas like upper Bayou Teche and Bayou Lafourche, the Anglo planter influence is more moderated in mingling with French planter and Cajun farming families. Especially on Lafourche, the house forms are often American Southern in type. Anglos from the mid and upland South also settled in parts of the Atchafalaya Basin such as the legendary Bayou Chene (now a kind of Anglo Atlantis, underwater in the middle of the spillway) and its refugee community. Bayou Sorrel, on the east side of the ring levee, where the accents are Southern piney wood style and the majority religion is Baptist, not Catholic. In various places on the prairie region one can also point to Scotch and Welsh settlements as evidenced in place and family names such as McGee Cove, Tate Cove, and the town of Welsh. Most of these people or places are now largely Cajun in their cultural identity. As a form of musical proof of this acculturation, four of French Louisiana's finest contemporary traditional musicians are Octa Clark, Dennis McGee, Wallace Reed and Varise Connor.

Although Cajuns tended in the early nineteenth century to acculturate and/or assimilate German, Spanish, English, black, Indian and other populations they were in contact with, they have over the last fifty years been increasingly affected by the modern influx of Anglo-American people and culture. Thus today in urban and rural Cajun communities one hears less French spoken, and more country and western music performed— part of a general cowboy-Texan influence. Much of this acculturation was due to the introduction of hard-topped roads, English-language textbooks and the media, the involvement of Cajuns in military service during World War II, and the tremendous influx of oil industry service populations in the twentieth century. Less obvious, but still significant, Anglo and German cultural impacts on Louisiana prairie Cajuns reach well into the nineteenth century. German midwesterners and Anglos from Texas and elsewhere came to the prairies after the Civil War. They settled in the pattern of the midwestern farmstead, bringing with them its two-story I-houses and wheat-farming technology that was converted to use for growing rice. The Germans may also have introduced the button accordion to the region, now the mainstay of Cajun music. The contact with

"Le coup de main." **A cooperative work tradition in French Louisiana where neighbors aid the sick and destitute or help one another bring in the crop. Literally translated, the expression means "blow of the hand." Photograph: Gnietee Vachon, 1977. (Center for Louisiana Studies.)**

Houma Indian boatmaker Lawrence Billiot in front of a framed out Lafitte skiff, Dulac, Terrebonne Parish. Photograph: Marjorie Hunt. (Smithsonian Institution.)

Texans grew later during the oil-industry expansion, when Cajuns migrated to Texas border towns, like Port Arthur and Beaumont, to work in the refineries. Texans likewise came to Morgan City, Houma, Lafayette and Lake Charles in oil related jobs and brought with them their speech sytle, Western swing music and Anglo worldview.

If Anglo culture in the region has affected Cajuns, in the twentieth century, black American culture has had a similar impact on Creoles. For example, they have tended increasingly to listen to black popular music rather than their own zydeco style of French music. Until recently anything that seemed "Creole" or "French" was considered passe or "country" by black Creoles who found themselves excluded from Cajun society and at the edges of black American society. Lately, however, a return to Afro-French Creole identity has paralleled the general renaissance of Louisiana French culture.

Louisiana Creoles are increasingly interested in their unique mix of African and European traditions. This is evidenced in the impressive resurgence of zydeco music (and dance halls) which reflects their own diverse history in its mingling of Afro-Caribbean rhythms, Cajun tunes and black American blues tonalities. Creoles recognize zydeco as their own music, but are also aware of its close relation to Cajun style. Zydeco symbolizes in part their participation in the broader culture of French Louisiana.

Cajun music has also come to represent the survival and reawakening of Cajun culture, thanks in part to the efforts of the Smithsonian Institution and its fieldworkers in the 1960's and 1970's as well as various local groups. Cajun culture and society, which at one time absorbed the European Creole planters, Spaniards, Germans, Anglos and others, still sets the cultural tone for the region as a whole. Cajun ethnicity, now symbolized by the once-derided crawfish, has expanded to a region-wide consciousness to the point that newcomers in the oil industry seem to accept at least the French music traditions and foodways, and claim their "Cajun-ness" in a short time.

In part, the regionalization of Cajun culture is a tribute to its persistence over the years. Further, some underlying unities provide a contrast to the region's diversity and make the label "Cajun" a commodious one. For example, material culture activities, like boat making and carving duck decoys, are shared to varying degrees by Creoles, Anglos, Islenos, Slavonians and Italians throughout the area. Many members of these distinct groups speak at least contact Cajun French. Coexistence in the regional environment also permits shared experiences in hunting and fishing, not to mention floods and epic hurricanes. Perhaps the most basic unifying feature of nearly all the ethnic groups who affiliate with this Mediterranean-African-derived folk region is the presence of and participation in the Catholic Church, with its vaulted above-ground tombs, looming cathedrals, and ritual-festival complex. All Saints and Mardi Gras celebrations in south Louisiana and related areas of the Gulf Coast are unique in American Catholicism. Even a relatively small group of Spanish and Tagalog-speaking Filipinos, who were part of the shrimp drying and processing platforms that existed in lower Barataria Bay until the fifties, come under the umbrella of the Church, with their own folk practices involving placement of conch shells on highly decorated white worked tombs. Further, many of the newest Asian immigrants to the region, the Vietnamese, are Catholic and participate in fleet blessings as well as Church celebrations of their own New Year (*Tet*). The Vietnamese have also recently begun to open restaurants and stores that serve their food and to build shrimp boats which reflect a mingling of Asian and Gulf Coast designs.

Beyond the concept of Catholicism as a unifying regional force, the folklife fieldworker interested in kinship and geneaology in south Louisiana cannot help but hear from people that they are related in one way or another to a variety of groups. "Your Creoles, now they are mostly French, mixed with the Negroes from Africa, some Indians and a lot of Spanish," says one man with coffee colored skin and blue eyes in St. Landry Parish. "Aaah, the Creoles, they're the old French and Spanish and maybe German families," says a white New Orleanian. "I guess you'd have to say we are: 'Italian Islenos,' 'black French,' 'French Indians,' 'Cajun Tackos,' 'Irish Cajuns,' and . . . 'Cajun Texans,'" say several of others I've interviewed. Such volunteered terms suggest the intricacy of the history, ethnicity and varied traditions of south Louisiana's peoples and cultures. Anthropologist C. Paige Gutierrez has described the region as "South of the South." To this I would add that it is north of, and connected to, the Caribbean. As such, south Louisiana promises to have a continued complex balance of unity and diversity on its cultural landscape.

FOOTNOTES

1. A shorter version of this article appeared under the same title in the 1983 Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife Program Book. I would like to thank the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs for their kind permission in letting me utilize this material. I am also indebted to C. Paige Gutierrez who's thoughts on the nature of regional culture in south Louisiana have been very helpful. Much appreciated support for my south Louisiana fieldwork, research and writing in the last five years has come from the Smithsonian Institution, Jean Lafitte National Park and Louisiana Division of the Arts.

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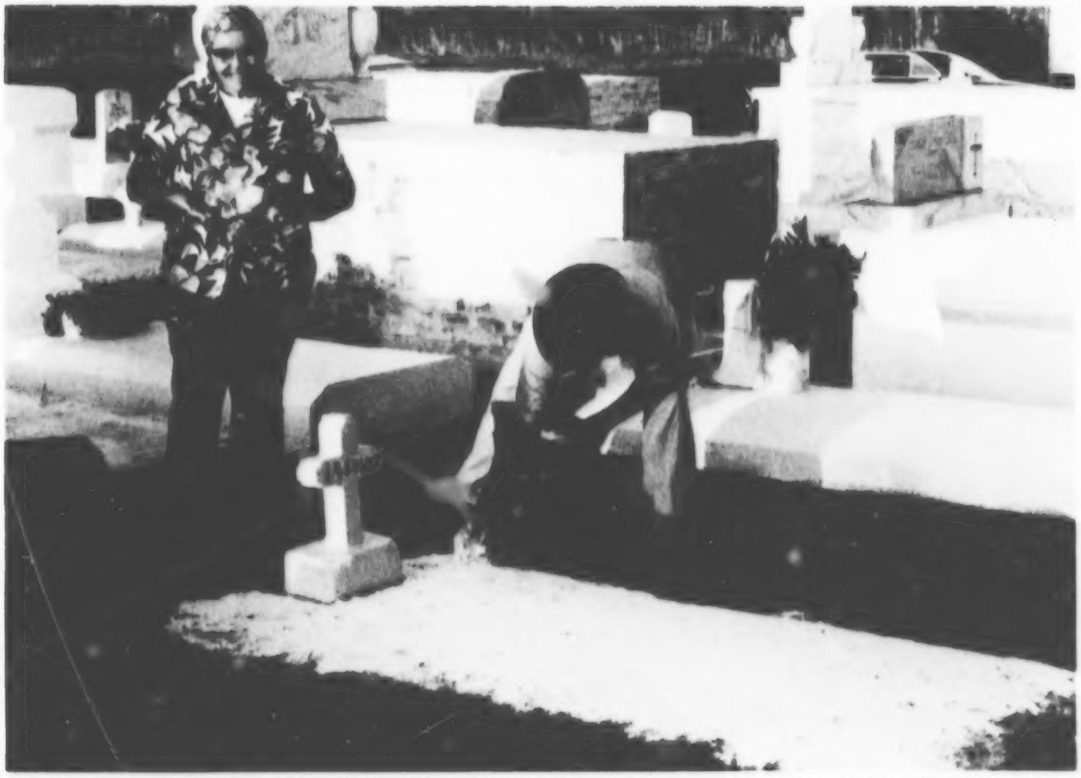
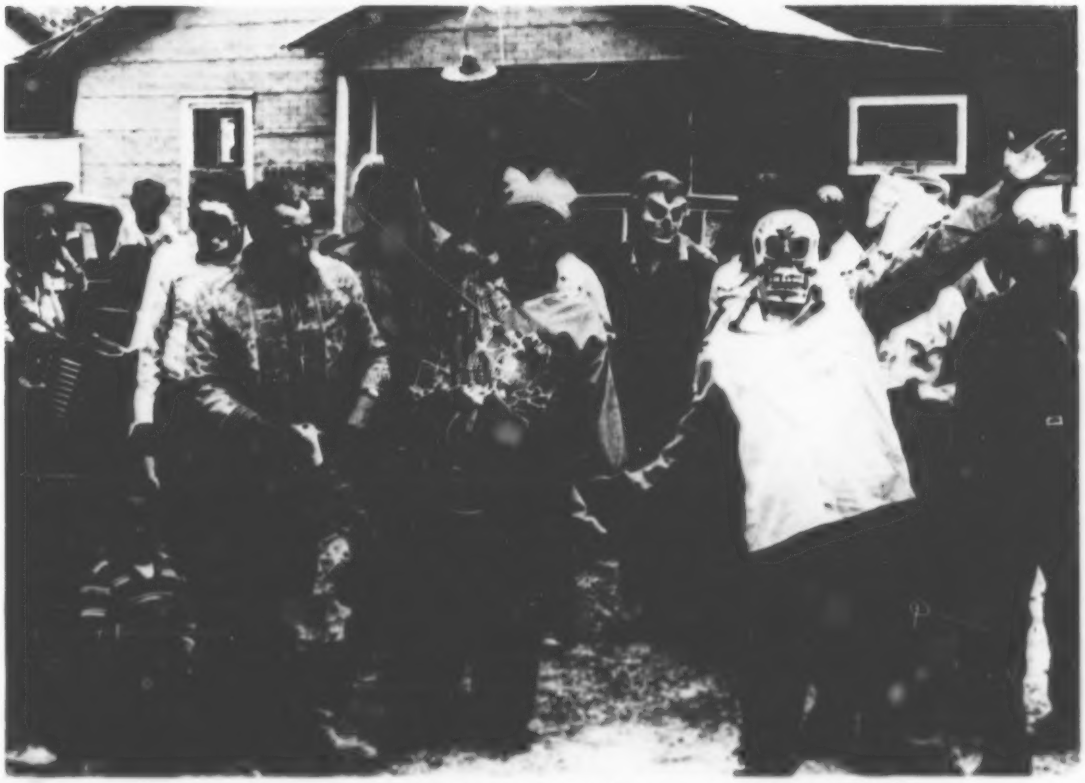
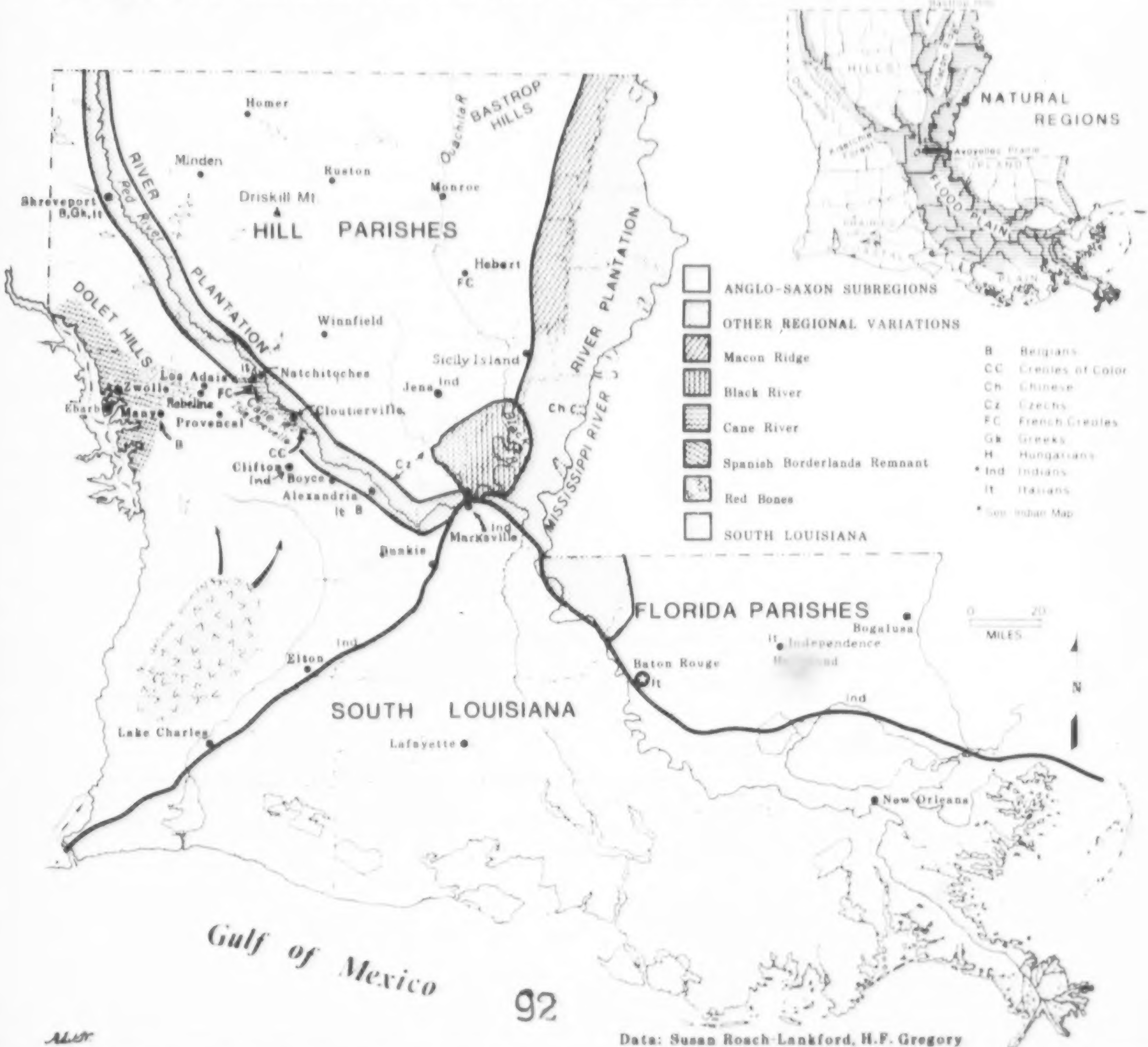


Cajun couple on All Saints Day decorating their son's grave, Church Point, Acadia Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Smithsonian Institution.)



Rural black Creole *Courir de Mardi Gras*. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

NORTH LOUISIANA FOLK REGIONS

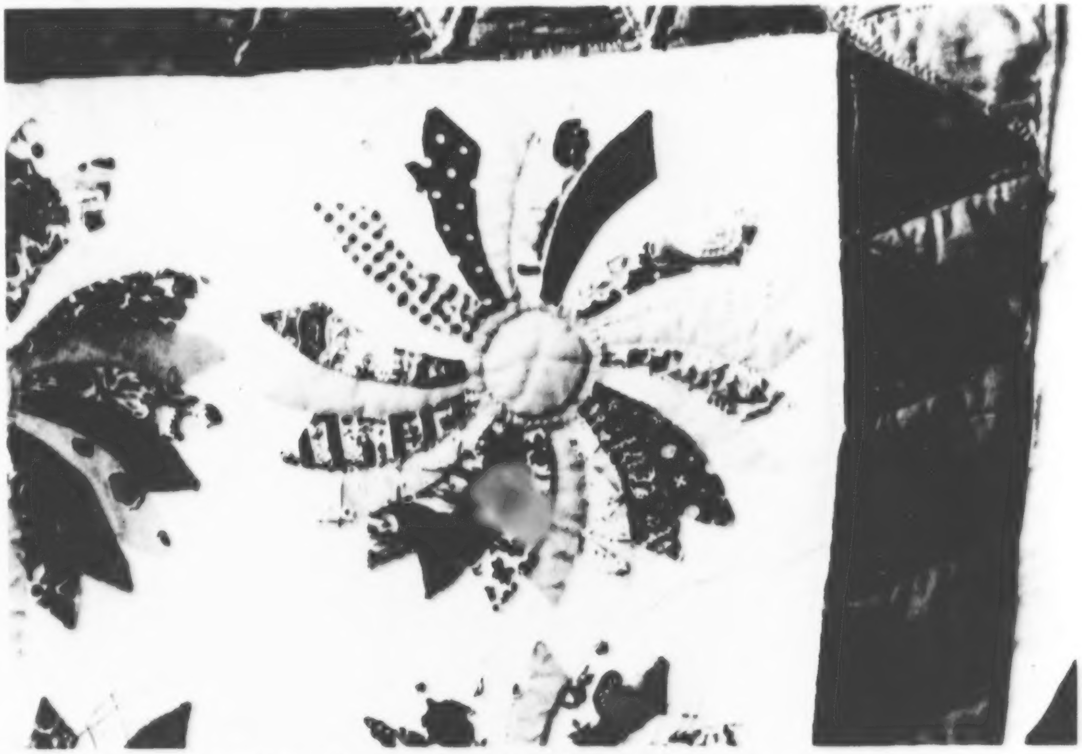


NATURAL REGIONS
HILLS
Avoyelles Prairie
UPLAND
FLOOD PLAIN
PLAIN
Homer
BASTROP HILLS
Ouachita R.
Minden
Ruston
Monroe
Shreveport
B,Gk,It
Red River
RIVER PLANTATION
Driskill Mt
HILL PARISHES
Hebert
FC
DOLET HILLS
Winnfield
Sicily Island
RIVER PLANTATION
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
Los Adais
Natchitoches
It
FC
Zwolle
Ebarb
Many
Robeline
Provencal
B
Cane River
Cloutierville
Jena
Ind
Ch
CC
Clifton
Ind
Boyce
Cz
Alexandria
It B
Ind
Marksville
Bunkie
FLORIDA PARISHES
Bogalusa
It
Independence
Baton Rouge
It
Ind
Elton
Ind
SOUTH LOUISIANA
Lake Charles
Lafayette
New Orleans
0 20
MILES
N
Gulf of Mexico
ALW
ANGLO-SAXON SUBREGIONS
OTHER REGIONAL VARIATIONS
Macon Ridge
Black River
Cane River
Spanish Borderlands Remnant
Red Bones
SOUTH LOUISIANA

B	Belgians
CC	Creoles of Color
Ch	Chinese
Cz	Czechs
FC	French Creoles
Gk	Greeks
H	Hungarians
* Ind	Indians
It	Italians

* See Indian Map

Data: Susan Roach-Lankford, H.F. Gregory



Detail from quilt by Minnie Lee Graves of Hico, Lincoln Parish "Pinwheel" made about 1930. Photograph: Susan Roach Lankford.

THE REGIONAL FOLKLIFE OF NORTH LOUISIANA

by Susan Roach-Lankford

More often than not in public discussions of north Louisiana culture it is someone from Cajun country or New Orleans doing the talking. Thus, the northern part of the state, sometimes called Anglo-Saxon or even "British" Louisiana, does not get its due as a region filled as it is with vibrant folk cultural traditions. There is a tendency to merely lump north Louisiana with the rest of the South. While this part of the state is more like other areas of the mountain and lowland South, it also has cultural features which are distinctive across its piney woods, plantation lowlands, red clay hills, delta region and Florida parishes. In many ways north Louisiana is the most traditional part of the state. It has remained the most isolated, has received fewer immigrant groups and been subject to less economic growth than south Louisiana. Yet there has been an unfortunate prevailing feeling, even among residents, that the region is not culturally important. As folklorists, cultural geographers, anthropologists, community leaders and others look more closely at the north Louisiana culture, the firmament of tradition and special sort of cultural diversity on its landscape becomes clearer. Anthropologist H. F. "Pete" Gregory, a native of the northeast delta region, has asserted that north Louisiana is a "patchwork quilt." This suggests whole cloth continuity of Anglo-Saxon culture as well as separate strips that connote class differences between yeoman farmers and planters as well as ethnic diversity including Indians, French, Spanish, Italians, Hungarians and Chinese in the region. The essential counterpoint influence of black culture in music, foodways and overall cultural style is also important.

Susan Roach-Lankford is a native of Lincoln Parish. She has spent a number of years studying north Louisiana folk traditions and has authored a variety of publications on regional folklife. One on music, "The North Louisiana Stringband," is in the Louisiana Folklife Recording Series. She has also been active researching and presenting traditional quilts in museum exhibits. Ms. Roach-Lankford is currently completing her doctorate in anthropology at the University of Texas with a focus on quilting.

Any Louisiana native knows there is a difference between north and south Louisiana. Yet, because of media and scholarly attention given to south Louisiana, outsiders often seem to think of all rural Louisiana as "Cajun." Such misconceptions about the state have been numerous throughout its history, as noted by Colonel Samuel Lockett, a geographer conducting a topographical survey of Louisiana in 1869:

> Few persons not citizens of Louisiana have a correct idea of its physical features . . . They imagine its surface to be a great plain of wonderful fertility wherever arable, but largely composed of jungles, swamps, marshes, lakes, sloughs, cane, and cypress brakes . . . But these misconceptions will be speedily dissipated by a journey into the interior of the state. One will soon discover that few states of the Union possess a greater diversity of surface, soil, climate, scenery, and products than Louisiana. And certain it is that no state has a more varied and interesting population. (Lockett, 1969:44)

This interesting north Louisiana population, which distinguishes itself from the Cajuns of the south Louisiana parishes today, has much in common with other upland Southerners from east Texas to the Carolinas with a few variations particular to Louisiana. North Louisiana peoples include:

> . . . Rednecks or Crackers, Plantation Aristocracy, Blacks, Indians, and mixed groups—"Redbone" is their local pejorative. A few Creoles and Spanish Indian isolates further complicate the picture—alike but not identical—these people exist, not only because the accidents of history have thrown them together, but because the economy and geography of the state have kept them apart. (Gregory, 1981:5)

Scholars have suggested a number of boundaries between north and south Louisiana, using various mappable cultural traits such as French-English linguistic differences, Catholic-Protestant religious preferences, voting preferences and material culture such as housing (Newton, 1972:48; Kniffen, 1968:5; Gregory, 1981:24; Smith and Hitt, 1952:136).[1] Even though these boundaries vary slightly, they tend to follow the French-English linguistic boundary described by Kniffen. This boundary begins in the southwest corner of the state, where the Sabine River empties into the gulf, and runs northeast to the point where the thirty-first parallel crosses the Mississippi River and then runs southeast through the mouth of the Mississippi (Kniffen 1968:8). North Louisiana, then, is the area north of this southern Louisiana triangle formed by the French-English linguistic boundary (see Map). The area includes lowland river valley, upland hills, and the northeastern Florida parishes. Although the Florida parishes are south of the thirty-first parallel, they have more in common with the northern area of the state both geographically and culturally and can be considered along with north Louisiana. Today this boundary, of course, is becoming less distinct, "blurring" under various cultural and urbanizing influences (Newton, 1975); however, the northern part of the state still displays its own distinctive characteristics. Although north Louisiana does have much in common with south Louisiana and other upland South states, a peculiar complex of geographical, historical and cultural circumstances sets north Louisiana apart as a folk region.

Geographically, the north Louisiana region is quite diverse. The natural regions include the hill country, the Mississippi River flood plain, the ten to fifteen mile wide Red River Valley, and terraces or blufflands (Kniffen, 1968:8-9). The largest region, the hill country (or uplands), covers the northwestern central parishes, extending as far south as Beauregard and Rapides parishes, interrupted only by the Red River Valley, with its rich red soils and bottom hardwoods. Also, the eastern Florida Parishes of Washington, Tangipahoa and St. Helena may be designated as hill country. The upland region has mature soils of fair quality, commonly grey or sometimes yellow or red with a hard clay subsoil. The dendritic drainage system consists of local creeks and bayous which discharge into the Red or Ouachita rivers. Around the creek bottoms are strips of alluvium. The upland forests are mixed, with oaks and other hardwoods and short leaf and loblolly pine in the northern parishes and longleaf and slash pine in the parishes south of Winn.[2] The hill country has few distinguishable "ranges," with the exception of the Kitsatchie Wold, the highest point of which is Driskill Mountain at 535 feet above sea level.

The Mississippi River flood plain, with its natural levees and swamps, includes the area east of the Mississippi River to the Ouachita and Black rivers and contains the richest alluvial soils of north Louisiana. The flood plain is intersected in the northeastern parishes by the Macon Ridge, a terrace region of bluffland with rich loessial soil and hardwood forests. Bluffland also runs through the western Florida parishes. With their richer soils, the river valleys, flood plains and blufflands became the prime cotton country and the plantation areas.

The ample hill country forests gave rise to "log culture," the widespread use of logs for construction. Core areas of log culture, still recognizable in 1949, included the area between the Red and Ouachita rivers, extending into Arkansas, in the Bastrop hills east of the Ouachita rivers, the Dolet hills between the Red and Sabine Rivers, and the Florida parish hills (Wright, 1956:1-6). At the height, log culture also spread across the Macon Ridge into the Mississippi River flood plain and the natural levees of the Tensas Basin and the Red River and Tangipahoa River valleys. The richness of the valleys, the exploitation of timber, and the improvement of communications all contributed to the retreat of log culture (Wright, 1956:9).

The terrace flatwoods or pine flats make up the remainder of the north Louisiana region. Covering the southeastern Florida parishes (including southern St. Tammany, Tangipahoa and Livingston) and parts of southwestern parishes (including Calcasieu, Beauregard, Allen and Evangeline), the pine flats are the area of the poorest soils and mixed longleaf forests (Kniffen, 1968:8-9; Lockett, 1969:45-48).

The climate of north Louisiana is more continental than that of south Louisiana, with hotter summers and colder winters, with an average temperature of 65.9ºF. Average winter temperatures are in the forties with some snow in the northern parishes. The growing season, shorter than that of southern Louisiana, ranges from 220 days in the northern parishes to 259 in the more southern region, which permits cotton growing but hardly commercial sugar cane (Kniffen, 1968:25-26).

The heavy forests of north Louisiana prohibited easy exploration and forced the first Spanish explorers of DeSoto's army in 1540 to use the Mississippi River for travel to Mexico rather than the overland route across the north forests (Davis, 1975:18). Living mainly in the lowland areas and hunting in the dense forests, Native Americans inhabited north Louisiana at this time. They included the linguistic family of the Caddoes in the northwest, especially around the Red and the Sabine rivers, the Koasati (Coushatta) in the southwest parishes, the Natchez in the east, and the Tunica in the northeast corner. By the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, their numbers had been greatly reduced, with some tribes, including the Natchez, completely gone (Davis, 1975:14). They were basically farmers, practicing slash and burn agriculture, supplementing their crops with hunting and fishing.[3] After 1803, Indian lands were gradually sold to whites, causing the tribes to move westward out of the state. The Indians in north Louisiana today are mainly descendants from the Koasati, Coushatta) and Choctaw tribes that migrated into Louisiana after Europeans began settlement (Kniffen, 1968:113). The Koasati today on the border of north Louisiana settled near Elton in Allen Parish in 1884 and maintain some tribal traditions such as their coiled pinestraw basketry, a craft used primarily on the tourist market now. According to older Koasati wire grass sewn with dogwood inner bark was originally used instead of pinestraw and raffia (Gregory, 1981: 12; deCaro and Jordan, 1980: 19).

The Choctaw still present in north Louisiana migrated from Mississippi and settled in north and central Louisiana. Later they moved from the northern parishes to LaSalle, Rapides, Jackson, and Grant Parish near Jena. The Jena band maintains relations with their parent tribe in Philadelphia, Mississippi, and about twenty members continue to speak their native language (Intertribal Council of Louisiana: 13). A few Choctaw are still scattered throughout the Florida parishes, especially St. Tammany. A few native Choctaw crafts such as deer hide-tanning and basketry are still practiced. Although modern training programs have put many in skilled or industrial positions, the Indians of north Louisiana are still basically rural farmers, trappers and fishermen (Davis, 1975: 14; Intertribal Council of Louisiana: 24).

Throughout the migrations and settlements in Louisiana, Indians of various tribes have intermarried with other tribes and ethnic groups to create syncretic cultures which have functioned to separate north Louisiana from Arkansas, Mississippi, and east Texas.

> Along the Sabine River in Northwest Louisiana a small island of mixed Indian and Spanish culture remained unique, founded by the descendants of Spanish colonial and Mestizo traders and soldiers.
>
> In a few isolated places, at the edge of the valleys and the margin of the pine woods, unique Anglo or French-Indian communities developed where old colonial families mingled with new immigrants from Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas. In LaSalle and Catahoula Parishes, it was Scotch-Irish, French, and Indian. In Western Louisiana at times it was a mixture of Anglo-Saxon, Indian and Creole (French and Black). (Gregory, 1981:5)

Thus, Indian folkways have infiltrated the European traditions, often creating in north Louisiana a unique folk culture. A more obvious contribution made by Indians in north Louisiana is the great number of place names from Indian tribes and their language such as Natchitoches, Calcasieu, Catahoula, Coushatta, Bistineau, and "bayou," just to name a few (Kniffen, 1968: 113-114). Although the settlement of the area took its toll on Indian culture, the Indians nevertheless left a permanent mark on north Louisiana.

The first Europeans to displace the Native Americans were Spanish explorers and French colonists. The French colonists after 1700 did little to break up the forests for agriculture, preferring instead to trap and trade. In 1714, St. Denis established the first permanent settlement within the current boundaries of Louisiana on the Red River, Natchitoches, to strengthen French claim on lower Louisiana and develop trade with the Spanish. The establishment of the Spanish post to the southwest, Los Adais, followed the Natchitoches settlement. The rich alluvial soil of the area allowed the development of agriculture, an additional benefit from the Natchitoches settlement (Kniffen, 1968: 121-122). In order to clear the land and to cultivate the popular indigo and tobacco crops, slaves were imported from the West Indies in 1716 and 1718. By 1720, they were brought in larger numbers directly from Africa, and the basis for the plantation system was laid in Louisiana (Davis, 1975:xviii). The Louisiana indigo crop developed disease in 1783, which caused farmers to look to other crops-sugar south of the thirty-first parallel and cotton to the north. Cotton was first planted in Louisiana in 1718 by Emanuel Prudhomme on a plantation near Natchitoches; however, it was not grown to any extent until the invention of the cotton gin in 1792 (Hansen, 1941:61).

The Natchitoches-Cane River area was greatly influenced not only by the French Creole planters but also by an enclave of *gens libres de couleur* from the Isle Brevelle colony supposedly founded by Marie Therese, a freed slave. The colony, with successful plantations reached its peak of affluence in 1832. Its well-educated and refined residents of mixed ethnic origins (French, Spanish, Indian, and African) held themselves aloof from the "red-necked Americans" who lived in the poor pine woods that surrounded the rich Cane River plantations,(Mills, 1977). The special legal status of free people of color was, of course, outdated with the end of slavery. The small Catholic church of the colony, the Chapel of St. Augustine, remains a center of life in their socially unique community.

Today the Cane River area still cherishes the French heritage of the colony, preserving the French Creole architecture and promoting other aspects of Creole culture such as Cane River cake and Natchitoches meat pies. This strong Creole heritage of Natchitoches and the Cane River country sets this area somewhat apart culturally from the rest of north Louisiana, which is dominated by Anglo- and Afro-American cultures.

Even the measurement of land shows this French influence. The land along the lower Red River, like the Mississippi River, was divided using the French arpent measuring system. In Louisiana the width of a grant, commonly eight arpents (about 1500 feet), ran along the natural levee, while the depth, forty arpents (nearly 8000 feet) extended into the backland swamps (Kniffen, 1968:122). This system of surveying was used also along the Mississippi River front and remains today, although there is little evidence of it in the landscape (Phillips, 1951:3).[4] The Florida parishes, on the other hand, had little French influence, having gone from Spanish rule to British in 1763. British colonists from Virginia and the Carolinas migrated to the rich blufflands of this area, bringing tobacco and British farming practices with them (Kniffen, 1968:126). The British of the Florida parishes divided their land differently, using a system of metes and bounds in which boundaries run independently of a regular survey system. The land was divided into irregular holdings with widely isolated dispersed settlement patterns (Kniffen, 1968:132).

After Louisiana became part of the United States with the Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803, migration was slow to north Louisiana probably partially because of such misconceptions as stated in the *Winn Parish Enterprise*: "No one wanted to live in the swamps with alligators and mosquitos and perish with yellow or malaria fevers" (Wright, 1956:18). Initial exploration of the north Louisiana,hill country area was done by lone hunters, trappers, and traders. North Louisiana settlers began to arrive in greater numbers after 1820, and migration was even heavier after the annexation of Texas in 1845 (Wright, 1956:18). The majority of settlers in the north Louisiana hill country were natives of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Tennessee (Wright, 1956:18). In the areas of the Mississippi and Red River deltas and in the Felicianas, where cotton plantations flourished, there were more settlers from Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky (Smith and Hitt, 1952:208-210).

Although most were American-born, these settlers of various socio-economic levels were predominantly of Scotch-Irish descent.[5] Their ancestors had been Scottish Presbyterians; however, by the nineteenth century, most of the Scotch-Irish settlers moving to Louisiana had been absorbed by the Baptist and Methodist movements in the United States. Nevertheless, the Scotch-Irish world view of identifying religion with character was retained and became a shaping force in molding the staunch, non-nonsense Protestantism still prevalent in north Louisiana:

> Religion was, of course, a set of beliefs intellectually subscribed to and understood in logical detail, but it was also a quality of character that taught a person a clear distinction between right and wrong with no compromise permitted. The result was definite regidity of character; it was often a stern severity that was as hard upon others as upon oneself. (Leyburn, 1962:321)

This association of moral uprightness with religion also dictated behavior:

> The rigorous standards of Presbyterians and Puritans, shared by Methodists and Baptists (and possibly even derived by them from the older denomination), long taught that it was sinful to dance, to play cards, to attend theater, to break the Sabbath by any diversion, and to engage in frivolous pastimes. (Leyburn, 1962:322)

This, of course, is in sharp contrast to the more tolerant traditions of the English Episcopal church and the Roman Catholic church. This difference is still quite apparent today; travellers in Louisiana are soon struck by wide differences in mores between north Louisiana Protestants and south Louisiana Catholics.[6] Evangelical Protestant influence is no doubt partly the inspiration of the laws prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages in most of the hill parishes and Sunday closing laws of one kind or another (Trout, 1955:210).

The Scotch-Irish severity can possibly account for the prevalence of simple functional forms in the architecture of the Scotch-Irish pioneers. Of course, in the early settlements, there was little time for the artistic:

> Nothing in the background of the Scotch-Irish whether in Scotland or Ulster, had drawn their attention to painting, sculpture, architecture, and music and nothing in their way of life during the eighteenth century in America provided an incentive to develop interest in the finer arts . . . Education was zealously sought, but in the scholastic tradition of the Middle Ages rather than the liberal tradition of the Renaissance: belles-lettres were absent; the Bible sufficed for literature. (Leyburn, 1962:324)

The Scotch-Irish, like other Calvinists, believed in self-reliance, improving their own condition in life, thrift, hard work and the taking of calculated risks (Leyburn, 1962:323). Their optimistic self-reliance, with the belief that God helps those who help themselves, was to become a vital tenant of the north Louisiana (and general American) world-view

The actual religious practices of the Scotch-Irish varied in north Louisiana according to the specific Protestant denomination. Generally, Protestants in the area have been evangelical fundamentalists of mainly Baptist and Methodist persuasion and a few Presbyterians. Many slaveholders held religious services for their slaves, who adopted their masters' religions with some modifications. Consequently, the majority of blacks in the area today are also Baptists and Methodists; however, their churches remain, for the most part, separate from whites, although their traditions are similar. Early church meetings for the pioneers and the slaves before the war were often held in brush arbors and directed by an itinerant minister with little regard for denominational differences. However, north Louisiana communities were quick to build churches as soon as the population could support them. An 1886 pamphlet advertising for new settlers for north Louisiana notes the presence of churches:

> With the exception of the parish of Natchitoches in which Catholic religion predominates, north Louisiana is Protestant, and the people are of decided religious tendencies. There is no settlement without its church and some of them have two or three different denominations. It is always safe to settle among a church-going population. (Tompkins, 1886:120)

Even after churches were built, periodical revival and camp, or tent, meetings would be held in various regions, drawing crowds of all denominations from several surrounding communities.[7] Often those ministers conducting these meetings and pastoring the churches were traditional folk preachers with a "call to preach" but with little formal education.[8]

Many community churches still maintain a complex of religion-related traditions which were common in frontier and plantation days. Sunday afternoon singing with "dinner on the grounds" can still be found. In fact, gospel singing, an important aspect of Protestant worship service, may be even more popular today with the expanding country-western music market. Often gospel singing ensembles are composed of family members who visit different area churches to "witness for Christ" through their music. Gospel techniques and four-part harmonies are usually learned at a young age through the oral tradition and hymnals (often still using the shaped note system). At the turn of the century, many churches sponsored singing schools held by travelling music teachers who taught gospel music with the seven-note shaped system. Black gospel music includes much of the same music as white gospel since many of the songs were learned during slavery and were sung in the fields along with work chants. Often rhythms are more upbeat, and the African tradition of call and response is used in the singing[9]

Churches in many areas are also an important part of a complex of burial traditions. Older community cemeteries are frequently located at churches and are the focus for annual Memorial Day services. For this event, church and community members and families who have moved away gather to commemorate their dead with a religious service and an outdoor dinner, often followed by a "graveyard working," in which the gravestones are cleaned, grass trimmed, and flowers placed on graves. [10] In earlier days before power mowers, graveyards, like yards, were kept free of grass by scraping with a hoe.

Black cemeteries, like their churches, have remained segregated,[11] and their graves are often decorated with bits of glass, broken clocks, and other symbolic objects in addition to traditional headstone markers. This practice may be based in African tradition, as are many other practices in black religion, from the emphasis on ecstatic religious practices to the institution of the burial society to the Easter Rock ceremonial dance (Gregory, 1962:18).

In contrast to burial above ground in south Louisiana, graves in north Louisiana are below ground. Gravestones have changed from the crude red ironstone rock markers of the poor pioneers and slaves to the upright granite and marble headstones of later settlers and contemporary rural residents, although the modern Forest Lawn-type cemetery is becoming the burial choice of many today. Family plots in old church cemeteries were sometimes set apart with a wrought iron fence. Many early settlers, especially before there were nearby churches, established family cemeteries on their own land. Although some of these have been neglected and taken over by new forests, many of them are still conscientiously cared for by family members who make periodic visits. This tradition of keeping the family together even in death remains strong. Even in the modern cemeteries, family members are still reserving several adjacent plots to insure that they will be buried with their families.

This importance of family is also apparent in other religious traditions, especially rituals connected with funerals, weddings and holidays. Even though funeral rituals are now directed by funeral homes, funerals continue to be strongly religious occasions attended by the extended family of the deceased. In more rural areas, wakes are still occasionally held at the home or church of the deceased; however, this practice usually now takes place at the funeral home. Rural community members continue the tradition of bringing food on the days before the funeral for the bereaved family, so that the extended family can gather for meals before and/or after the funeral.

Extended family meals are also common on religious and secular holidays such as Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving or New Years. Sundays are also a time for family visiting. During these visits infants and young children are often the focus of attention, perhaps reflecting a cultural attitude toward family perpetuation. This traditional emphasis on family and religion makes up an important part of the culture of north Louisiana and has, no doubt, functioned to maintain the rather conservative atmosphere in the area.

Although the Scotch-Irish Protestant immigrants were the shaping force of north Louisiana culture and basically absorbed other cultures, it is necessary to mention other ethnic groups who came into the area. In 1835, a German colony was founded on a thousand-acre grant near Minden by a group of socialists who were exiled from Germany for their political philosophy (Arndt, 1941:379). Germantown colony broke up in 1871 because of internal disagreements. Many of the members remained in the state, and their descendants settled in various parts of the state. There are still German names in the Minden community (Arndt, 1941:433).

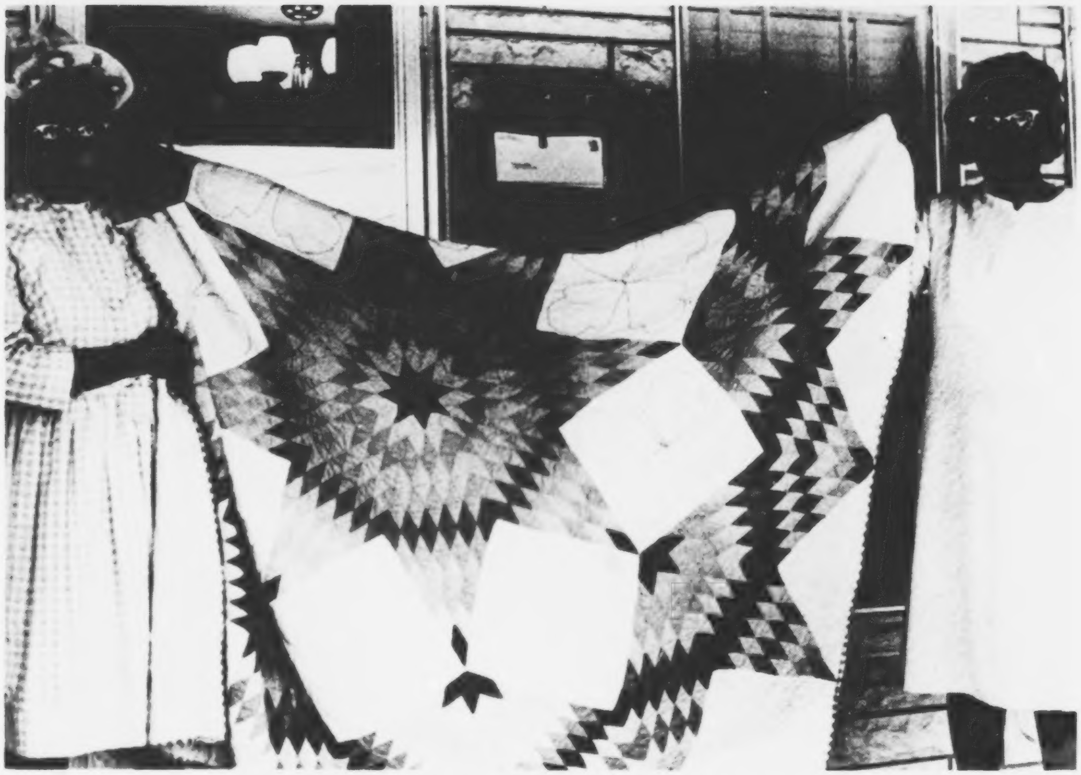
Other small communities of non-Anglo European groups were scattered over the north Louisiana area. These include Italians in Shreveport and Alexandria, Czechs near Alexandria, Belgians at Many, Spanish at Robeline and around Zwolle, Germans in St. Tammany Parish, Bohemians in Rapides Parish, Hungarians in Livingston and Tangipahoa parishes, and a few French scattered along the Red River as far north as Natchitoches (Smith and Hitt, 1952:46-49; Hansen, 1941:47). These groups, who came to the area seeking better opportunities, have gradually been merged with the dominant Scotch-Irish, Anglo-Saxon culture. This is not surprising since practically no foreign group makes up as much as one-half of one percent of the population in any parish (Smith and Hitt, 1952:47). Consequently, most of their Old World traditions have disappeared or blended with the dominant culture. With the recent media and festival emphasis on cultural roots, many of these cultural groups are attempting to revive or recreate their customs and history.

Some of the early settlers were seeking refuge instead of land or political freedom. During the eighteenth century, a neutral strip of land between the Red and Sabine rivers known as "No man's land" was a haven for outlaws. By the early nineteenth century, there were a few settlers scattered throughout the north Louisiana forests (Wright, 1956:17-18). The first people in the area settled close to the only easily travelled routes—the rivers. Here the land was richest and the prices highest.

With the removal of the Indians from the area and the clearing of the timber and debris from the river, the Red River valley was transformed into a plantation black belt like the Mississippi Delta area (Shugg, 1939:78). By the early 1800's, with the development of the cotton gin and the steamboat, cotton had become the main crop in the Red River valley as well as the Mississippi flood plain (Hansen, 1941:61). Following the occupation of the Red and Mississippi deltas, immigrants pushed on into the Ouachita River bottom and to other bayous, bottomland, and on to the oak uplands. The number of settlers grew until the Civil War, with pioneering farmers pushing beyond the river bottoms and rich oak uplands into the piney woods, where they had small tracts of twenty acres with only a few tracts as large as one hundred acres (Shugg, 1939:81-82). After 1850, practically all the uncultivated fertile soil of north Louisiana was held by speculators who sold uncleared bottomland and improved plantation land for twenty to one hundred dollars per acre. Inferior public lands were also available for twenty-five cents per acre so that even the poorest non-slaveholders could obtain a small tract (Shugg, 1939:81-82).

The fertility of land as well as its availability helped to create a class system in north Louisiana similar to that throughout the antebellum South. Shugg summarizes the antebellum population, locating large planters with slaves in the river bottoms, small planters with slaves in the secondary bottoms, yeomen with slaves in the oak uplands and prairies, and non-slaveholding farmers and poor whites in the pine hills and flats (Shugg, 1939:44). The plantations of north Louisiana were based on the cotton crop rather than sugar.[12] Cotton cultivation was not limited to the river bottoms and spread to the blufflands and the hills, where the topsoil was eroded after a few years. Erosion eventually confined large-scale cotton production to the bottomlands.

The settlement pattern of the cotton plantation was similar to that of the sugar plantation except that the cotton plantation had a cotton gin rather than a sugar house. The plantation was generally laid out so that the streets and buildings formed a rectangle or square. The owner's "big house" was set up facing the main road (often the river road). On the back side was the overseer's house, and behind it the slave quarters set in rows.[13] After these were the commissary, barns, outbuildings, and the gin (Kniffen, 1968:136-139). This pattern was changed after the Civil War when cotton plantations adopted a sharecropping system. The tenant houses were situated near the tenant's share of land to be farmed (Highsmith, 1964:25). Today,



Francis Sykes (L) of Shongaloo, Bossier Parish, shows her "Broken Star" quilt, precisely pieced, with a red, white and blue color scheme. Photograph Susan Roach-Lankford.

Price Bendily of Denham Springs, Livingston Parish, with his hunting horn and dogs. Photograph: Don Sepulvado.

the pattern is again compact with the big house flanked by the quarters and sheds for equipment and tractors which have made sharecropping obsolete.

While the lowland Louisiana plantation architecture showed strong French West Indies influences, that of the Louisiana upland area used more log construction and built the "I" big house in the tradition of the upland rather than tidewater South (Kniffen, 1968:139). The "I" house was usually a frame structure with siding, the main part of the house being one room deep, two or more rooms long and two stories high with outside gable end chimneys. Extra rooms, porches, and columns were varied (Kniffen, 1968:133).

Until 1850, it was sometimes possible for the poor farmer to gain the wealth and power of the large planters. In fact, many of the successful plantation holders in Louisiana had accumulated the bulk of their wealth in the boom years after 1830. As plantations and slaveholdings grew, their number diminished, making the remaining "aristocracy" more class-conscious and intent on developing a culture in keeping with their financial status. Thus, they built large mansions and lived in the "genteel" lifestyle of the old South, supported by cotton and slavery (Shugg, 1939:32-34).

After the Civil War the plantations and farms of the yeoman slaveholder were divided into tenant farms with sections of each plantation rented to freed blacks or poor whites through a form of credit known as the crop lien (Shugg, 1939:236). Each sharecropper and his family were responsible for about twenty acres. The crop was shared with the owner, who provided land, seed, and perhaps equipment. Most sharecroppers had a hog or two and grew a few vegetables for their own use (Highsmith, 1964:25). Sharecroppers moved frequently from farm to farm within the state, seeking a better position (Smith and Hitt, 1952:218)[14]

The sharecropping system continued into the twentieth century with little change for thirty years. Depleted soils in hill areas, cotton pests such as the boll weevil, and lack of diversification of crops (causing over-production of cotton) led to problems. By 1933, over-production of cotton caused the federal government to offer payments to farmers for plowing up a portion of their cotton crop. Because regulations on the payments were such that the planters had to divide the subsidies with the sharecroppers, many planters then went on a cash basis with their tenants the next year (Highsmith, 1964:28-29).

Upland hill farmers, predominantly of Scotch-Irish descent or Anglo-Saxon descent, generally were more self-sufficient than the planters. Although some cotton was grown as a money crop, extensive cotton growing was not feasible because of the less fertile soils and poor transportation in areas some distance from waterways and the steamboat. Conditions of the farmers varied greatly according to region, ranging from the simple but comfortable existence of the upland yeoman farmer to the extreme poverty of the "poor white."[15]

Samuel Lockett (1869) describes the inhabitants of the piney woods as being "proverbially poor, honest, moral, virtuous, simple-hearted, and hospitable" and says that they show "evidence of thrift, comfort, and prosperity" (Lockett, 1969:47). Lockett also gives a view of a typical pinewoods settlement, its self-sufficiency, and diversification:

> On Bundick's Creek . . . the good people of this settlement had a church, a school house, and a Masonic Lodge. Each family had its herd of cattle, flock of sheep, and drove of hogs. They all made their own cotton, corn, potatoes, rice, sugar and tobacco; spun and wove their own clothes for summer and winter wear, made their own leather; and in fact supplied nearly all of their necessities by home products, with the exception of coffee and a few articles of dry goods. And although their cotton crops had to be hauled to find a market, either to Alexandria or Lake Charles a distance of over half a hundred miles, yet every head of the household had a goodly roll of "greenbacks" put away in the chinks of his log cabin. (1969:47-48)

Given this variety of chores and scattered, often isolated locations, the typical farm had several buildings in its settlement pattern on its forty to sixty acres. These were usually arranged in a loose cluster. Generally, the barn (usually a double pen) was located behind the house on the right or left or across the road. A garden plot near the house. The smokehouse was behind the house and a syrup mill near the bottomland (Wright, 1956:113). Sheds for wagons and other farming and blacksmith equipment and later privies might be situated counter to the barn. If the well was not near the house, it might have its own shelter. Split rail snake fences were used on earlier farms to protect cultivated fields from open range livestock. Later farms also had miscellaneous, often crudely constructed shelters for hogs and chickens, with the later custom of penning livestock and the increase in population of chickens.

After the plain single or double pen log cabin, the most common farmhouse type in early rural north Louisiana was the dog trot, a double pen house with an open hall separating the pens. Chimneys were located outside at both gable ends, and a porch was often attached (Wright, 1956:27-28). Shed rooms or L-additions might be made on the back of the house. With the coming of the sawmill in the late 1800's, many dog trots were built with machined lumber rather than logs. A few log and many frame dog trots are still present in north Louisiana. Most of the dog trots (halls) have been enclosed to facilitate more efficient heating in those still inhabited. The most common house type in rural north Louisiana today (with the exception of the typical brick suburban home) is the bungalow, which is two rooms wide and two or more rooms deep with forward facing gables. A fence, rived paling in nineteenth-century farms and wire in the twentieth century, sometimes enclosed the house and yard, which was swept clean and kept grass-free with homemade broomsedge, switchcane, or dogwood brush brooms. With the development of the power mower, grass lawns came into vogue, although there are a few dirt yards remaining in north Louisiana.

In the nineteenth century, all members of the agricultural spectrum, planters, yeoman farmers, sharecroppers, and poor black and white farmers, relied to a large extent on handmade tools and other items used in farm operation. Usually farmers made these themselves, or obtained the services of another more skilled member of the community. In the case of slaveholders, slaves were often taught the necessary crafts needed for the farm and home. Many of these crafts have been passed on to surviving generations of blacks and whites in north Louisiana as evidenced by a 1981 museum exhibit of north Louisiana crafts.[16] Many crafts took advantage of the natural environment and by-products of cultivation where little was wasted. The forest provided white oak for baskets, which could be made large and crude for cotton or smaller for gathering and storage, and wood for carving functional ox yokes or chairs to more decorative walking sticks. Shakes (wooden shingles) were rived from swamp cypress, and tupelo gum was hollowed out for bowls. Gourds were grown to be used for water dippers and scoops. Corn shucks made corn shuck dolls or were breaded to make strips for ox whips or woven chair bottoms. Today corn shuck weavers make place mats and purses instead of whips. Since the farm and oxen are gone, they are catering predominently to the tourist market.

Like cornshuck-weaving, quilt-making also once served a utilitarian purpose in the home. Scrap cotton left in the fields was gathered by women to be carded for quilt batting. In earliest days of the nineteenth-century settlement, thread was spun and fabric woven and dyed for clothing. Scraps of cloth left over were saved to piece patchwork quilt tops which would later be quilted by women in the family or community or, in the case of plantations, by slaves. Traditional patchwork patterns were exchanged by friends and handed down along with fancy quilts, and the function of quilts became more decorative. Today in north Louisiana, quilt-making remains popular in both rural and urban areas. Also, unless one is given the scraps, batting, and lining for the quilt, quilting is now an expensive rather than money-saving project. Therefore its function, like many folk crafts today, is more that of a pastime which is carried on because of its traditionality. Church groups and a few friends still get together for quilting; however, for the most part, quilting has become a solitary chore as the piecing of the quilt was previously.

Until the end of log culture, pioneers often helped each other build their homes and barns, quilt out their quilts, and do other difficult work. These log rollings and house or barn raisings were not only social occasions but also part of the exchange system. Help was a matter of reciprocity and was very important to the less wealthy. Today rural neighbors or family members still maintain work exchange although many complain that nobody helps anyone else anymore because everyone is too busy. Other farm chores such as corn huskings and quilting bees turned tedious work into parties.

The entertainment for such celebrations and for house parties often consisted of party games and country music, usually provided by a fiddle and perhaps a guitar or mandolin, and possibly dancing. The waltzes, breakdowns, the reels of this rural southern folk music hailed from the British Isles. Over the years old-time country has been heavily influenced by blues, minstrelsy, jazz, popular music, and by radio, especially the Grand Ole Opry, begun in 1925. Out of this music came contemporary country-western and also bluegrass music, both of which are highly popular in north Louisiana today. Rather than the older house parties or dances, today's north Louisianians go to "country music shows," such as Shreveport's Louisiana Hayride (the longest running and most prestigious), Ruston's Wildwood Express and Homer's North Louisiana Hayride. Dance halls are less common than in south Louisiana, but there are some family-oriented public places such as the Saturday night barn dance at the Old Barn in Boyce (near Alexandria). These dances seem to be more common in this central Louisiana area, perhaps because of the influence of nearby south Louisiana dance traditions. With Cajun two-steps, polkas, and breakdowns, Texas western swing and popular country-western played at the same dance, there is more exchange of musical traditions across ethnic and regional lines in this area than elsewhere in north Louisiana.

Country music and the blues music of blacks moved into the bars or "honky tonks" in the twentieth century, when rural people began to migrate to the cities for work in industry. This move changed the image of both forms of music, causing the transformed music to be regarded with some ambivalence by its original adherents. Nevertheless, today's strong audiences for both black and white tradition-derived music prove both to be some of the most popular entertainment in the region.

The proximity of Texas and the western mystique not only influenced country music in north Louisiana, but also contributed to the recent popularity of rodeo in the area. Although Texas-size ranches are uncommon, the region's occupation with farming and herding and its association with cows and horses made rodeo an attractive entertainment, especially in the relatively small ranching circles of the region. Men who carry out such activities are sometimes referred to as "woods cowboys."

Even more popular than rodeo over the entire region are hunting and fishing. Hunting and fishing may be carried out as social rituals reinforcing friendship and kinship among men or as the solitary man matching wits with nature. Fishing remains a popular sport in all economic classes; the gear changes with finances. Blacks and whites alike (often whole families) converge on nearby lakes, rivers or creeks to bank-fish with simple cane poles and minnows, crickets or worms, or to set trotlines, while others with bass boats and rods and reels fish in the popular bass tournaments.

Hunting also depends to a certain extent on economy, since the paraphernalia can be extensive,and much is traditionally handmade—horns for calling dogs, duck decoys. One of the most important elements of the hunt in the area is the hunting dog, which has been bred for specific game since the days of the early settlers. There are hounds bred especially for deer or foxes or "coons"; "varmit" dogs, usually a "fice," for "possums," squirrels or armadillos; bird dogs for duck, quail and dove; and perhaps most highly regarded, the Catahoula hog-dog, developed especially in Louisiana to round up and pen the free-ranging wild hogs and cattle.[17] Dogs, along with fishing and hunting, are frequently subjects for bragging, controversy and tall tales at gathering places such as the country stores still scattered over the rural areas.[18] These sports originally were used to provide or supplement the pioneer food supply. For example, according to oral history, Absalom Autry and his sons, who came to what is now Lincoln Parish in 1848, killed 544 deer and numerous squirrels and wild turkeys that year to feed his family of fourteen children. This quantity of game as a protein source was, no doubt, invaluable on the frontier. Although game is still often used for food, the sport of the hunt rather than the food is the focus of the activity.

Subsistence food crops for early settlers included corn, sweet potatoes and black-eyed peas, green vegetables, sugar cane for syrup, free-ranging hogs and some cattle (Shugg, 1939:44; Kniffen, 1968:139).

Lockett gives account of the food of the pine woods farmer:

> Three times a day for nearly 365 days of the year, their simple meal is coarse corn bread and fried bacon. At dinner there will be added perhaps "collards" or some other coarse vegetable. Even when they have fresh meat or venison, which they can obtain whenever they wish, it is always fried and comes to the table swimming in a sea of clear, melted lard. Chickens, eggs, milk and butter, all kinds of vegetables and fruit they could have but have not. (Lockett, 1969:48)

Chances are that Lockett was visiting in a season other than summer, for in that season, vegetables are often the staple of the rural north Louisiana diet, even today as reported in a recent editorial in the *Shreveport Times:*

> It's just that our favorite happens to be steaming, freshpicked white butterbeans. But we will vary that with purple-hull peas as a main entree. Like Grandma, we can do without a formal meat dish when vegetables are available . . . but long slender slices of hard rind bacon—salt meat—are required.
>
> If peas and butterbeans are on the table, hotbuttered eggbread is preferred. But hotwater bread or hushpuppies will suffice . . . New potatoes cooked in a smooth white sauce ought to be flanked with a huge platter piled high with handspread-sized shining tomato slices. Wash all that down with either iced tea sweetened in the pitcher or thick smooth buttermilk. (Hilburn, 1981:5)

For special occasions such as Sunday dinner, fried chicken, chicken-fried steak, or pork chops might be added to the above menu, and other types of beans (string, pinto, pole) or peas (speckled, blackeyed, cream, lady, or English) served with homemade tomato sauce, chow-chow and-or cucumber or peach pickles, and corn (cream style or corn on the cob) could be included. Often raised in home garden plots, these foods and other vegetables in various combinations are common today in rural white and black families and in urban ones if the vegetables are available. These may be served throughout the year now with the aid of home freezers and traditional canning. Freezing and, to a lesser extent, canning and preserving vegetables and fruits are domestic chores still widely practiced by women in the summer in rural north Louisiana. Although hogs were butchered and cured on the farm in earlier years, they are usually today taken to the local meat processor ("locker plant") as are deer and beef cattle. However, some isolated farms still butcher their own hogs, or at least grind their own sausage and make their own scrapple (a variant is hogshead cheese). Wild game, including such "delicacies" as fried or stewed squirrel, fried quails, venison (usually fried), barbecued "coon," roast "possum" with sweet potatoes, and fried fish and boiled crawfish are still served occasionally, primarily in hunting and fishing families near the forests, lakes and rivers. Often the game obtained is used as a special celebration meal—a fish fry or a barbecue.

The folk foodways of the north Louisiana hill country and the Cane River area are perhaps the best preserved of the region in spite of the influx of packaged convenience and fast foods and other ethnic dishes which are also popular. The introduction of new items has added more variety to north Louisiana menus in general, but traditional dishes and their preparation have hardly been affected.

After the Civil War until the 1930's, the subsistence farmer actually may have been relatively better off than the planter. What little cotton he grew yielded him more net cash proportionally than the planter's huge crop (Shugg, 1939:225-256).

This subsistence farming was common in some hill sections of Louisiana until the 1930's when highways and technology made commercial agriculture more feasible (Kniffen, 1968:140). A few such farms remain operated by the older generation.

Several factors have affected the operation of farms and plantations and the white and black cultures of north Louisiana. Many farms were left after World War II with no younger generation to operate them. Often the younger farm residents turned to developing industry, perhaps lumber or oil, for jobs. Some of the hill farmers sold land to timber companies (Highsmith, 1964:29-31). Today, in fact, timber companies own some of the largest tracts of land in the area.

The timber industry became involved in Louisiana forests in the late nineteenth century. After the Civil War, farmers in the Florida parishes and northern uplands, where the soil was less fertile and timber abundant, had turned to lumbering as an additional cash crop to their meager cotton. Vast stands of oak and longleaf pine covered most of Calcasieu, Cameron, Grant, Morehouse, Natchitoches, Union, Lincoln, Vermilion, West Feliciana and Winn parishes and parts of other north Louisiana parishes. Also, cypress was prolific in the lowland areas. The farmer's timber harvests, however, did little to affect the virgin forests; but when the railroads moved through the area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the lumber industries followed. Sawmill towns sprang up overnight. Company houses (usually of the square, pyramidal house type) and stores provided for the needs of the lumbermen and their families, while the timber companies systematically went about clear-cutting the stands of pines. By 1925, practically no virgin forest remained (Trout, 1955:33). Some of the sawmill towns such as Lake Charles, Winnfield and Bogalusa survived, but most were abandoned (Kniffen, 1968:161). The lumber industry had a profound influence on the landscape and people. It created a new occupational group with its own traditions and lore and took the employees, both black and white, into new towns away from the farms. Thus, the lumber industry with the railroad began to change the basic rural character of the area.

In 1914, the extension of the railroad into the east of the state in the area of Black River brought changes also by creating a northern market for commercial fishing (Gregory, 1966:3). Migrants from the upper Mississippi and Ohio valleys introduced tackle and techniques to the swamp people, who were already frustrated with the interference of flooding with their farming and herding (Gregory, 1961:5). The residents of the area included white yeoman farmers from Rapides and Avoyelles parishes and some French and Indian families who had arrived before 1803 (Gregory, 1961:7). They adopted the fishing occupation, the techniques and crafts (such as net making) of which have been handed down for three generations. However, new flood control to provide more land for soybeans, pollution from oil fields, and the paper pulp industry have practically destroyed the commercial fishing occupation, and young people are turning from this traditional family occupation to urban industry or soybean farming (Gregory, 1961:5,7; Kniffen, 1968:150).

The petroleum industry has also pulled workers from more agricultural occupations and has also changed the landscape with oil fields, pipelines and refineries. North Louisiana oil production began in Caddo Parish in 1906, shortly after the first discoveries in south Louisiana, and has moved east across the state. The discovery of the Monroe gas field in 1909 began another type of petroleum production which, along with oil, is still an important industry for north Louisiana. The drilling aspect of the industry especially offered an outdoor job with its own esoteric lore which, like commercial lumbering and fishing, was learned and passed on in a "hands-on" folk process. The oil industry, by providing well-paying offshore drilling jobs in south Louisiana, has lured many men from the northern part of the state. This has caused much more contact between the two areas and thus created the opportunity for exploration of cultural differences and cultural exchanges in such areas as foodways and intercultural jokes.

Ultimately, transportation did even more to change the face of north Louisiana. Networks of railroads and highways created new towns along their routes and bypassed others, leaving them to wither away. New towns provided opportunities for rural residents to find new jobs in industry and commerce. Many people from rural backgrounds moving into these jobs brought their belief systems and their folk traditions with them. Although some of these traditions would not be needed in the towns, memories of these were retained; other traditions such as gardening and quilt-making were maintained in spite of the urbanizing effects of transportation and communication.

This encroachment of contemporary popular culture and the effect of multicultural interactions on folk culture have resulted in many incongruities visible in present-day north Louisiana. A recent scene on a rural road in Lincoln Parish demonstrates this contrast: A man about fifty-five was plowing his corn with his mule in his small garden patch across the road from his new brick suburban style home. Less than twenty feet away still stood the home from which he had just moved—his grandfather's unpainted dog trot. Another similar scene reveals a middle-aged black woman sitting in her small-town bungalow quilting her quilt of a traditional Anglo-Saxon pattern while watching her favorite soap opera about middle class white America. These phenomena serve to metaphorically depict the complex cultural milieu—the mixture of tradition and change—which is contemporary north Louisiana.

FOOTNOTES

1. The boundary between north and south Louisiana is a matter of personal (lay as well as scholarly) debate. Many north Louisiana upland natives feel threatened by the low country and see the area south of Alexandria as south Louisiana. Others jokingly claim the Bunny Bread sign south of Bunkie is the dividing line between northa nd south, while others see Spanish moss as the marker. They may not agree on the boundary, but they agree on the differences. Some of the differences between the cultures do lead to jokes about each other: One south Louisiana native now living in north Louisiana joked that living in north Louisiana was like living in an old folks home. On the other hand, a rural north Louisiana Protestant woman, on visiting the Hammond Strawberry Festival joked about the possibility of having "strawberry sacraments."

2. With the instigation of federal pine tree plantations in the late 1950's early 1960's on old farms in north Louisiana, slash pine, as Lincoln and Claiborne. The slash pine, less sturdy than the short leaf or loblolly, could not withstand the ice storms common in the far north parishes, and the subsequent invasion of diseases in ice-injured trees has destroyed much of the crop.

3. The slash and burn agriculture may have been partially responsible for the prolific growth of pines, especially the long-leaf in north Louisiana, for burning tended to destroy hardwoods while the pine was fire resistant (Kniffen, 1968:113).

4. Irregularity in plantation shape today is partly due to sales and inheritance division of land. However, it is not uncommon, in dividing land equally, for the estate to be divided lengthwise, producing an even narrower front but keeping the forty-arpent depth (Kniffen, 1968:122).

5. Also known as Ulster Irish or Northern Irish, the Scotch-Irish were actually descendants of the Scotch Presbyterians who migrated from lowland Scotland to Ulster Ireland in the seventeenth century. With increasing problems of the same type, they began heavy migration to the American colonies in the eighteenth century, first settling in the Alleghenies in Pennsylvania and later moving on to the Shanendoah Valley in Virginia and the Carolinas. (See Leyburn and Hanna for further background on the Scotch-Irish.)

6. Trout (1955) notes that more than ninety-five percent of the population of the north Louisiana hill parishes in 1936 were Protestants. Of these, more than ninety percent were Baptist or Methodist with Baptists outnumbering the Methodists more than two to one.

7. For an interesting (but undocumented) description of such an antebellum revival, see Williamson and Williamson (1939:294).

8. For an account of the general life pattern and artistic ability of the folk preacher, see Rosenberg, *The Art of the American Folk Preacher*.

9. Work chants and blues were also used in the cotton industry, specifically in speeding up efficiency of the cotton press. See Gregory and Hatley, eds. (1980) for details on such a north Louisiana bluesman.

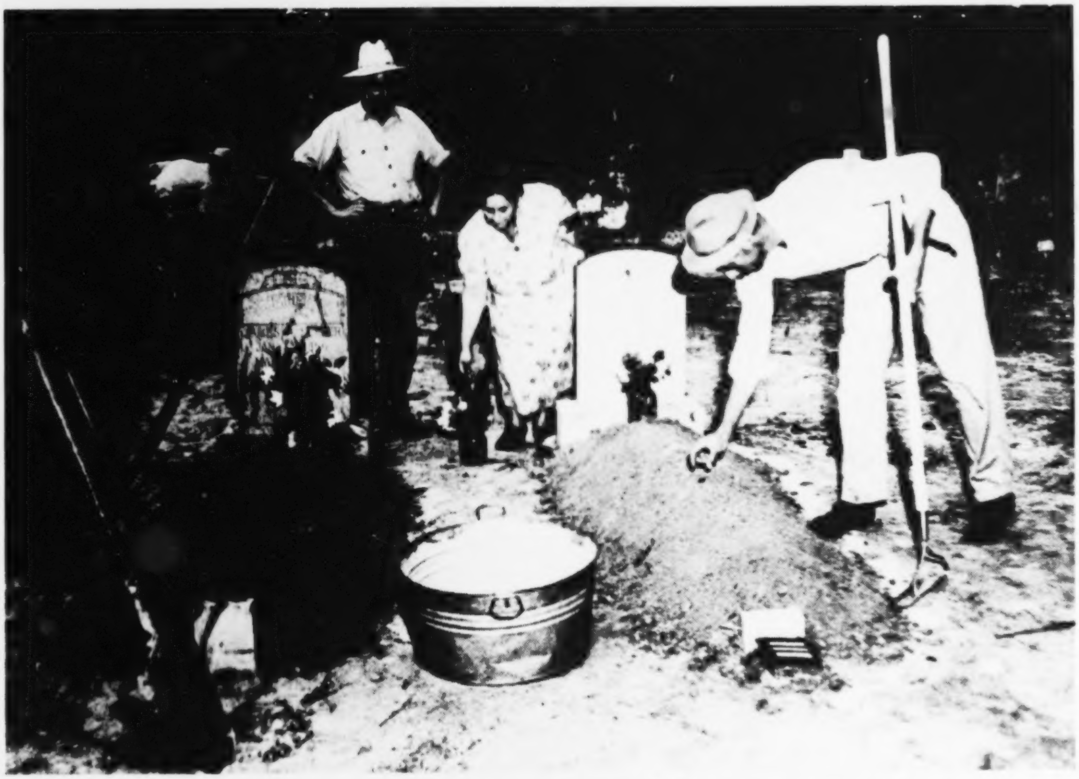
10. See Keyes (1950:154-155) for a descrption of typical "graveyard working."

11. In some early town cemeteries such as the one at Sparta in Bienville Parish (an old town which died after being bypassed by the railroad), blacks were buried across the fence from the whites. In some other church cemeteries, slaves are said to have been buried outside the fence.

12. Shugg (1939: 7) defines "plantation" as farms of more than fifty acres before 1860 (usually worked by slaves) and more than one hundred acres after 1860 (usually tenant farmed by blacks and whites). By 1945, the average hill farm was seventy to ninety acres (Wright, 1956: 115).

13. Barrow's antebellum diary of plantation life in the Florida parishes (ed. by Davis, 1943) describes specifics of this layout with specific attention to the slave quarters. Lyle Saxon's *Old Louisiana* gives a descrption of Louisiana plantation life.

14. Very little has been written on the plight of the Louisiana sharecropper. *All God's Dangers*, a biographical account of a central Alabama sharecropper, provides a vivid account of the sharecropper's life and problems during the Depression.



Graveyard cleaning rituals with all day "dinner on the grounds" type gatherings are less common today. Colfax, Grant Parish, 1948. Photograph: Elemore Morgan, Sr.

15. Cash in *The Mind of the South* holds that the poor whites in the South had the same ethnic and often economic and social background as the planter. The poor white was barred from economic and social advance because of being driven back to the marginal lands—the swamps, the pine barrens, and red hills (1941:24-27). In spite of their common origins there were tremendous social and behavioral differences. Folk (1961: 277) in a study of north Louisiana speech found that in the plantation parishes of north Louisiana, speakers were more likely to drop the final *r* in pronunciation, which is perhaps a survival of "genteel" old South dialect.

16. For photographs and descriptions of items in this exhibit at the Alexandria Museum, see the exhibit catalog *Doing It Right and Passing It On*, ed. by Gregory. Three other major Louisiana exhibits including north Louisiana Folk arts and crafts have been held since 1980, including *Louisiana Traditional Crafts* (catalog by de Caro and Jordan), *Patchwork Quilts*, *Deep South Traditions*, and *Gifts From the Hills* (catalogs by Roach-Lankford).

17. See Gibson (1976) for types of deer hunting groups and their traditions. Also, LeBon (1970) for details on the Catahoula hog dog.

18. The country store itself is an interesting folk architecture form in north Louisiana, usually assuming the shotgun or bungalow design (see Pulliam and Newton, 1973), and has been a vital part of rural communities in providing essential products and a daily social center for dominoes and conversation.

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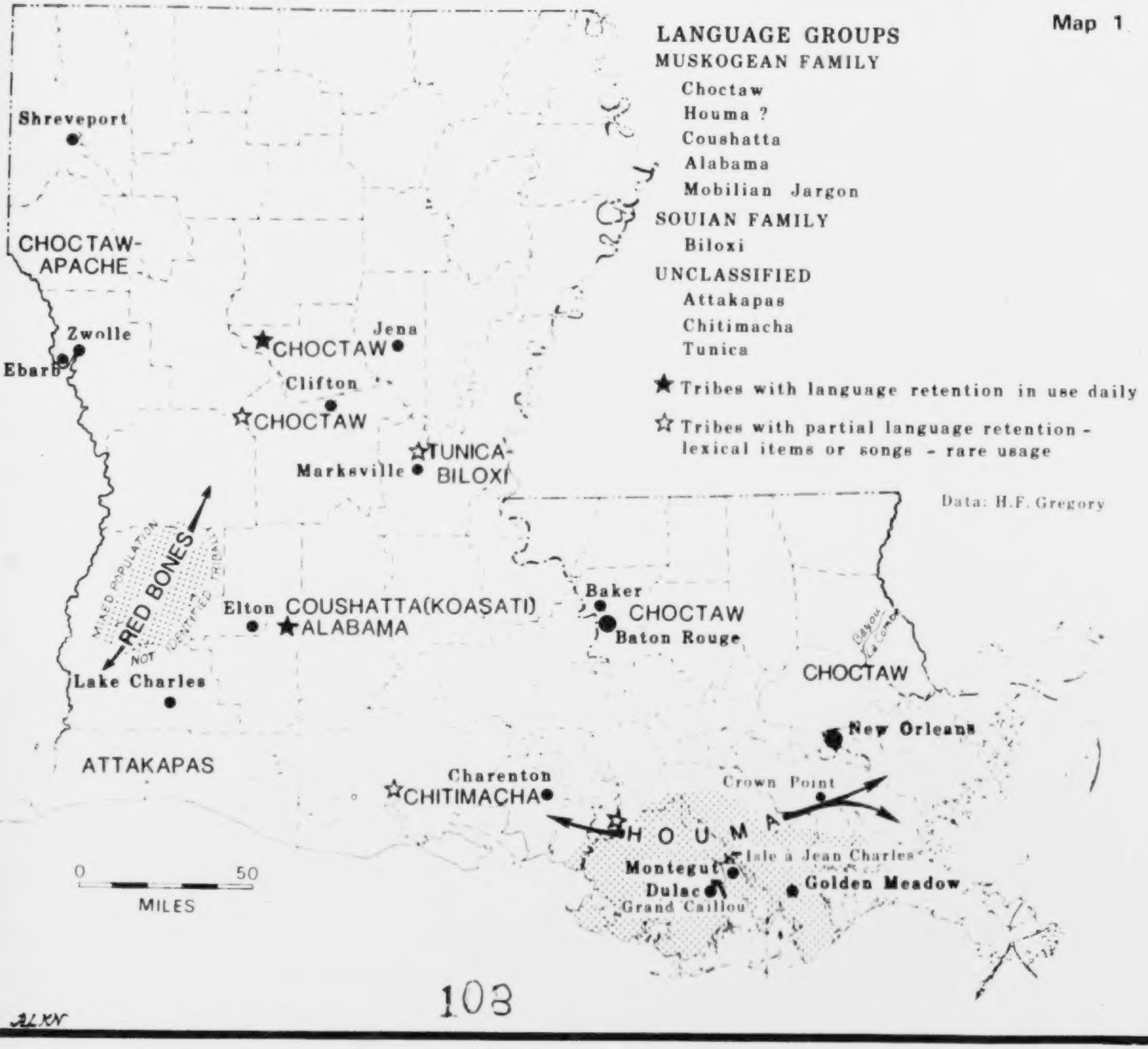
INDIANS OF LOUISIANA :
Their Contemporary Locations and Linguistic Retention


Map 1
LANGUAGE GROUPS
MUSKOGEAN FAMILY
Choctaw
Houma ?
Coushatta
Alabama
Mobilian Jargon
SOUIAN FAMILY
Biloxi
UNCLASSIFIED
Attakapas
Chitimacha
Tunica
★ Tribes with language retention in use daily
☆ Tribes with partial language retention - lexical items or songs - rare usage
Data: H.F. Gregory
Shreveport
CHOCTAW-APACHE
Zwolle
Ebarb
Jena
★CHOCTAW
Clifton
☆CHOCTAW
☆TUNICA-BILOXI
Marksville
MIXED POPULATION
RED BONES
NOT IDENTIFIED TRIBALLY
Elton
COUSHATTA(KOASATI)
★ALABAMA
Lake Charles
ATTAKAPAS
Baker
CHOCTAW
Baton Rouge
Bayou La Comb
CHOCTAW
New Orleans
Charenton
☆CHITIMACHA
Crown Point
☆HOUMA
Isle a Jean Charles
Montegut
Dulac
Grand Caillou
Golden Meadow
0 50
MILES
ALKN

Houma craftsman Antoine Billiot of Dulac demonstrates use of a palmetto-wrapped blowgun. Photograph: Philip Gould (Lafayette Natural History Museum).

"A PROMISE FROM THE SUN:" THE FOLKLIFE TRADITIONS OF LOUISIANA INDIANS

by H. F. 'Pete' Gregory

The terms folk or folklife were traditionally not associated with Indian culture. The antiquarian view was that "primitive" tribal groups around the world were the natural precursors of the peasants in Europe who, along with rural whites and blacks and urban ethnic groups in America, were considered "the folk." It followed that middle class popular culture and upper class elite culture were respectively further along the continuum. More modern concepts of folk culture use "folk" as a generic term that can be applied to traditional beliefs, practices and creations of all social groups. Although folklorists and anthropologists are usually reluctant to apply the notions of folklore and folklife to middle class and elite populations—though these groups certainly do have traditions—there has been much less resistance to viewing Native American culture as within the preview of folk traditions. The reasons for this are many, but in a very pragmatic sense it is essential to understand Indian traditions in order to comprehend their influence on rural whites and blacks in Louisiana and elsewhere in terms of folk medicine, foodways, and tales, to mention but a few areas. In an opposite and ironic sense, Indians, due to geographic isolation and social exclusion, have often been the greatest conservators of European and Afro-American folk traditions since the contact period. In Louisiana, for example, one today finds members of the Houma tribe in Terrebonne Parish speaking French more broadly across the generations than most Cajun families. Perhaps even more disorienting to the cultural "purists" is the fact that Choctaw-Apaches in northwest Louisiana often live in log houses—the classic Anglo pioneer folk house—while the whites have moved into the more prestigious mobile homes and tract subdivisions!

Their connection to other folk groups aside, Louisiana's Indian peoples are important to all of us because they represent the original human adaptation to the diversity of Louisiana environments. As Houma tribal leader Helen Gindrat says, "We were people before we were called 'Indians.'" Despite years of neglect, exploitation, and expropriation of their lands, the Indians of Louisiana have persisted.

Dr. H. F. "Pete" Gregory is a professor of anthropology at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches and is part Indian. Widely respected as an archaeologist, cultural anthropologist and teacher, he has worked with Indians in Louisiana for over twenty years and is the author of numerous articles on their cultural activities and material creations.

"A PROMISE FROM THE SUN:" THE FOLKLIFE TRADITIONS OF LOUISIANA INDIANS

The Indians of Louisiana, in the geographic area longer than anyone else, have maintained their identity. Their presence represents three hundred years of resistance to assimilation for some of them—at least two hundred for all of them. They have managed to survive. Missionaries, government removals, tribal reorganization, schools and the coming of industrialization have all had their effects. Yet, somehow, the Indian peoples have clung to their own separate cultural heritages. In fact, they have seen their traditions borrowed by non-Indians, even as their own cultures were denied value.

There are slightly more than 12,000 Indians in Louisiana, giving the state the third largest Indian population in the East (1980 United States Census). They are, for the most part, still identifiable as tribal Indians: Houma, Coushatta, Choctaw (at least four different groups), Chitimacha, Tunica-Biloxi, and Lipan Apache-Choctaw (Map 1). There are also a number of nontribal communities of at least part Indian descent. Generally identified as "Redbones" or "Sabines," pejoratives for tri-racial groups (Parenton and Pellegrin, 1950 148-58), these groups are apparently more Indian than anyone (including some of them) will admit. Only a few tribes like the Natchez and their sub-tribes (Swanton, 1911) and the Caddo (Webb and Gregory, 1978) seem to have disappeared from Louisiana. Urban Indians are still in the minority; most Louisiana Indians' communities are far from the "pave." There are, however, Indians in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport and other large cities. Most are part of the traditional Indian communities in the state. However, outside groups such as the Cherokee, Oklahoma, Choctaw, Apache, Ute, Sioux, Chickasaw, Laguna Publoans, Navajo, Kiowa and others have also relocated in Louisiana. In all cases these Indians have sought out others and have tried, even in urban settings, to maintain their cultural heritage.

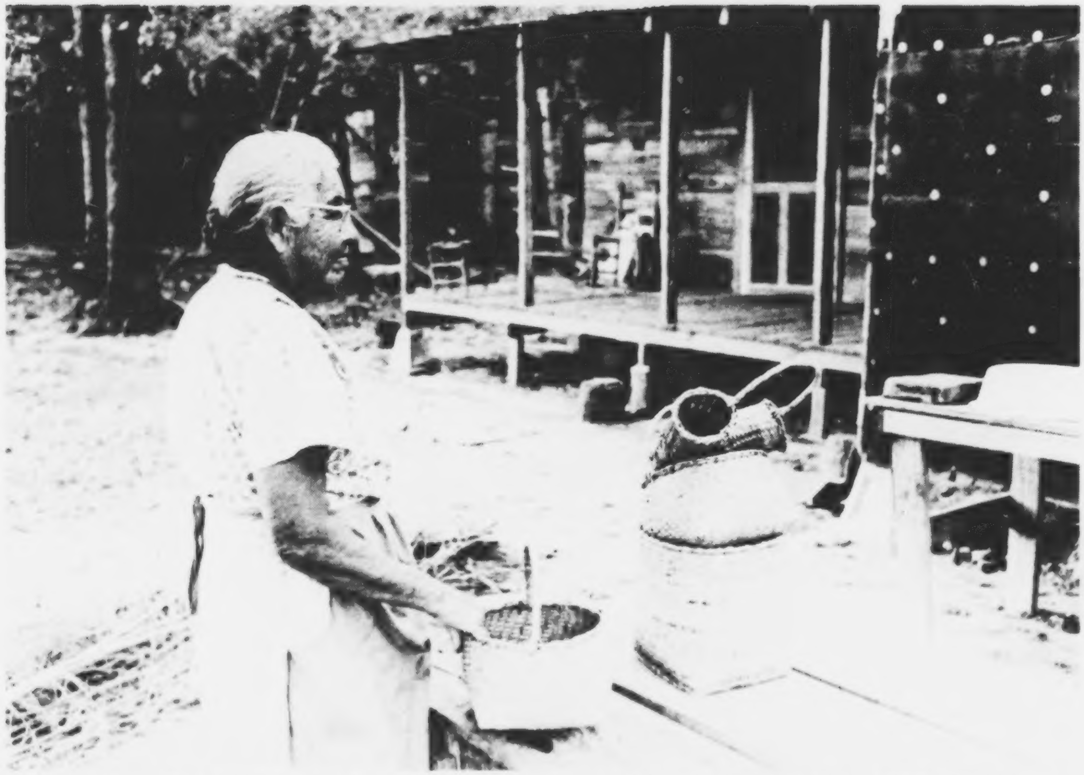
Louisiana Indians have lived between the whites and blacks, and both those groups have borrowed freely from Indian culture. All the southeastern Indians have stories which they share with blacks. There are many others that are different in content, and most vary in style and presentation. Stith Thompson in his *North American Indian Folk Tales* (1929: xxii), noted "African influence" on Southern Indian tales, but he seemed to gloss over the fact that such cultural interchanges were seldom undirectional.

Linguistically the Coushatta have struggled the hardest and remained the most successful at language maintenance. The whole tribe speaks Coushatta or *Koasati* as their first language. A few of them speak Mobilian and Choctaw as well. They are extremely proud of their cultural traditions (Johnson, 1976; Rothe, 1963). Recently, with the aid of Eugene Burnham of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the tribe has produced a series of children's readers in the language (Coushatta Tribe, 1979).

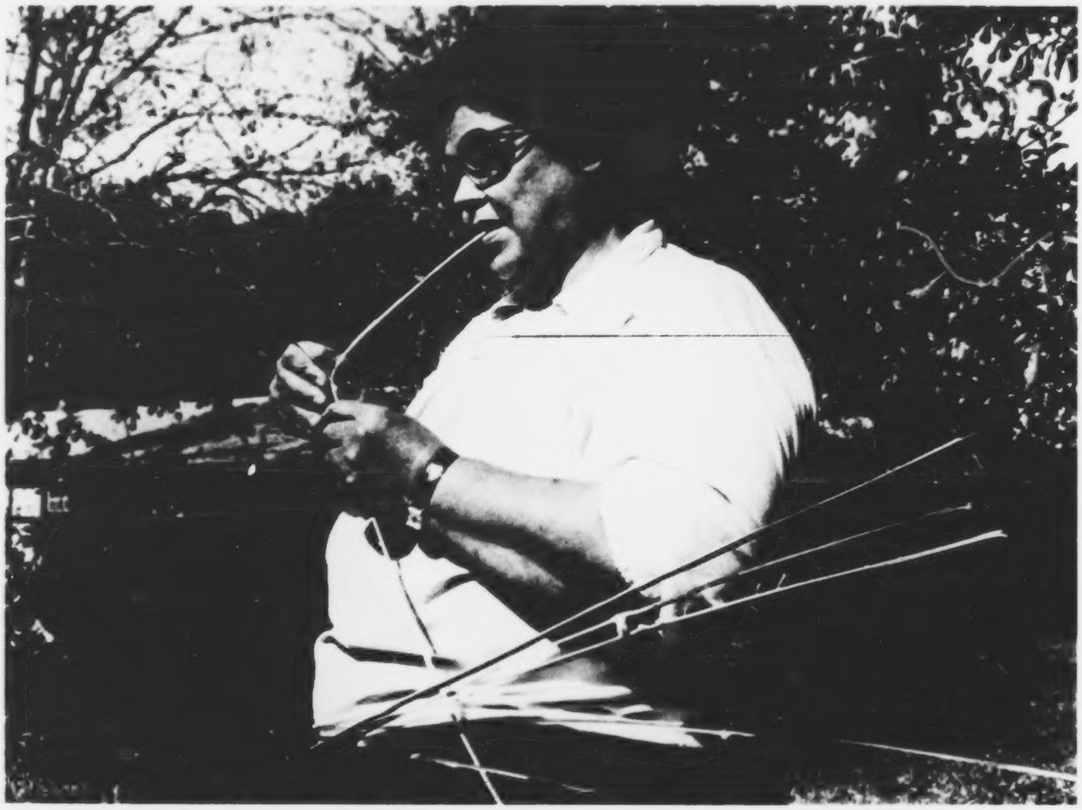
The Choctaw at Jena, Louisiana, also have, at least among older people, preserved their dialect of Choctaw. Today one hears the same phrases and words which set them apart from their linguistic kinsmen in Oklahoma and Mississippi that Albert Gatschet heard near Troup Creek in 1886 (Unpublished Gatschet *Notes*, Anthropological Archives, The Smithsonian, 1886). Recently, the tribal government at Jena instituted a series of classes, funded by the Center for Applied Linguistics. This same group has begun working on a written system for Coushatta, and now, for the first time, children are learning to read their own native language.

In few other states is the Indian language contribution to the culture so obvious. The widespread use of the Choctaw-based Mobilian jargon, a pan-tribal trade language used by Indians, whites and blacks, was important into the late 19th century. Indian place names such as Natchitoches, Opelousas, Attakapas, Calcasieu, Catahoula and Tensas are ubiquitous and still lend an exotic air to the geography (Reed, 1927). The Indian languages have also loaned many words, especially from their Mobilian trade language, to the local dialects of French, English and Black English as well (Crawford, 1975: 1-21; Hass, 1975: 257-65). The last speakers of the Mobilian Jargon were among the Koasati and Choctaw in central Louisiana (Crawford, 1977; Dreschel, 1978).

Mary Haas (1947:145-58) has described how the Tunica borrowed French words into their native language, and William Reed (1927) has discussed the more common reverse of that situation. Not only place names but whole rafts of words in Louisiana French are of Indian derivation. Linguistic borrowing was clearly a two-way street.



The late Lizzie Roberson of the Coushatta tribe in Elton with split cane baskets, 1966. Photograph: Robert Yellin (Smithsonian Institution).



Chitimacha, Ada V. Thomas of Charenton, peels the outer fiber of the swampcane for making her doubleweave baskets. Photograph: Stephen Richmond(U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Indian arts and Crafts Board).

The Coushatta Indians manufacture a coiled pinestraw basketry (Lylestine. 1973). similar in many ways to that of Sea Island Negro basketry from South and North Carolina (Vlach. 1978). However. the forms are different. and the Coushatta use raffia or a soft inner bark for stitching. Apparently the technology—i.e.. coiling—produces related forms. The Coushatta have long produced round and oval baskets. many decorated with flowers or pine cones. Open-work "bread trays" have also been made since the 1930's. In the 1960's tribal women elaborated on the basketry and produced a wide array of animals: bear. crabs. crayfish. frogs. etc. One lady even made camels. These baskets have been the center of controversy for a time now. Some experts say the Coushatta learned to make them from home demonstration agents in the 1930's (other rural Louisiaians did). but older Indians say they merely substituted raffia and Longleaf Pine needles for Wire Grass and the inner bark of the dogwood (de Caro and Jordan. 1980). Wire Grass baskets do occur on occasion even now. All these baskets remain the production of the women. and. while a few men broke tradition and tried their hand at the older (?). more traditional. plaited cane basketry. none have made straw basketry. Straw baskets have become part of the tribe's income. but more important. they are also a significant identity factor and a source of pride to the community. In fact. pinestraw has almost completely replaced cane basketry on the reservation in Elton. Several women and at least one man still make the cane baskets. but somehow the craft has lost popularity among the Coushatta.

Further south. in St. Mary Parish. a handful of women have maintained the beautiful split-cane basketry of the Chitimacha tribe. Double-woven baskets. dyed black. red and yellow. carry intricate. named designs that are thousands of years old (Gregory and Webb. 1975). Innovation is frowned upon. and many women carefully curate "pattern baskets" nearly a century old. New baskets are carefully compared to those. The named patterns. such as Alligator Guts. Rattlesnake. Cow's Eyes. Black Bird's Eyes and Muscadine Rind. are also standardized and provide another conservative element in the art. However. a few innovations have appeared. For example. miniature "needle" cases were made. and in the 1940's all aluminum foil was placed between the double walls of cigar cases. These later were mailed overseas to service men. Sometimes an initial appeared on them. Other than these innovations. few changes have occured. Today commercial dyestuff is often substituted for older plant-derived dyes. and one man has been known to try making baskets. Yet in a community that lost the language in the 1940's. that became basically Christian. and that is composed of families mixed with the French and Anglo neighbors. the maintenance of this complex basket art has become a hallmark of tribal identity.

Recently Ada Thomas. one of the best weavers. has taught younger Chitimacha the basic basketry skills at a local day school. Such efforts have been ongoing since the 1940's when the late Pauline Paul ran similar classes for Chitimacha girls (Dorman Collection photographs). A young non-Indian. Tom Colvin. is currently working with Hazel Cousins to preserve the palmetto stem and cane basketry of Bayou La Combe (Colvin. 1978). Similarly. Claude Medford. a part-Choctaw craftsman. has preserved as much of the traditional cane basketry technique as possible. Medford also works in other traditional media: gourds. shell. feathers. beadwork and ceramics. Certainly basketry and some traditional foods will continue among the Chitimacha for many more generations.

The Houma. the largest tribe in the state. are very complicated culturally. They have married non-Indians frequently. but many are of full Indian ancestry to this day. Further. their geographic locations were. until the development of the offshore oil industry. the most isolated in the state. Crafts have survived. and. rarely. octogenarians remember stories and songs of Indian or syncretic French and African origin (Duthu. 1980). Many of their mythic themes and motifs are older French themes from their ancestry contact with Acadian and West Indian cultures (Spitzer. 1979). Plaited palmetto mats and baskets suggest Mexican and Filipino origins. but some double-woven ones are clearly Indian forms. Frank Speck notes that. alone of the southeastern Indians. the Houma possessed solid wood blowguns. once a functional artifact. but today used more for sale as a craft or even as tourist art (Spitzer. 1979). Elaborate hardwood blowguns. made of two composite segments and shear-lashed together with twine. are seldom seem: they have been almost wholly replaced by cane or marsh alder ones. The older ones are carefully guarded by the families who have them.

The Houma adapted themselves to the lower coast at an early date (sometime after the 1780's they shifted across the Mississippi from St. James Parish and spread down the bayous). Today many of the men work at oil-related industries. as do their neighbors. the Chitimacha. However. Houma men have also become famous boatwrights and their inland waterway shrimp boats. a type of Lafitte Skiff. are famous among Gulf Coast fishermen from Galveston to Mobile Bay. This folk industry. while tying the Houma to the outside world. has served them well at home. too. They are still among the best fishermen in south Louisiana. Acculturation from 18th century contact has also left them in the position of being among the most traditional speakers of the Acadian dialect in the state. While only snatches of Houma songs and a few isolated Indian words remain. conservative "old-fashioned" French music and language dominate Houma communities. Geographic isolation and the fact that the Houma were segregated from both blacks and whites in schools. movies. churches and other public places. kept the people together and limited language exchanges. Today, the Houma have selectively integrated the best of both cultures—French and Indian. Change has come, but newer elements, like Lafitte Skiffs, have become powerful recent sources of community identity, and Indian culture has survived.

The Tunica-Biloxi fused in the 1920's: the two tribes had become so inextricably mixed socially and culturally that they chose a unitary chief (Downs, 1979: 72-89). Once they occupied several villages, but they now are concentrated near Marksville in Avoyelles Parish. While their last Tunica and Biloxi speakers died in the 1940's, the older people have preserved a relatively large number of both Tunica and Biloxi words. Many remember songs and stories, and at least two men recall the traditional *Fete de Ble* rituals and the old dances.

Material culture has survived there, too. Older men still manufacture ball sticks or *raquettes*, and the tanning of deerskins—a Tunica specialty at least since French colonial times—is maintained. Women have their own unique styles of pine needle baskets—the last of their cane basket makers, an Ofo Indian, Alice Picote, died only a few years ago. Horn spoons, once utilitarian items, are now made for craft sales, and occasionally a traditional piece of silverwork is produced. Like the Chitimacha, the Tunica-Biloxi are much mixed with local French families and, like the Houma, they have been severely discriminated against. Their children (even those of predominantly white ancestry), for example, were not able to attend local schools until the 1950's. Coupled with fierce pride and community identity, such social isolation provided the ambiance for the conservation of large blocks of Tunica-Biloxi culture, not to mention that of the Ofo and Avoyel absorbed by them (Haas, 1950).

Choctaw, especially near Jena and Georgetown, Louisiana, (Gregory, 1977: 2-16), have continued to smoke tan buckskin. Recently Anderson Lewis, their traditional tanner, has taught several younger men to tan. George Allen of Jena, for example, is very active. This core group represents possibly the last active Indian tanners in the whole southeast. Nationally, Indian craftsmen often buy deerskin tanned in the northern plains or by the Mexico Kickapoo.

A single elderly tanner, Paul Thomas, at Clifton, Louisiana, also continues working, but only sporadically. He, like Anderson Lewis, recalls that they tanned the hides to make whip "crackers" and "string" to sell to muleskinners working for nearby logging outfits. Both men learned their skills from their fathers. The creamy brown color and smokey smell of soft buckskin can still be an aesthetic experience in central Louisiana.

In the 1930's and on into the 1950's the family of the late Joseph Pierite, Chief of the Tunica-Biloxi, also tanned their own deerskins. Although they used different techniques than the Choctaw, the method was very traditional. Chief Joe made long hunting shirts, dolls, drums, moccasins, and a variety of other things from the materials. His crafts are in collections at the Smithsonian, the University of Pennsylvania, the Denver Museum and elsewhere.

Stickball was played by most tribal groups in central Louisiana. They played inter-tribally and with each other. These games were popular entertainment for whites and blacks until the 1930's. The Tunica-Biloxi had weekly games on their ballgrounds at Marksville. Older people, both Indian and non-Indian, recall the games with great pleasure. Accompanied by a great deal of gambling and some drinking, the games were frowned upon by the missionaries, and most groups had ceased to play by the 1940's. Those who continued to play did so at isolated spots in the woods so as not to offend ministers. Today older people remember those games vividly and still make, on occasion, the hickory *racquets* or *kapoche*, the looped sticks used to handle the ball. Near New Orleans the white Creoles developed their own teams, and blacks also are reported to have played near Mandeville. Like their Indian counterparts these teams had special songs and rituals. In recent years a French team played at Mamou, but the attempt to revive the rough and tumble sport apparently has failed (*Dixie Roto* 1957). Visits to the Mississippi Choctaw Fair or the spring ball game of the Alabama and Koasati in east Texas help keep the memories alive.

Music and dance were also popular Indian arts. The dances were open to non-Indians as well. At Marksville the tribal elders love to tell of their dance which involved serpentine movements, spiraling into the center and then out again. White Creoles who were present invariably wound up on the end of the line of dancers and were "popped off" into the woods! Most older whites at Marksville, Le Compte, Beaver and Elton have heard about or participated in the Indian dances. Until the Missionaries became active in the Indian communities (1890-1925), such dancing was very popular. A drum, made of an iron kettle or a cypress knee covered with deerhide, beat with a single stick, was the most common musical accompaniment, but the ex-slave, Northrop, described a dance he attended on Indian Creek in the 1840's, where a fiddle had become part of the music (Northrop, 1977). Indian fiddle players have a long history in Louisiana, even though little has been written about them, and their music is virtually unrecorded. In south central Louisiana near Oakdale, the Choctaw family named Blue-eyes was famous for their fiddling at country dances. Similarly, the Toby family in Sabine Parish, also of Choctaw tribal origin, provided a number of fiddlers. Recently, Deo Langley, a Coushatta Indian, has won several contests at Mamou. He seemed to know "older" French songs than anyone else. Alan Lomax has suggested possible Indian cantometric (measurable cultural traits) elements in Acadian music (personal communication 1979), but Indian music remains a virtually unrecognized area of Louisiana folk tradition. Claude Medford, Jr., has recorded Coushatta, Alabama, and Tunica-Biloxi songs and drumming. He also taped a number of fiddle pieces by Joe Langley, a Coushatta. Himself a fine Indian singer, Medford's collection is the best in the state. Ralph Rinzler of the Smithsonian recorded a number of Coushatta songs from the late Arzalie Langley of Elton that are archived at the Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette. Emanuel Drechsel (personal communication, 1979) has taped a fine collection of Tunica-Biloxi songs and fragments.

The Coushatta tribe at Elton has recently organized a youth group which, under the tutelage of Rosabel Sylestine, has attempted to revitalize the traditional songs and dances there. That group eschews the influence of Plains Indian costumes and the pan-tribal "round dances" and "war dances" seen at the urban pow-wows held annually in Baton Rouge, Houston, and at the Alabama-Coushatta reservation near Livingston, Texas. Instead, tribal elders have taught traditional Coushatta songs and dances, especially those of the late Cissie Robinson, the oldest of the Alabama speakers. Thus the Frog Dance, Horse Dance, and others are heard and seen again in Louisiana. Similarly, the Jena Band of Choctaw has held dances featuring traditional Choctaw dancers from Idabel, Oklahoma. They went to Mississippi and brought Prentiss Jackson and his wife to drum and sing in the old Choctaw tradition. Again, the tribal Choctaw at Jena have disdained participation in non-traditional Indian dance activities like pow-wows.

The pow-wow circuit has brought a different approach to Louisiana Indian music and dance (the two are virtually inseparable) in urban areas. The annual inter-tribal pow-wow is held by the Indian Angels, Inc., a pan-tribal Indian organization in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It is held at various places: Teamster's Union Hall, the Police Youth Camp Grounds, Istrouma High School Gymnasium. Indians and non-Indians alike visit and participate in the dancing, and traditional pow-wow musicians are usually hired in Oklahoma to provide the drumming and singing. Predominantly in a Plains tradition, pow-wow music is heard nationwide, and, like the feather headdress or "war bonnet," has come to be a strong new symbol of Indian national rather than tribal specific identity, especially to urban Indian groups (Thomas: 1970; Booker: 1973). Even so, the strengths of traditional southeastern Indian musics have surfaced again at Jena and Elton.

Densmore (1943) collected Chitimacha songs. However, no sacred songs were in that collection. Neither have many of the sacred songs of Coushatta or Tunica-Biloxi made it into collections. Segments of the *Elohara* or the Midnight Dance, a combination sacred/secular dance among the Tunica, have been taped or at least written down. Most of these have been carefully curated by the tribes as sacred knowledge not shared with outsiders, or they have been lost.

Story-telling, in all its functional aspects, has been kept alive in the Indian communities Swanton 1907: 285-89 and 1917: 474-78). Faye Stouff has preserved recent Chitimacha stories (Stouff and Twitty: 1971), augmenting Swanton's (1917:447-8) and Bushnell's (1917:301-7) early work. Swanton (1929) also collected Koasati and Alabama stories which are parallel and sometimes identical to those in Louisiana. Byington (1909, 1910) has left us a compliment of Choctaw stories from Bayou La Combe. Mary Haas (1942, 1950) has published a collection of Tunica stories and myths, including snatches of oral history in which she has pointed out the antiquity and strength of those traditions. Bel Abbey, of the Coushatta community at Elton, has recently worked with graduate students at Tulane University and Northwestern State University on Koasati stories (Abbey and Laster, 1978). At Jena, Choctaw elders still tell traditional Choctaw etiological stories—possibly the origin of many of the animal tales told by other groups in the Southeast. Such stories are usually told at night and by grandparents. Children learn all sorts of social rules and morals by their example to this day.

Indian joking and humor are as well developed in Louisiana as they are elsewhere in North America. Frequently they involve the white man, but outsiders seldom hear them and those who do complain that Indians joke "too hard." For example, "ugly anthropology" stories abound in Indian home settings.

An example is one told by a Coushatta. "The anthropologists came over. They asked questions all about us. How did we cook? How did we eat? Finally one asked me, 'How do you sleep?' I said, 'Pretty well, until you began to ask all these silly questions!'"

The geographic and social isolation of Indians from other groups is clearly a by-product of their past contact and conflict with whites and blacks. It has, in a real way, contributed to their continued strong identity, and even those who leave the kin-based communities still never abandon them entirely. Home visits are frequent, and kinship ties very strong. Some Indians have had their deceased members returned from Texas for burial on tribal land.

Stereotypes suffer, however, upon meeting Louisiana Indians. Few relate to the "uniform" of Indian identity seen elsewhere in the nation. "War bonnents" appear at pow-wows but are not part of Louisiana Indian traditions. Instead, long men's "hunting shirts," sometimes edged with rick-rack, are traditional dance costumes among the Coushatta; ribbon applique shirts and long buckskin hunting shirts were traditional Tunica clothing. The Tunica frequently chose bright colors; red, white and blue, were their favorites. Coushatta kept yellow, black, red and white preferences, the older sacred colors of the southeast. Tunica silverwork had virtually ceased by the 1880's, but many families still keep an array of ornaments of hammered and polished coins and German silver. One Tunica burial even contained the tools of the silversmith's trade (Gregory, 1979). Broaches, arm bands, head bands, bracelets, ear and nose ornaments, breast plates and other items were popular in traditional dress. After 1760, such items spread widely among the state tribes (Gregory, 1965). Ribbons, introduced originally into the Indian trade when surplus patriotic ribbons flooded the country at the end of the French Revolution, have continued to be traditional decoration, especially in women's clothing (Underhill, 1949). Beadwork, both the traditional scroll baldrics and complicated chain-meander pattern loom beading, as well as necklaces—Venetian collars and "Daisy Chains"—continue among the Coushatta, the Choctaw at Jena, and the Tunica-Biloxi.

Worn singlely, any of the above items are not a necessary mark of "Indianess," but in combination these elements are clearly so. Younger Indians are increasingly drawn to pan-tribal symbols, too. American Indian Movement (AIM) buttons surface in urban areas, and bumper stickers appear such as "Official Indian Car," "It's hard to be humble and Indian," or "Custer died for your sins." Black felt hats with beaded bands, turquoise and silver jewelry, *heishi* necklaces—all in a southwestern or Plains tradition—are beginning to appear, but are still integrated with the older southeastern forms. These items contrast with the western boots, jeans, denim work shirts, and overalls of the often more traditionally tribal rural folks. Palmetto hats, made at home by the Houma, are still more popular than imported Indian elements down on the bayou.

Toy pirogues, blowguns, moss dolls, basketry, horn spoons, Chinaberry necklaces, seed necklaces of Mamou "beans," wooden crabs, crayfish, and birds offer striking contrasts to the stereotypes of Indian crafts.

Folk medicines in Louisiana are more often Indian than European or African. Frank Speck (1943) has pointed this out graphically for the Houma, and Spitzer (1979) has suggested that medicinal plants and traditional cures are a strong Indian identity factor for those people.

Many strange foodstuffs that fall upon one's palate in Louisiana came from Indian dietary schedules (Speck and Dexter, 1946:35) Alligator tail, garfish *boule* and steaks, *Gros Bec* or Night Heron (an illegal delicacy), *file*, turtle eggs, baked raccoon or oppossum, deer liver, and a number of wild plants and fungi are seldom known to people from outside the region. Corn dishes abound, as well. Though they are frequently highly seasoned today, they are still clearly Indian in origin. The Coushatta continue to serve their traditional corn soup, *chawaka*, a version of *sofki*, once a widespread Indian food in the southeast. On the Sabine River, in northwestern Louisiana, the descendants of Choctaw and ex-slave Apacheans have preserved the *tortilla*, *tamale* and beans traditions of more typical southwestern Indians. Mixed with other Spanish colonial influences, these foods have long served to set the area's identity apart. Fried bread, both wheat and maize, are typical Indian foods all over North America. The Louisiana Indians continue that tradition, too. Choctaw and Tunica make "blue corn" dumplings, eaten with mustard greens, and talk about *tomfula*, their favored pounded corn food. While some Indian foods, like crawfish, have become Louisiana culinary delights, it should be pointed out that many Houma still refuse to eat them. The Red Crawfish, *Shakei Homa*, was their "war animal," a guardian spirit. Tunica-Biloxi refuse to eat the dove and Coushatta decline to eat the totems of their clans. Even so, the Louisiana diet is resoundingly Indian-based especially in terms of fished and foraged items.

All the traditional Indian cultural elements noted here have come together in Louisiana with various Anglo-, Afro-, French or Spanish influences, but Indian communities have held to their own identities. Most native Louisianians (other than the Indian people) are oblivious to the rich Indian heritage around them and remain unaware of such cultural borrowing, even though they daily participate in selected aspects of it.

Efforts by the tribes to obtain services and to develop their own limited lands and resources have frequently been hampered by the lack of education of the general public and state officials about the Indians who have survived in Louisiana. It is easy to ignore things that have disappeared, to forget where things came from, and not to know. However, today the combined efforts of the tribes have begun to have their results and their Indian identity is increasingly preserved and important. As one Choctaw leader, Clyde Jackson, has put it: "We take care of ourselves. We draw strength from our culture." The wisdom of the late Tunica chief, Joseph Pierite, adds optimism to the efforts of such younger leaders: "We have a promise from the sun. As long as there is the sun, there will be Indian people here."

Paul Thomas of the Ebarb Choctaw community tans a hide (1981). Photograph: Don Sepulvado.

A LIST OF CONTEMPORARY LOUISIANA INDIAN FESTIVAL DAYS

Fete de Ble - The Tunica-Biloxi religious ceremonial. held on tribal land near Marksville. Barbecue and ceremonial corn foods served to celebrate the new corn crop. Open to the public. Every Fourth of July. Small admission fee to non-tribal visitors. Food and drink available for a fee.

Indian Softball Tournament - Held at the Coushatta Tribal Center near Elton, Louisiana. Teams from most Louisiana tribes compete in slow and fast pitch games. Usually on Labor Day.

Christmas Choctaw Princess Contest - Held at the Jena Band of Choctaw tribal center in Jena, Louisiana. Choice of a tribal beauty and "Little Princess" to represent the tribe. Open to the public. Door fee to non-tribal members.

Chitimacha Indian Festival - Held at the Chitimacha Tribal Center at Charenton, Louisiana. Indian traditional foods, dancing, and basketry sales. Date announced annually. Open to the public.

Pan-Tribal Pow-Wow - Sponsored by the Indian Angels, Inc. at various places, usually in July or August. Traditional Plains or Pow-Wow dancing. Craft sales, dealers welcome. Admission fee at gate. Usually has a group of singers and drummers from Oklahoma.

Indian Crafts Day - The first weekend in December. Sponsored by the Anthropology Club at Northwestern State University in conjunction with the Natchitoches Christmas Festival. Held in the Williamson Museum, John Kyser Hall. Free admission. Usually several tribes and individuals selling traditional Louisiana Indian crafts and foods.

Zwolle Tamale Fiesta - Usually in early October, this festival is a combination of small town parades, and a combination of Indian, Spanish and Anglo-Saxon flavors. Tamale-making, an Indian foodway, Hispanicized on the colonial frontier, is the center of activities. Some traditional arts and crafts occasionally available.

Houma, Azelia Clodellia Fitch Verdin, Grand Caillou, 1979. Photograph: Greg Bowman.

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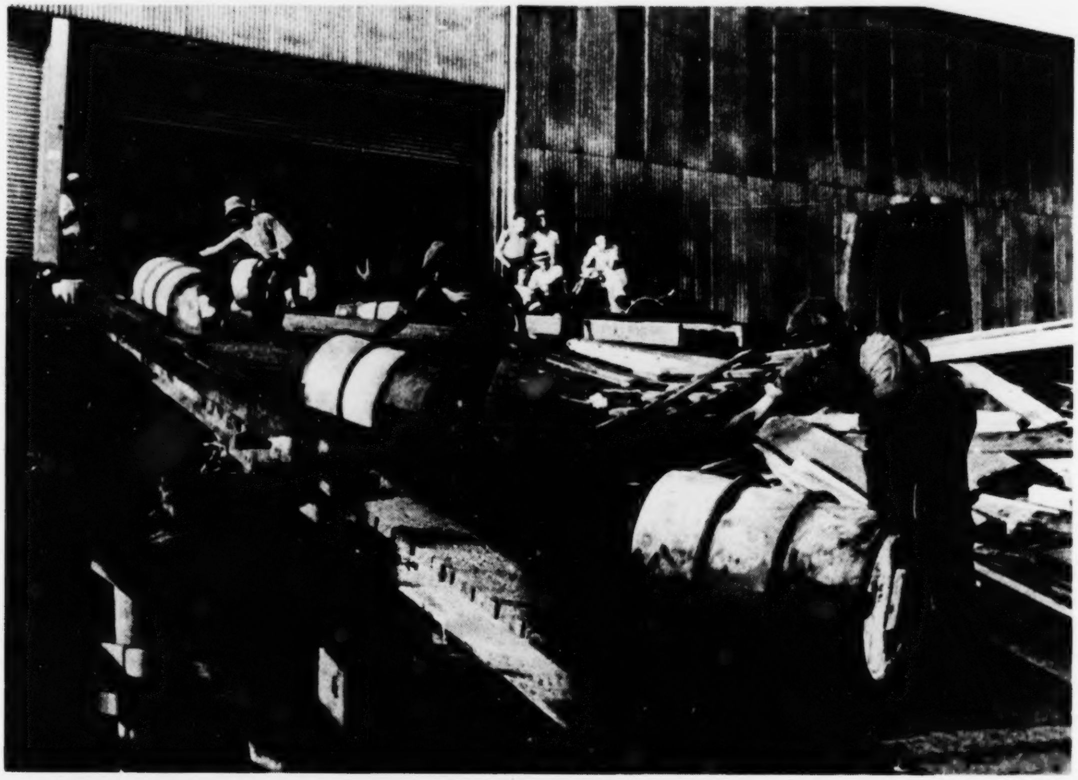
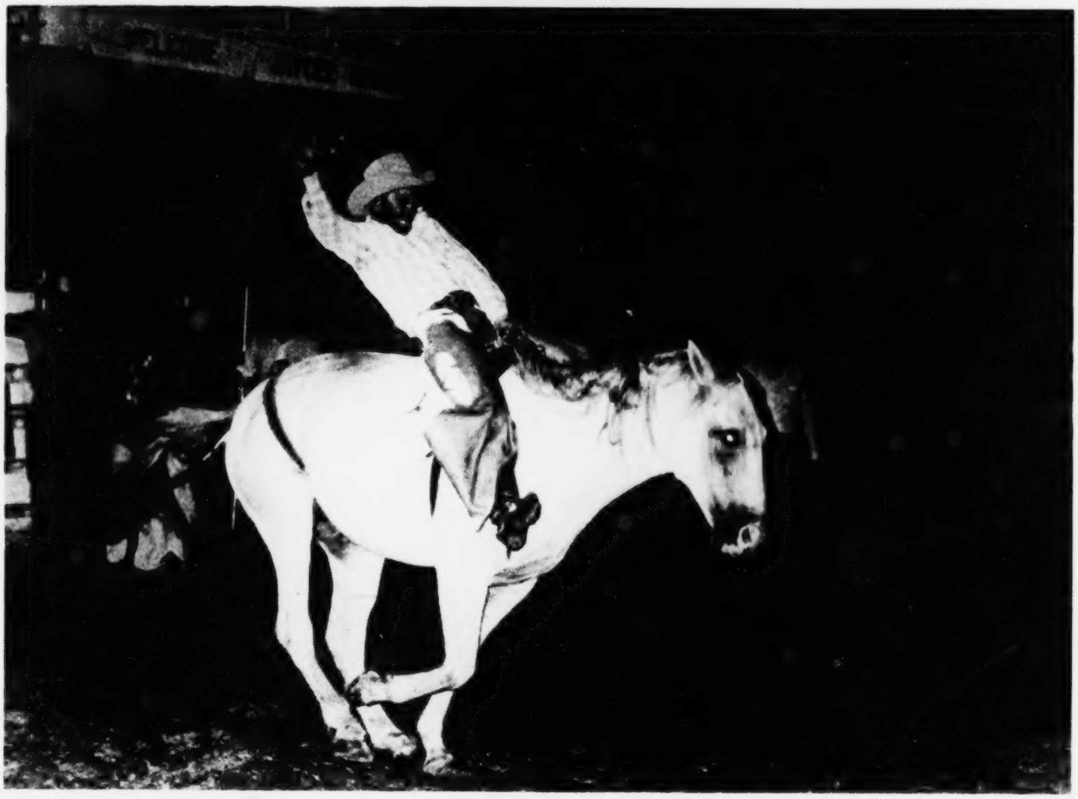


New Orleans Stevedores, 1938. Photograph: Russell Lee. (Farm Security Administration, Library of Congress.)



Rodeo shows how an occupation can become a professional sport. Sabine Parish. Photograph: Louisiana Office of Tourism.

OCCUPATIONAL FOLKLIFE IN LOUISIANA

by George A. Stokes

Work traditions in Louisiana are as diverse as the state's peoples and products. The settings of work have ranged from fishing and foraging to slavery and sharecropping over the last two hundred years. Recent rapid industrialization has diminished many traditional skills and forms of work, particularly those based in agriculture and exploitation of the environment for food. Yet traditions persist and accommodations are made: shrimpers and trappers add seasonal work in the oilfield to their annual rounds, crawfish farms enter the realm of agribusiness and all types of products and activities are celebrated at festivals and related contests dedicated to petroleum and rice, nutria skinning and oyster shucking.

It is useful to break occupational folklife into two categories. First there are traditional occupations. In Louisiana these could include blacksmithing, fishing, boat making and farming in rural settings to name but a few. These are jobs with long standing definitions of roles and skills passed on in informal settings to new workers who may be family members (in the case of fishing and farming) to non-kin apprentices (in the case of blacksmithing or housebuilding trades).

Second, one could look at occupational traditions. These are usually components such as beliefs, lore, tools and costumery and are informally but effectively communicated within an occupational group. They could range from traditional tall tales about John Henry figures in the old railroad camps to newer heroes of the oil patch. Standards of initiation are often involved in such traditions whereby, for example, the newest roustabouts in the oilfield are called "worms," the lowest of the low, and experienced men are referred to as "hands." Almost any occupational group involved in services from taxicab drivers to pullman porters has stories about old or distasteful customers. Within groups such as cotton press workers or field hands there are always narratives about the boss's follies presented in song and story form. One could look at occupational costumes from flowered cotton welding caps to rubber boots fitted with spurs for those Cajun cowboys working on the prairie marshland of southwest Louisiana. Whatever the stylistic or functional base for occupational costume, there is also a huge range of tools such as seine nets, crab cars, moss spinners and axe handles that make traditional work possible. Perhaps the best cataloging of the traditional tools, ideas and activities associated with work have come from cultural geographers who look at what man has traditionally made by hand on and-or from the land. A good example of this sort of work is Malcolm Comeaux's Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupation (1972). Much of the rest of Louisiana awaits similar works on its vast array of environments and cultures.

In a state where the products are as varied as Perique tobacco and crawfish and the work force runs the gamut from rural white and black farmers to Cajun offshore workers and Vietnamese seafood processors, any essay on occupational folklife must be of an introductory nature. It is hoped that this introduction will spur further interest in and understanding of the way we define work activities and roles as part of tradition now and in the future.

Dr. George A. Stokes is Vice President of University Affairs at Northwestern State University. He has long had an interest in the occupational traditions and economic patterns of the timber industry, as evidenced in his 1954 dissertation on "Lumbering in Southwest Louisiana," and his more recent article "The Day the Whistle Didn't Blow: Folklife Resources in the Louisiana Timber Industry."

It has been said that "Louisiana has many faces." (Rogers and Watson, 1969:285.) It is equally true that Louisiana has many hands. The people who followed the Indians to this state have been coming from different countries and different continents for nearly two centuries, and the immigrations are still going on. As the new arrivals seek to establish themselves, they bring to their new occupations the work-related methods, customs, knowledge, attitudes, artifacts and vernaculars that were parts of their cultural inheritance.

The variety of cultural backgrounds represented among the people of Louisiana is matched by the range of natural environments found here. This diversity of physical settings has provided Louisianians with unusual latitude in the choice of occupations, the selection of natural resources and access to natural settings of many kinds.

Similarly, the nature of Louisiana's location and history have contributed to cultural complexity. At the mouth of the Mississippi River, Louisiana was squeezed between rival empires and, later, the young United States. Political decisions made in distant capitals sometimes affected people here to an unusual degree.

It is apparent that unique circumstances of environment and multi-culturation have made Louisiana a rich repository of folklore related to work. One who undertakes to learn the "techniques, gestures, oral expressions, and customs" (McCarl, 1978:16) of almost any occupation should be prepared for challenges. Sources of Louisiana occupational folklore range from a conversation with a pulpwood cutter to archives in Madrid and Paris.

The following commentary is not intended to be a complete inventory of occupations associated at one time or another with Louisiana. Its object is to suggest the diversity of occupations pursued by Louisianians. The order in which they are mentioned has no significance here.

Agriculture

People who came to Louisiana and took up farming found themselves at work on natural levees, in backswamps, on pine hills and prairie grasslands, loessial bluffs, river bottoms and coastal cheniers. It is said that no work is more difficult than "breaking new ground," and the first farmers here found tasks ahead of them that at times must have seemed impossible. The work often was made even more arduous by heat, floods, drought, hurricanes, plant diseases, insects and other natural hazards. Despite these obstacles, Louisiana agriculture has evolved into a highly productive system based on cattle, cotton, soybeans, rice, dairying and a great variety of other products.

Perhaps the most difficult settlement to establish in Louisiana was that made by the Germans who took up lands along the banks of the Mississippi River just above New Orleans in 1721. Leaving the ancient and beautifully-tended fields of the Old World, they moved into a nightmare, a virgin forest in the heavy alluvial bottoms of a great river in a humid subtropical climate. This land, covered with giant oaks, vines and heavy growth of all kinds, supported a large wild animal population and was subject to annual flooding.

Work began along the *Côte des Allemands* with axes, hoes and shovels. Practically no work animals were available, but within a few years farms were producing enough vegetables for some to be sold in New Orleans. Before long, river travelers were admiring the neat white cottages along the banks, and when famine came to New Orleans in 1768, the town was saved by food from the German Coast. In south Louisiana, for a long time there was a saying about any unusually difficult task: "It takes German people to do that" (Deiler, 1909:59). Numbers of people of German descent still live in isolated communities called "coves" in south Louisiana (Schexnider, 1982).

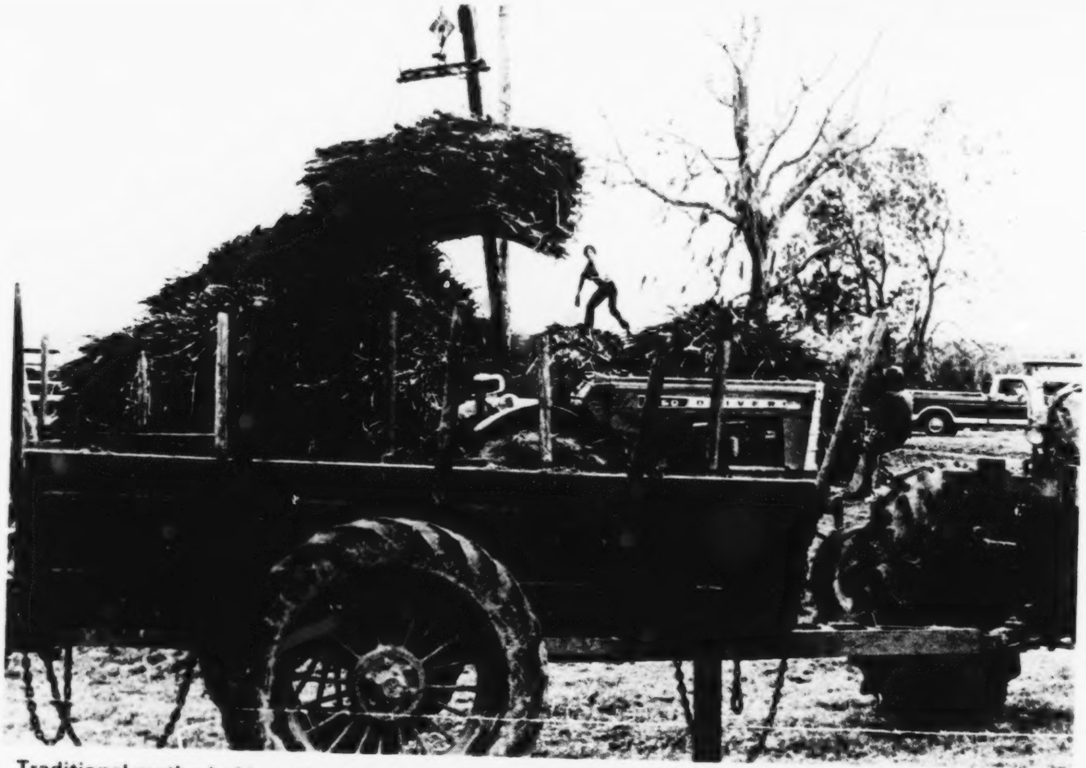
Sugar cane is a crop long associated with Louisiana. First attempts at cane cultivation were not impressive, but with the failure of indigo and the development of processes for granulating sugar, the rise of the industry began (Nichols, 1956:11). Cane cultivation here often has been troubled by labor shortages, and various attempts have been made to solve that chronic problem. Slaves, German and Irish immigrants and others were employed in the cane fields. Several investors brought in Chinese laborers who were thought to be experts at cane cultivation. Living up to the reputation of Chinese around the world, they worked hard and well and got along with everyone (Cohen, 1978:7).

Tobacco, a New World plant widely used by the Indians, was taken up by European colonists and the habit soon caught on in Europe. By 1620, tobacco had become a major export item in the English colonies (Bining, 1943:60). Newcomers to Louisiana were quick to try tobacco as both consumers and producers, so that in 1817, an agent reporting to the Spanish captain-general of Cuba on conditions in the southwest stated that, "The fame of Natchitoches tobacco is worldwide" (Carpenter, 1947:725).

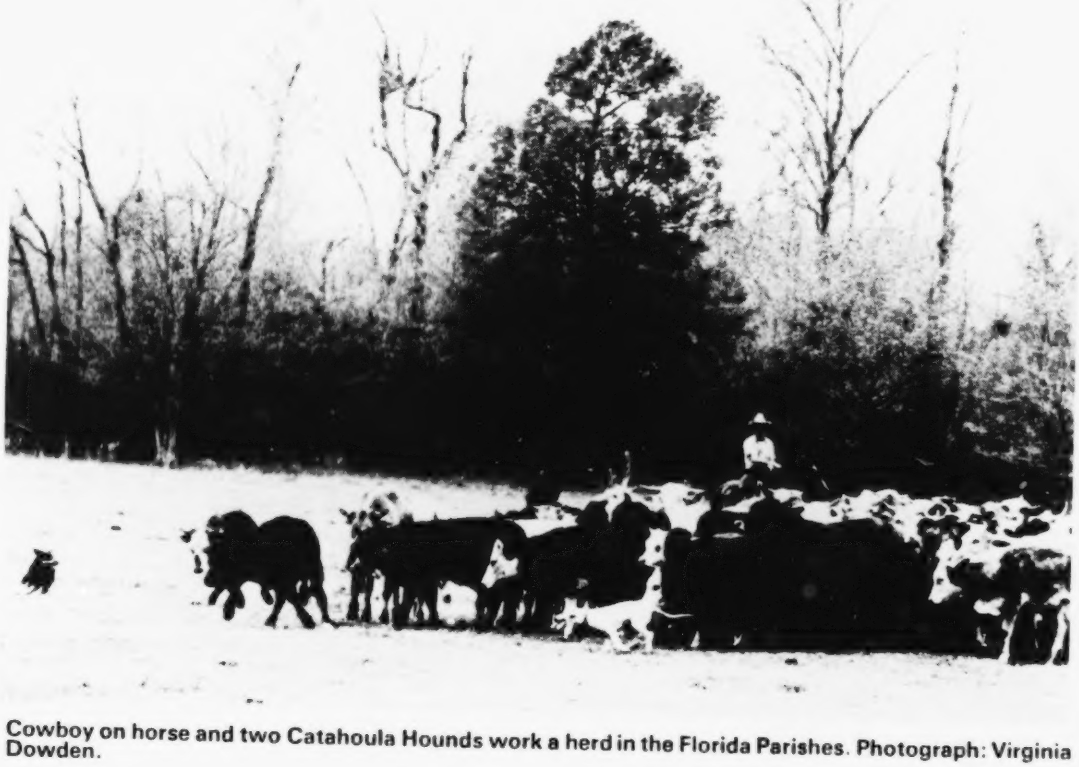
In "Evangeline," Longfellow wrote:

> Lighting his pipe that was filled with sweet Natchitoches tobacco, Thus he spake to his guests, who listened, And smiled as they listened...

Tobacco cultivation in Louisiana was encouraged by both French and Spanish colonial administrations. Production centered around Natchez and Natchitoches and was expanding rapidly until undercut by Cuban competition. The tightly rolled bundles of tobacco called *carottes* by the French and *andullos* by the Spanish were acceptable for a time as a medium of exchange (Nunley, 1967:4). Today, Louisiana tobacco production is limited to southern St. James Parish. The dark Perique tobacco is cured by a process introduced about 1825 and is widely popular in



Traditional method of bundling and loading sugar cane still found in some areas of Louisiana makes use of a winch, pulley and manpower. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.



Cowboy on horse and two Catahoula Hounds work a herd in the Florida Parishes. Photograph: Virginia Dowden.

tobacco blends in Europe (Ellzey, 1962:5).

The first orange groves in Louisiana were planted about 1800 in Plaquemines Parish south of New Orleans (Fogarty, 1963:2). A traveler going downstream on the Mississippi River in 1821 reported seeing orange groves beginning at Pointe Coupee (Duffy, 1957:55). Efforts to grow oranges of several kinds commercially have continued with results at best only mildly successful. Principal inhibitors have been early killing frosts and hurricanes, both of which have damaged groves severely from time to time.

Between 1890 and 1914, numbers of immigrants from the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia came to Louisiana, some of whom engaged in orange cultivation south of New Orleans (Vujnovich, 1974:61). It is believed that the Yugoslavs introduced the process of making the delicious orange wine so popular in south Louisiana (Fogarty, 1963:6). The midwesterners who attempted to found a settlement called Loranger in southeast Louisiana also attempted to raise oranges but without success (Bennett, 1970:98).

In several instances, Louisiana farmers have used animals for farm work in ways that are somewhat unusual. For a time a number of cotton planters in Natchitoches Parish experimented with the employment of geese as substitutes for the large gangs of hoe-wielding black plantation hands formerly required to keep the rows clean. These geese ate the young grass as it sprouted and left the cotton untouched. These birds were employed at the rate of about 1.5 per acre, and handled the job satisfactorily (Highsmith, 1964:31). Along somewhat similar lines was the experiment on a large sugar plantation in which sheep were turned into the cane fields just after their cultivation in the spring. The sheep did well on the sprouting grass, keeping the rows clean, while the cane was left alone (Nichols, 1956:36).

An animal widely known and respected in Louisiana is the "Catahoula Hogdog," also called the "Catahoula Hound," or the "Catahoula Cur." Perhaps the terms "widely known and respected" are inadequate. A few years ago the state legislature of Louisiana proclaimed the Catahoula Hound to be the official state dog. One observer describes the Catahoula dogs as being:

> ...graceful, well-built animals. The body is strong with heavy shoulders, broad chest, rather long and powerful neck. Coloring always includes dark splotches to a greater or lesser degree. A blue leopard has dark splotches on a bluish background; white dogs have splotches scattered over them; brindled dogs are dark, but the splotches are darker than the background. All have white on them, feet, collar, and chest. Some leopards have a tawny background. An adult male weighs about 65 pounds. They can be trained to handle any kind of stock, be watch dogs or hunt. (McGuffee, 1965:44)

Often the dogs were trained to handle the feral pigs once so numerous in Louisiana swamps and pine forests. The hog-dog barked and snapped at the hogs, inducing them to chase him. As they pursued, the dog led them into a prepared and camouflaged pen. The dog then escaped from the pen and the raging hogs by jumping the fence. It is said that when the wild hogs realized that they were trapped they would lie on the ground, kicking and squealing as if in torment. Sometimes the dogs were employed in handling tamer swine. Pigs that escaped from pens were retrieved by the dog. When he found a runaway pig, the dog seized him by an ear and held him, struggling and squealing, until the owner came. One newcomer to Louisiana in 1945 watched in amazement as a hog-dog quickly and efficiently rounded up a number of pigs that had escaped from a truck parked on a residential street in Winnfield (Deahl, 1945).

Pigs introduced into Louisiana by colonists escaped and found life in the wild much to their liking. The swamps and forests provided plenty of food and cover, and there were few natural enemies that could handle the long-legged, bristly and grouchy "razorbacks." The wild hogs were an important food item for many settlers and later for others during the Depression years. From time to time the pigs were rounded up. Some were killed for food, some were sold, and others were marked to show ownership and released.

"Marking" wild hogs was accomplished by cutting a combination of basic marks in the hog's ear, counterparts to the brands so much part of cattle-country lore. Marks could be registered, and a farmer could lay claim to all hogs bearing his mark within five miles of his residence. The basic marks bore such names as "crop," "bit," "hack," "swallow-fork," "split," and "figure seven." A farmer's individual mark usually was some combination of the basic forms, such as, "under figure seven," "swallow-fork split," and "crop and upper half crop" (Fluitt, 1971:213).

The range-cattle industry here has undergone major expansion in recent years, but it is far from being new to the Louisiana scene. The early French settlers were in desperate need of livestock and for a time they carried on a clandestine trade with their Spanish rivals. They met to bargain at Campti, near Natchitoches, about 1718 (Eversull, 1961:137). For a time cattle were shipped from Natchitoches to New Orleans to take advantage of high prices there. Later, cattle were introduced into the Louisiana prairie country by the Acadians about 1765. Livestock did well there, and by 1800 cattle were plentiful.

Crop dusting is a distinctive occupation related to agriculture that has been followed in Louisiana for more than half a century. The first plane used here was flown in 1926 by a company based in Monroe. The plane is now in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, and the flying service that operated it has grown into Delta Air Lines (Maxwell, 1968:391).

Most of the powerful old Stearman biplanes once so widely used in agricultural aviation are retired. New aircraft spray herbicides, insecticides, defoliants, fertilizers and seed, and frighten away ricebirds. The planes save time, avoid soil compaction, and can operate when the fields are too wet for tractors. More than 200 companies are now flying in Louisiana. Occaisionally, at local airports, one may see the young pilots of supersonic jet aircraft from some nearby air force base studying with obvious awe the frail planes the dusters fly.

Forests

The exploitation of Louisiana's forests began with the arrival of the first settlers and still ranks as a major occupation. People, processes, and products have changed, and each change has made its contribution to the lore of Louisiana lumbering.

The forests yielded much of value to the settlers. Wood was the universal material, and great stands of useful species were found here. It was used for houses, furniture, fences, flatboats, firewood, barrel staves, sewers, sidewalks, tanks, cisterns, charcoal, coffins and a thousand other things. In French colonial days, slaves were set to work cutting cypress for sale when plantation fields lay idle in the winter. Later, German and Irish immigrants were hired for that dangerous work so that valuable slaves would not be endangered (Conway, 1962:9).

Indians long had cut cypress logs to make the dugout canoes the French learned to use, and quantities had been cut for local use and sale. When the large-scale cutting of cypress began about 1876, most of the virgin timber still remained. Great stands of cypress grew in the swamps, and loggers there came to be known as "swampers." In dry seasons the thick-based trees were cut by men standing on scaffolds five or six feet above the ground. Trees in flooded swamps fell to loggers who worked standing in "pirogues," the tiny cypress boats copied from the Indian dugouts. Many of the early swampers were Cajuns (Norgress, 1947:979). The timber was cut in winter and spring, to be floated on the "June Rise." Floating logs were moved about by "pull boats," at first powered by steam and later by automobile engines. Skidders were mounted on barges, and in that watery world the swampers lived in "quarter boats."

Settlers entering the vast Louisiana pineries built their log houses and barns with the long, straight trunks, and split more for rails to be used in the angular "snake" fences they built to keep animals out of their fields. Many farmers set fire to the woods in winter in the belief that it would get rid of vermin and make the grass grow better in the spring. A woods-burner had to be careful. If his fire destroyed someone's rail fence, built at the cost of so much sweat, his troubles were likely to be serious.

The pine hill settler usually was poor, but he was fiercely independent and enjoyed his isolated life. Some said that if you could hear your neighbor's axe, the country was getting too crowded. Whenever possible these farmers augmented their incomes by cutting fuel for steamboats and locomotives. With the coming of the era of intensive logging in the Louisiana pine forests, about 1890, many men left their farms to work for a dollar a day for the lumber companies. Some worked at the mills while others toiled at the "front," the place in the forest where the trees were falling. Many lived in company towns, others at "camps," temporary settlements at or near the front. In the boom days of logging, it was said that a man who was fired could walk down the railroad track to the next sawmill town and be at work again before dark. Areas of work other than the mills and the front were the logging railroads and turpentine stills or some other company operation.

The intensive system of lumbering that prevailed in Louisiana until about 1930 was based on black and white Louisianians, Mexicans and company employees brought here from places as far away as Michigan and Missouri. Some of these people left when the mills "cut out," but many remained behind to form the cadres of the state's first sizable industrial population.

The industries based on the exploitation of Louisiana forests today are much changed. They depend primarily upon trucks and highways rather than oxen and railroads. Sawmills are generally smaller. Forest products are more varied and now include such items as paper, plywood, and particle board manufactured at plants located here.

Like the Louisiana logger, the folklorist has rich resources at hand in the story of Louisiana lumbering. The swampers, the log-rafters, the railroaders, the land speculators and others are all attractive figures whose stories are far from complete (Stokes, 1981:1).

Minerals

Louisiana's mineral wealth is well displayed in an array of oil and gas fields, mines, refineries, processing plants and associated industrial establishments. Principal minerals produced have been oil, natural gas, sulphur and salt. New developments based on lignite, a low-grade coal are beginning to assume major proportions.

Many early accounts of travel in Louisiana have made reference to mines and mineral deposits of one kind or another supposedly hidden in some remote part of the state. Lead mines and coal mines were mentioned long before the first gusher came in near Jennings in 1901.

Lignite, the "new" energy source now so much in the news, was being burned here more than a century and a half ago. One account states that "Pit coal . . . frequently makes its appearance on the Washita, the Sabine, and Red River, particularly on the borders of a lake in the neighborhood of Natchitoches. This article is of use to smiths" (Stoddard, 1812:391). According to local accounts, lignite was dug and burned near Armistead in Red River Parish until recent years.

The student of folklore in Louisiana's mineral-based occupations has a rapidly growing and changing area to investigate. Pipelining is a major new occupation, and offshore drilling—now expanding to waters all around the world—had its origins here. It would be interesting to see if culture traits from Louisiana's oil coast have been transplanted to shores around the North Sea and the Persian Gulf. Yet to come is the opening of lignite strip mines and the great changes they threaten to bring to the folkways and landscapes of northwest Louisiana.

Wildlife

Louisiana has always been the home of wildlife notable for both variety and numbers. Animals were important elements in Indian cultures here and appear in many of their stories. Accounts left by the early French include descriptions of the cougar, raccoon, opossum, beaver, deer, black bear, rabbit, fox, mink and squirrel. Another animal was described this way: "There is also a sort of animal, rather pretty, but which for more than a league around befouls the air with the stench of its urine, that is the reason why it has been called *'bete puant'*, (stinking animal)" (Anonymous, 1931:35).

Broutin's 1731 map of Red River has this observation in its legend: "This river is full of crocodiles and abounds in fish. Its banks teem with wild beasts such as buffalo, bears, tigers, wolves, stags and roe deer. There are also great numbers of wildfowl such as turkeys, bustards, storks and ducks of every kind."

Mentioned in early writings is the *boeuf sauvage*, or wild ox. This was the bison. Bayou Terre aux Boeuf in St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes was named for the buffalo which wintered there. Useful for their meat and hides, the buffalo were excellent guides and left clearly marked trails through unmapped swamps and to fords along many streams (Anonymous, 1931:35).

The muskrat is probably the best known fur animal of Louisiana. While the Attakapas Indians near New Orleans used buffalo skins about 1732, they knew nothing of the muskrat. Trapping the muskrat began in southeastern Louisiana about 1900. There the marshes were burned regularly to facilitate alligator hunting, and this prompted growth of the grasses which made up the muskrat's food supply. The muskrat population grew rapidly, spreading westward into Texas. There, in 1912, ranchers placed a bounty on the muskrats because of their damage to the cattle range. In Cameron Parish, ranchers paid five cents per tail.

The number of muskrats has fluctuated with drought, marsh fires, hurricanes, salt water invasions, and other disasters, but he has always returned and so has the trapper. The occupation is threatened now by a far more dangerous competitor: south Louisiana is a rapidly developing area, and most young people favor the opportunities open to them outside of the great marshes.

Louisiana wildlife supports another occupation: that of the fishing camp operator and guide. A great increase in the number of people in this work has taken place around Louisiana's freshwater lakes. The operator may be in charge of a lodge with tennis courts and swimming pool, or he may be limited to a grassy spot on a lakeshore where he has a few boats for rent. In either case, the establishment is likely to be called a "camp."

A 1960 survey found thirty-six commercial fishing and hunting camps and 168 privately owned camps located around three lakes in northwest Louisiana, and their numbers have increased considerably (Radasinovich, 1961:19). The commercial camp operators rent boats and other equipment and sell fishing and camping supplies. Sometimes fishing guides are available, and a few people have become famous as successful competitors in fishing contests in which prizes amount to thousands of dollars. Their vocabularies feature such terms as "boat roads," "structures" and "schooling bass."

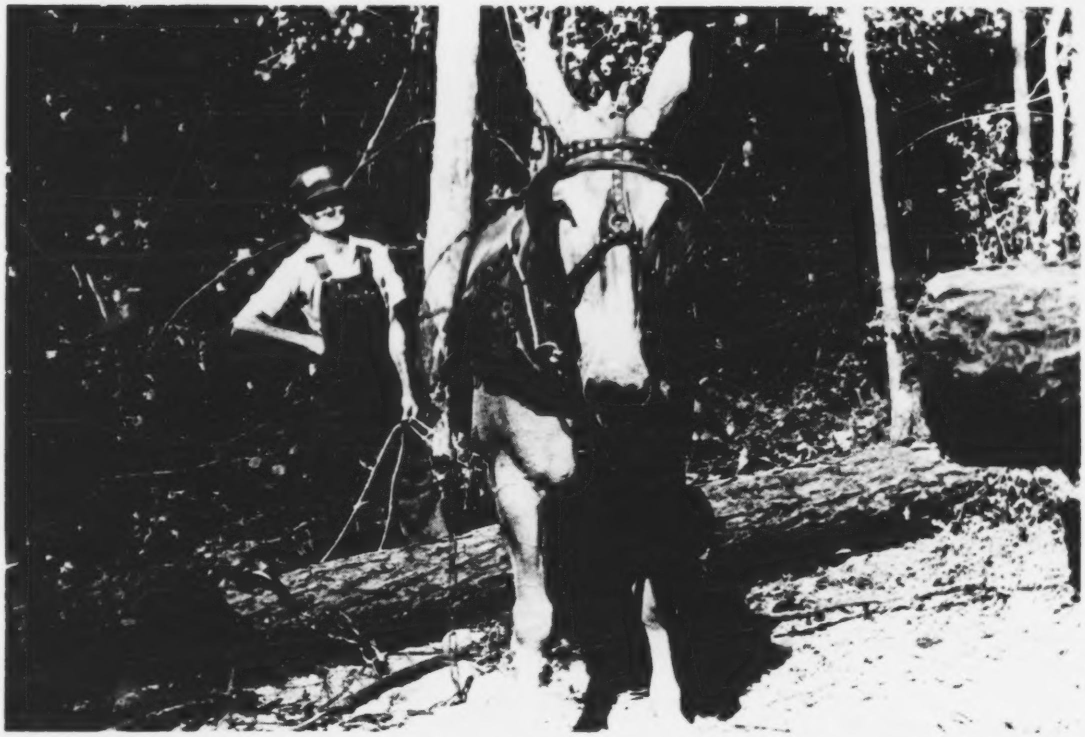
Louisiana lakes and streams, once crowded with edible fish of many kinds, are increasingly subject to man-made change and pollution. Some people keep alive the ancient craft of net making, however. While it seems that there are fewer freshwater commercial fishermen plying their trade each year, no less than 10,617 licenses for that occupation were sold here in 1975 (Anonymous, 1978:31).

The Work of Women

Any review of folklife resources related to occupations surely must include some of those areas in which the work of women was essential. One such area would be that of the housewife who, for generations in Louisiana, made homes in log cabins, railroad work cars, trapper's huts, city slums, mobile homes and every other sort of dwelling imaginable. In earlier times this woman knew how to avoid illnesses, how to prepare food for people of all ages, and knew a good bit about home medical and nursing care. She promoted the religious life of the family, saw to the rearing and education of the children, and cared for aged parents. Often, through her efforts, the family was supplied with milk, butter, eggs, soap and fresh vegetables. She cooked, washed, ironed, sewed, mended, cleaned house, and swept the yard. It was true that, "Man works from sun to sun, but woman's work is never done."

The hard and dangerous work of ministering to the sick was one of the few occupations that could be taken up professionally by women who had to support themselves. As "practical" nurses they could follow the instructions of a physician and,

Crawfisherman Hally Barras of Catahoula checks his bait in the Atchafalaya Basin. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Smithsonian Institution.)



Animals are still used to plow and haul in some rural areas of Louisiana. Clinton, East Feliciana Parish, 1981. Photograph: Connie Dubois, *The Watchman.*

when nothing better was at hand, they employed ancient remedies, sometimes with surprising results. Many older Louisianians remember names like "asafoetida," and "antiphlogistine." An eminent Baton Rouge physician treated me with the latter medication in 1948.

Until recently, boarding houses stood in almost every town, and many of them were managed by women. The boarding house was usually a large frame building, two or three stories high, where rooms were rented by the day, week or month and where meals were sold. Often the boarding house was near and facing the railroad depot. With room and board went the privilege of sitting on the porch and watching people get on and off the trains. Even a small town might have five or six passenger trains a day, so the watchers had plenty to do. Considerable humor was associated with bachelor life in the boarding house. Jokes were frequent about how far boarders could stretch for food at the dinner table, and a tall man was said to have a good "boarding house reach." It was sometimes said that table etiquette required that each diner keep one foot on the floor at all times during a meal. Several popular newspaper comic strips were based on boarding house life.

Boarding house meals traditionally were well prepared and bountiful. A supper, for which a non-roomer could be charged as much as a dollar, might offer platters of pork chops, meat loaf, roast beef, rice, mashed potatoes, sweet potatoes, turnips, green beans, lima beans, squash, corn bread, rolls, potato salad, pie, cake, coffee, milk and buttermilk. The diner could eat as much as he could hold. During a trip with Harold N. Fisk in 1947, we stopped for a meal at a boarding house he knew of in Tallulah, Louisiana. The price of the meal was $1.50. Any woman who could manage such an establishment, keeping everything in spotless condition, buying the food and seeing to its preparation, and all the other things that had to be done regularly and well, had to have managerial skills of a high order. Many women did it, and showed a profit.

From The Past Into The Present

Louisiana has its share of uncommon occupations. A good example is the work of the Mississippi River bar pilot, which has been described as ". . . a little-known, never studied, functionally important occupation " (Salomone, 1967:39).

The delta of the Mississippi River extending into the Gulf of Mexico is of an extremely rare type. Instead of forming a deep estuary, like that of the Hudson River at New York, or a classic arcuate delta such as that of the Nile, the Mississippi's fine sediments extend long fingers of low-lying land into the gulf. Distributary channels flow along these fingers, emptying into the gulf through outlets locally called "passes." The water at the mouth of each pass is made extremely shallow by the presence of a "bar" of mud and sand which endangers ships entering or leaving the pass.

The first to guide ships navigating the passes were Indians, who were of little help. They were replaced by French and later by Spanish under those colonial administrations. Regulation was nonexistent, and by 1800 the bar town of Balize had become, "The wildest, rawest place in all Louisiana." (Salomone, 1967:43). So remote was Balize that the Spanish governor Antonio de Ulloa sought to banish all Louisiana lepers to its shores (Kalish, 1973:489).

After the United States assumed control, conditions began to improve. Pilots were required to be licensed after 1836 and extremely rigid standards have been maintained since. Some of the men are called "Tocko" pilots, a slang term denoting an American-born person of Slavic descent.

Some occupations flourished for a time and then largely disappeared from the scene. One of these was the ferry operator. Louisiana's drainage system is widespread and complex, with some 15,000 miles of navigable waterways and countless smaller streams. Under these circumstances travelers were faced constantly with water crossings of every magnitude. Sometimes creeks could be crossed by "cooning" along a log. Others required the use of rafts, or "floats," and at wider crossings in settled areas ferries were common.

Often the provision of ferry service at a river crossing was the responsibility of the parish police jury. The jury usually auctioned off the privilege of operating the ferry to the highest bidder. The person chosen agreed to provide a ferry of a certain capacity, make a specified number of crossings per day and charge standard rates according to an agreed-upon schedule (Williamson, 1939:191). For many years the ferries provided the most practical kind of service in a state where streams were so numerous. Since 1925, when large-scale bridging began, the ferries have largely disappeared, although a few still cross the Mississippi River at major cities (Gritzner, 1963:222).

A state as laced with streams as Louisiana surely will be notable for the importance of boats in the lives of many people. Boats here have operated in waters of all kinds and served many purposes. In some places, children rode "schoolboats" to school every day, rather than buses. The making of boats was traditionally carried on by those who used them for fishing, hunting or trapping. Louisiana folk boats cover a great diversity of types that are adapted to our coastal, bayou, swamp and lake environments. They include pirogue, *chaland*, *esquif* (skiff), *bateau* and flat boat (Knipmeyer 1976:108). All were constructed along traditional lines by local artisans (for a fuller treatment, see article by Comeaux on "Folk Boats" in Section III). Today, boats of aluminum are available for almost every purpose, even though the wooden boats in some respects are better than the metal ones. It is interesting to note that one of the oldest boats, the pirogue taken from the dugouts of the Indians, is still popular and is even copied in fiberglass.

Whether he was of French, English, Spanish, German, or other ancestry, the blacksmith was an essential person in many Louisiana communities until near the opening of World War II. In earlier times the clanging hammers of these highly skilled workmen were a welcome sound in many towns. The smith worked in both wood and metal, and a good one's knowledge was surprising. He was especially skilled at improvisation. An excellent knife could be made of a leaf from a buggy seat spring, for example. The blacksmith often invented, designed, and made unique tools for special tasks. Once its work was done, such a tool, perhaps nameless, might be hung on a wall or tossed under a workbench to await resurrection. In some ways modern blacksmiths and oilfield welders have followed in this special metal tool-creating tradition.

The blacksmith shop was usually located not far from the business section of the typical small town. Saturday was always a busy day, since the shop served as an unofficial headquarters for country folk in town for the day. Jobs for the smith were given to him, and while he worked gossip was exchanged, politics got a share of attention, and much whittling went on. Sometimes the smith added another facility to his shop, such as a grist mill. Once in a while the men of a saddened family would appear and quietly go about the work of making a cypress coffin. There was much good humor at the blacksmith's shop, and as at most male-dominated establishments, much of it was directed at the uninitiated. Many jokes were told of the newcomer or novice who did something awkwardly and then tried to pretend that he had known about it all along. One such story tells of the blacksmith who finished shaping a red hot horseshoe and threw it on the dirt floor to cool. Some minutes later, a city fellow came in and saw the shoe which had returned to its natural color but was still quite hot. He remarked that he had always wanted to look at a horseshoe, picked it up, and quickly threw it down again. The onlookers laughed and one asked him if the shoe was hot. "No," he said. "It just doesn't take me long to look at a horseshoe."

Another occupation of some stature in any Louisiana community, but one largely ignored by folklorists, was that of the gunsmith. His services, particularly in the earlier times, were essential. When one needed a gunsmith, no substitute would do. Many gunsmiths brought their skills directly from Europe, where their calling was old and highly respected. They had learned their trade in the exacting school of the Old World apprentice and they trained others in the same way. A craftsman in steel and walnut, the gunsmith was familiar with all types of firearms and understood the practical physics of ballistics and the chemistry of propellants and ignition systems. Specialists in this line of work were stockmakers and engravers, some of whom became internationally known. The high traditions of excellence displayed by the old-time gunsmiths now are preserved in the work places of a few craftsmen called "riflesmiths" and "pistolsmiths," who rebuild and modify standard firearms to meet the personal requirements of shooters of various kinds. A number of these people have lived in the Shreveport area since World War II.

Conclusion

The foregoing brief sketch of Louisiana's traditional occupations and occupational traditions is far from complete. Some important types of work, and their associated lore, which have been omitted are included photographically here. These include moss gathering swampers, railroad men, oilfield "roughnecks," shrimpers and crawfishermen. Service trades, from shoemaking to shoeshining, have also been beyond the scope of this initial commentary. The complex questions of ethnicity and class associated with traditional work also await a generation of folklorists, anthropologists and cultural geographers. Certain associations of ethnicity and occupation include for example the Yugoslavians with the oyster industry, Cajuns with crawfishing, urban Italians and Irish in service trades (later replaced by blacks) and the legacy of Creoles of Color as artisan plasterers and ironworkers. On the other hand, the new industrial growth that has so altered our landscapes, communities and cultures has also altered work patterns. Anglo-Texans among other outsiders readily enter Louisiana's oilfields. Yet it is now possible to remain in a rural Louisiana community and "commute" to the offshore oilfield. Thus, while one may live on the land, one may not live *off* the land in the same way as in a foraging, hunting or agricultural economy.

There are both continuities and changes found in the traditions surrounding work in Louisiana. The observation of these links or the lack of them tells us much about the extent to which contemporary and future society and culture in our state will rely on skills of the hands and bounty of the land to make a livelihood. There is no doubt that work is a focal point for understanding the values and valued skills of a society from fisherman to forester and from oilfield driller to carpenter. As we learn how others earn and have earned their livings, we gain deeper and more reliable insights into all aspects of their cultures and our own. As we come to know and understand them, we more fully know and understand ourselves.

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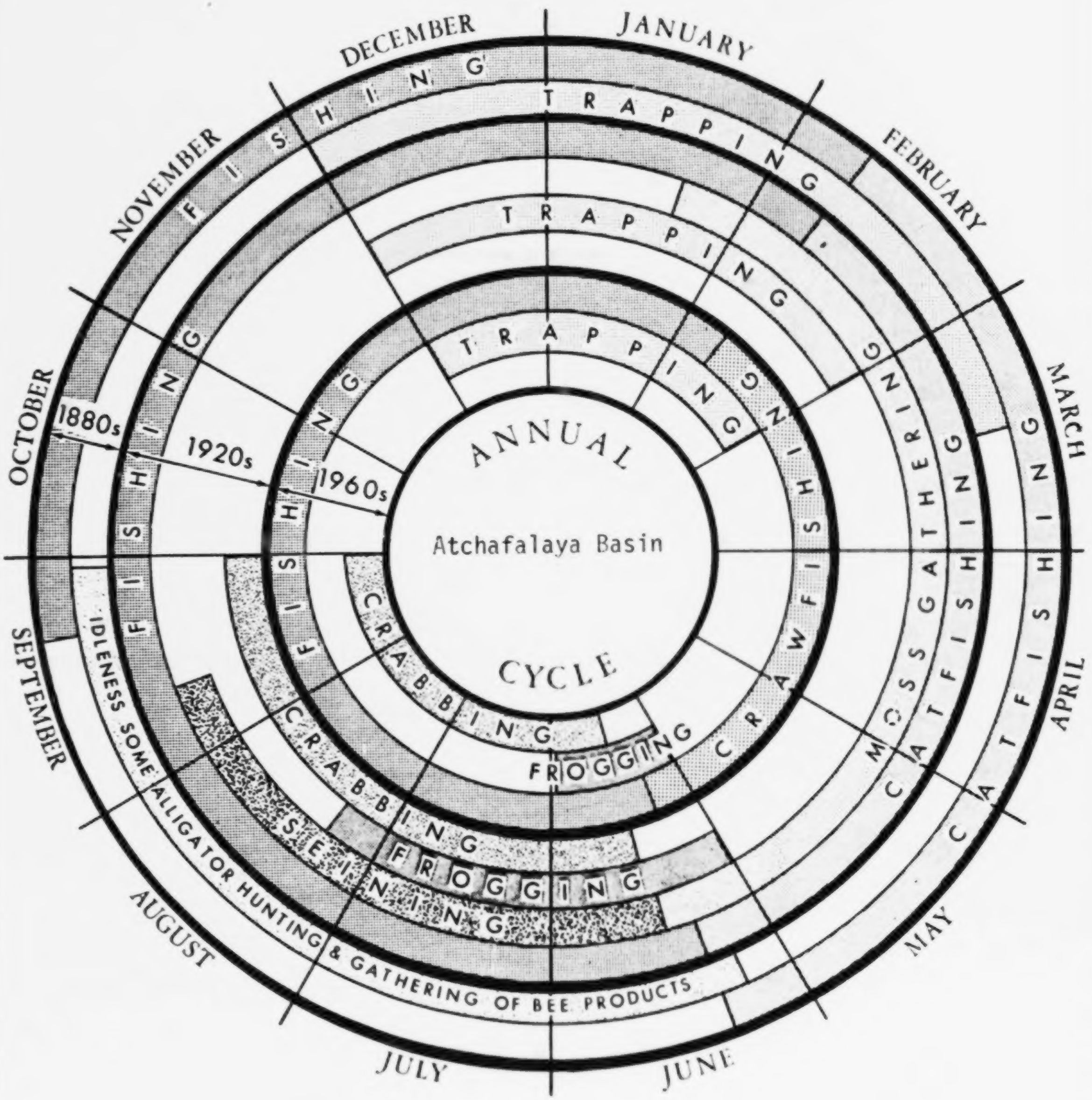
Mississippi River ferry boat pilot at the controls of his craft. Plaquemine, Iberville Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

Louisiana roughnecks on a drilling rig. The "floor man" and the "tong man" (L) going into the hole during the all night shift. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Smithsonian Institution.)



Atchafalaya Basin annual work cycle: chart by Malcolm Comeaux

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LOUISIANA CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE

by Jeanne Soileau

The folklore of children encompasses the most basic ways in which socialization takes place. Children learn to interact, to create, to conceptualize about the world and test values in settings where they perform dances, games, jokes, riddles and stories for one another. This sort of traditional behavior.which ranges from universal to culturally bound and locale specific, is an excellent way to study child development and also enhance understanding of how to help children (and later adults) function better in a culturally diverse society. Such examination also helps us to consider our own cultural values and aesthetics. For example, Louisiana Vietnamese children play a game where they jump at a taut string in an attempt to snare it with their feet. Each successful attempt begins a raising of height. Americans, on the other hand, emphasize the repetitive rhymes and continuous counts of jumping rope. The body aciton is an unending up-down as opposed to the Asian flying body balance to catch the line. To be sure, the way we play conditions the way we live and is a basis for social integration and separation. As such, children's folklore is important to parents and educators . . . as well as children.

Jeanne Soileau, who teaches in the Teaching English as a Second Language Institute at Tulane, has been documenting children's folklore in Louisiana since 1975. She has published her observations in a number of journals including: Perspectives on Ethnicity in Louisiana *and* LouisianaFolklore Miscellany.

Louisiana children's folklore has universal attributes of child socialization and development as well as features that relate to local cultures. All children's play teaches them basic manipulative skills, verbal abilities and social interactions needed later in life in their particular society. The importance of play and games in an American child's life cannot be overemphasized. Ours is a competitive society which encourages boys to be aggressive and independent and girls to be nurturing and home-oriented,to think about love and marriage, babies and husbands. Boys tend to argue a lot over rules, such as who is first, who told the best joke, and who hit the hardest. Girls' games are full of love and marriage, boyfriends and kisses. For both groups the games at once reflect the society and criticize it, as the repeated use of irony, parody and humor suggest.

In Louisiana, as elsewhere, there are some highly specific ethnic-regional aspects of play. In general, children in Louisiana play the same games as other children in the English-speaking world, but different names for games appear in different regions and among the many different ethnic groups. For example, local street names become part of hand claps, and local television ads become parodied. Religion influences play when children reenact wedding ceremonies, funerals, preachings and baptisms. Immigrant children bring with them new play modes such as "Cuban jacks," Vietnamese dance steps and Latino counting-out formulas. In some cases adults pass on games from their childhood to their children; thus I learned French counting-out rhymes and play songs. Cajuns in some areas still carry on highly individualistic Mardi Gras games and lore. Italian children make play St. Joseph's Day altars.

Much folklore that children share is transmitted on the schoolground at recess time and before and after school. Children are extremely conservative in their schoolyard lore and many of the games they play are traditional ones, some as old as Egypt and Greece. Other games have been adapted into American modes from the traditional games of England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain and France. Black American children have added traditional African dance modes, clapping patterns and rhythmic nuances to their interpretation of American folklore.

The first systematic collection of children's folklore in Louisiana began in 1975 in Baton Rouge as part of the Bicentennial activities sponsored by the Foundation for Historical Louisiana. My special thanks goes to Mrs. Howard Samuel, who provided me with my first tape recorder, a short course in collecting methods, and much encouragement. This collection continues today in New Orleans and its environs. A statewide survey is projected in the future.

My oral sound tape collection to date contains almost one hundred hours of cassette tapes. In addition to this oral tape collection, I am now expanding to video tape whenever possible. Delgado College and I produced two video tapes on folklore in 1977 and 1978. WGNO-TV shot two hours of footage on children playing games during the year 1978-79. From this footage six 3-minute segments were produced for the program "Hey Kids, It's For You." These 3-minute segments entitled "What Can You Play?" featured children from New Orleans schools playing hand claps, doing paper folding, singing songs and making string figures. Shortly, a book based on these collections will become available. This is a compilation of black New Orleans children's games, illustrated with photographs.

Although I have noted a variety of ethnic and regional traditions of children's folklife, my primary work has been in south Louisiana. Additional work needs to be done all over the state, most notably on north Louisiana Anglo-American and black traditions. One would not expect the black traditions in north and south Louisiana to vary radically as to structure and style; however, as has been noted, local variations will occur. Anglo traditions would seem more akin to those of the Upland South and may vary a good deal. However, it should be pointed out that some of the data below has been contributed by Anglos. These collections, however, should not be considered as definitive for any group.

A summary of game types surveyed in south Louisiana counting-out or choosing "It": Found everywhere, counting-out formulas are used to begin most tag games. The most popular form goes:

Eenie, meenie, minie, moe
Catch a tiger-teacher-nigger-fella-monkey- by the toe
If he holers, let him go
O-U-T spells, "out!"

(Sometimes "Make him pay, fifty dollars everyday" is added.)

Hand claps: Games played by pairs of children who chant a rhyme and clap a pattern as accompaniment. Among the most popular handclaps in all of south Louisiana is this one adapted from the popular song "Rockin' Robin":

Tweedle deedle dee twee dee
Tweedle deedle dee
Twee twee a rock beat
She rocks in the treetop all the day long
Rockin' and a robin gonna sing that song
All the little girls on Happy Days
Like to hear the Fonz go "Hey hey hey." (Thumbs up sing)
Rockin' Robin rock rock tonight
Rockin' Robin rock rock tongiht
Momma had top, daddy had bottom
Sister in the middle sayin' cut that out
Rockin' Robin rock rock tonight
Rockin' Robin rock rock tonight
Momma in the kitchen cookin' rice
Daddy round the corner shootin' dice
Brother in jail raisin' hell
Sister round the corner selling fruit cocktail . . .
(The games goes on until the players run out of additional stanzas. In seven years I have collected over thirty variations of this game.)

Jump-rope games are extremely popular in Louisiana as well as all over the United States. They are played alone or in groups. Jump-rope jingles are a favorite among collectors and Roger D. Abrahams's *Jump-Rope Rhymes—A Dictionary* represents the most extensive collection of American Children's jingles to date.

Ring games, those played in a circle or ring, include some traditional games adapted to American modes from the British games of over one hundred years ago. "Little Sally Walker," and "When I Was a Baby," are two of this type. A few ring games like "I Was Going to the Lake," seem to be unique to New Orleans.

I was going to the lake (All players in the ring clap and move from side to side)
A rinny tin tin
All the boys started clapping
A rinny rin tin
I said "A ooh my lawd!!" (Girls move to center girl and all touch her, some roughly, then move back)
A rinny tin tin
I said, "A help myself!"
A rinny tin tin
A rinny a rinny a rinny tin tin (All clap and move together)
A rinny a rinny a rinny tin tin
I said a round round round you go
Where you stop nobody know (Center girl covers eyes, circles and chooses the next center player)

Line games: The best known line game in the United States is "Step Back Sally," and this game is number one in popularity among black children in my collection:

Let's go zoodio zoodio zoodio
Let's go zoodio all night long
Well, it's step back Sally Sally Sally
A-walkin' through the alley alley alley
I peeped through my window and what did I see?
I saw a big, fat lady from Tennessee
She raised her dress above her knee
And she shimmy shimmy shimmy all over me
Oh, let's go zoodio zoodio zoodio all night long . . .
(A variety of additional stanzas are added by different groups)

Songs and song parodies: these include camp songs, Boy and Girl Scout camp songs and parodies of Christmas carols, T.V. ads, popular songs and religious hymns. Parodies of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" began in 1856, about the same time the song first became well-known as a camp meeting hymn, and these parodies, usually expressing anti-school sentiments, are still among the most popular today. Example:

Glory glory hallelujah
Teacher hit me with a ruler
Met him at the door with a loaded .44
And he ain't my teacher no more.

Cheers: Cheerleading is the most long-lived of all the children's folklore modes. Girls "do cheers" beginning at nursery school age and continue to "do" them through their early twenties. Hand claps, tag, jump-rope and ball-bouncing games usually end in the junior high years.

Tag and running games: Tag has many variations. "Hide and seek," "T.V. tag," "Fox and Chickens," "Old Witch" all are basically running games, though the latter two include a dramatic play as part of the game.

Jumping games: These are usually played in two lines facing each other. The players chant a song or rhyme and jump in a pattern. Typical of these is:

You gotta kick - open - side to side-
You gotta kick - open-side to side
You gotta kick- open - side to side
You gotta touch your nose, touch your toes
Kick - open - side to side . . .
(The players improvise various new motions to be followed.)

Ball games: Sandlot baseball, touch and tackle football, dodge ball, tetherball, 4-square, stickball and basketball are all played as children's folkgames as well as in organized sports.

Jacks: A very old traditional game variations of jacks, knuckle-bones, huckle bones are played all over the world. In south Louisiana the game is played by some adults as well as by children. I have seen men play jacks for money in bars. Among older French families I have several instances where the game was played only on a table top because it was considered unladylike to sit on the floor.

Marbles: Boys and girls play marbles, though there are more boys who play than girls. The varieties in play include rings, lines, figures ("fish ring" and "Banana ring"), free shooting games. Children collect marbles, sometimes thousands of different ones and treasure good "shooters" and pretty ones.

Tops and yo-yo's: These games vary from school to school, neighborhood to neighborhood. At Andrew Jackson Elementary in New Orleans, tops were given to boys each year as Christmas presents by the Principal, Mrs. Crystal Robbins, and the boys reached a high level of proficiency in their games. Some school principals, however, discourage tops, marbles and yo-yo playing because of the extreme competitiveness the boys develop. Yo-yo's pop up here and there, tend to be seasonal, and are not played at all schools.

Quiet table games: Cards, tic tac toe, paper folding, hangman, coin basketball, paper football, paper "Itari " these are popular during rainy days, during class and at rest time at camp.

Games adapted from the media: Superman, "Charlie's Angels," Batman, cops and robbers, cowboys and Indians. This also includes playing hand claps and ring games using popular songs from the radio.

Neighborhood games: "Mother May I?," "1-2-3-Red Light," "Devil in the Ditch," "Swinging statues." These are sometimes played at school, but most seem to be played by groups of friends in someone's back or front yard.

Fantasy play: Often a neighborhood phenomenon also. Games like "School," "Mommies and Daddies," "Doctor," "Kings and Queens," "Tricks and Gymnastics" usually involve groups of children who live close to one another and know each other well.

Artifacts: Slingshots, tops, rubber-band guns, skatemobiles, whimmy diddles, wooden dolls, spool dolls, animal traps, popsicle-stick constructions, etc., made by hand for play purposes.

These varieties of children's folklore make up the bulk of the south Louisiana Collection. There is great need for expansion. Little work has been done so far in ethnic variations. The folklore of Spanish, Vietnamese and other immigrant children has not been explored. Dr. Ethelyn Orso at the University of New Orleans is now compiling teenage folklore. For researchers interested in children's folklore, here are a few pointers:

An Approach to Collecting Children's Folklore

1. **Definitions:** Any game, taunt, cheer, rhyme, song, fantasy play or artifact which children share among themselves, then pass on to other children as a legacy is considered children's folklore.

2. **Methods of collection:** A set form for collecting should be established and used each time. The researcher can use questionaires to be filled out in writing by the children, their parents, the children's friends. Tape recordings are highly recommended because of the freedom it allows the

informants. Video-tape is expensive but extremely valuable because with it the collector can capture not only the words but also the actions, the facial and body motions and the by-play which accompanies the games.

3. **Transcription:** The tedious task of writing out texts from oral tapes and video-tapes is absolutely necessary in order to collate the information from the collection. One set place should be decided upon for housing all the collection, tapes, video-tapes and transcripts.

4. **Sample written questionnaire:**

Researcher's name
Date
Informant's name
Age
Ethnic background
School
City and State

1. How do you choose who's "it"?
2. Do you play jump-rope?
3. Do you play hand-clapping games?
4. Do you play tag?
5. Do you play games in a circle?
6. Do you play games in two lines?
7. Sing a song you learned from a friend.
8. Do you play ball games with your friends?
9. Do you play jacks, marbles, tops, yo-yo's?
10. Do you make things like slingshots or rubber-band guns?
11. Tell me a joke, a scary story, a riddle, a tongue twister or a poem you heard from a friend (one question at a time).
12. Do you do cheers?

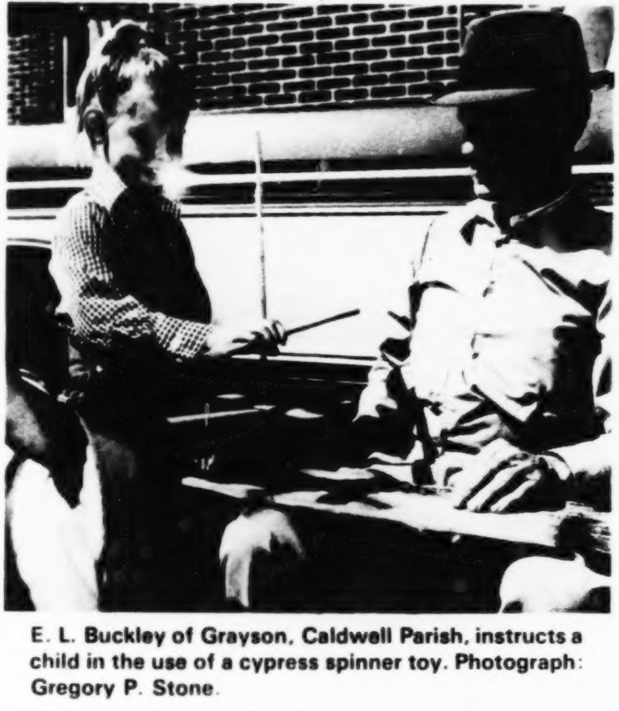
This covers most of the material generally given, but the researcher quickly becomes acquainted with local children's customs and can add pertinent questions. For instance, if it is obvious that the group one is questioning plays a lot of quiet games, cards, pencil and paper games, or paper folding and string games, these should be explored.

5. **Oral Collection:**

The same methods should be followed for an oral collection. The researcher must begin with an introduction identifying himself and giving the date and location of the interviews. Then he should, as often as possible, identify the informants by name, age, ethnic background, school and city. Sometimes oral interviews go so fast and the speakers overlap so fast that strict identification is difficult. If an interview is going well and easily, let it continue rather than break in and have people identify themselves.

6. **Video-tape collecting:**

Video-tape is expensive, and for that reason it may be impossible to do. However, it is the medium of choice for documentation. It is best to video-tape everything that children do, from the organization of the game through its completion. Unfortunately, time and supplies are often limited, thus taping sessions should be carefully planned. An oral tape interview should precede the video-taping. Those children who contribute most can be selected, a script loosely developed from the oral interview and possibly even rehearsals should follow so that the games are played quickly. All this may take away from the natural context spontaneity and joy of children's play, but even when time and money are scarce, it is still good to get video-tapes because they can be seen repeatedly and studied for many things.



E. L. Buckley of Grayson, Caldwell Parish, instructs a child in the use of a cypress spinner toy. Photograph: Gregory P. Stone.

Girls playing "Mizz Brown," New Orleans.
Photograph: Jeanne Soileau

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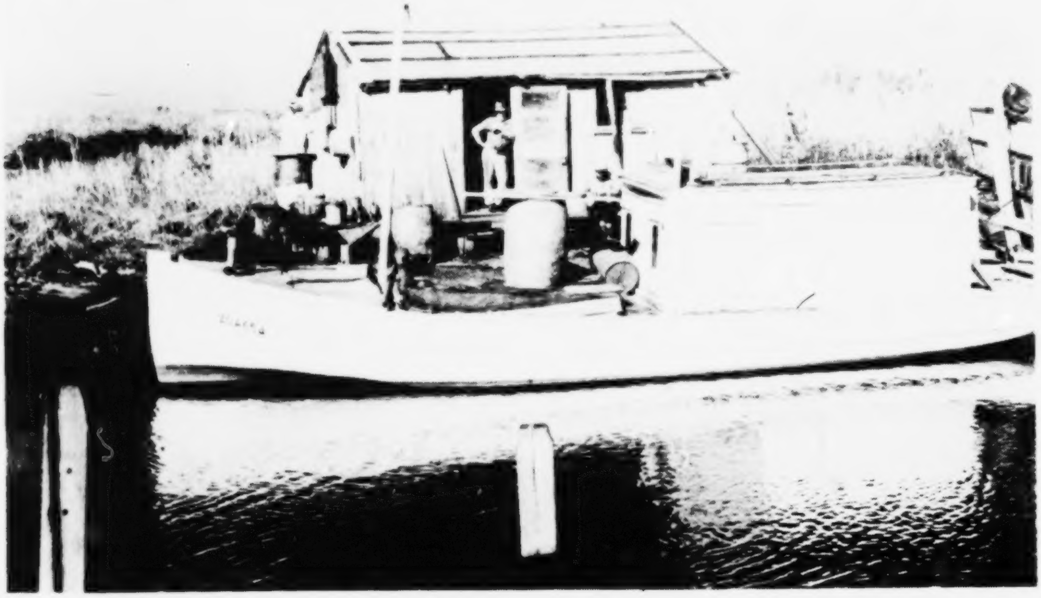
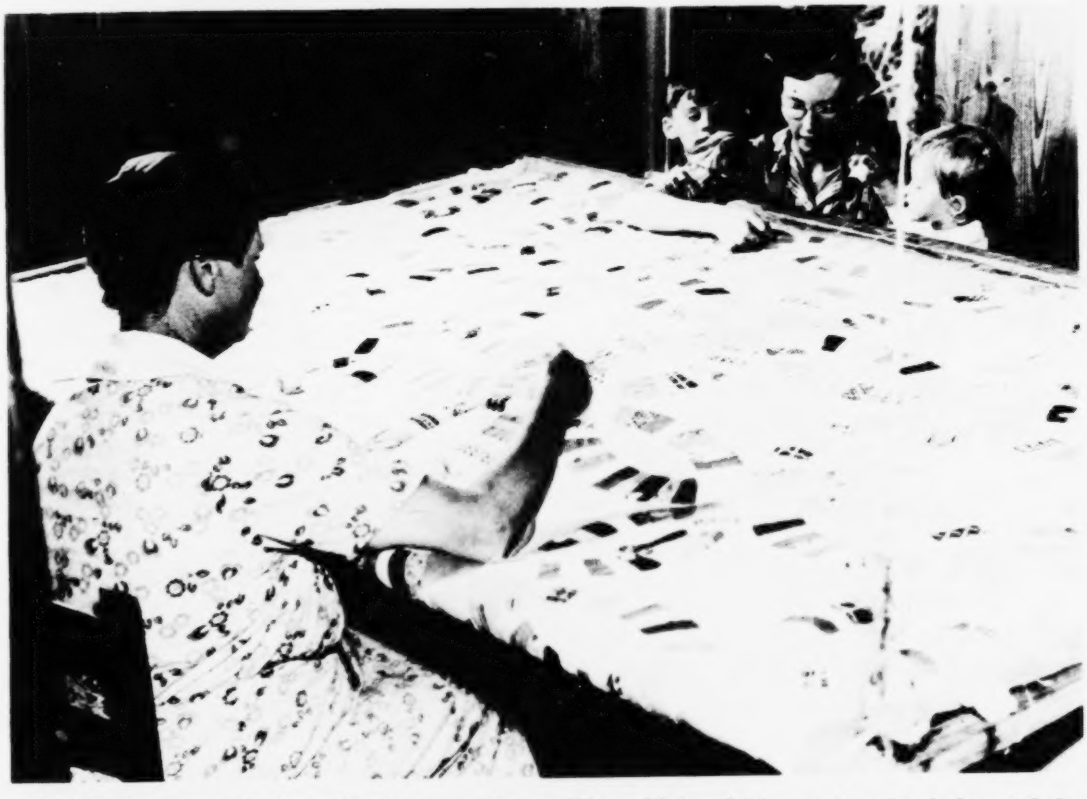


Spanish trapper's camp in the marshes, Delacroix Island, St. Bernard Parish, 1941. Photograph: Marion Post Wolcott. (Farm Security Administration.)



This 1938 photograph shows Mrs. Clarence Pace quilting with her children and mother-in-law at their home in Transylvania, East Carroll Parish. Photograph: Marion Post Wolcott. (Farm Security Administration, Library of Congress.)

III. LIVING ON AND OFF THE LAND IN LOUISIANA:

Crafts, Foodways, Boats and Houses

This section is about the "things" people have traditionally made and used for food, shelter, transportation, work, and play in Louisiana. These objects are often referred to as "material culture" by folklorists and anthropologists. That is, they are material representations of cultural creations. In a larger sense, they are the things that man as a cultural being has fashioned from the environment around him. It will be seen that some things are limited to particular groups, such as the traditional cotton blankets of the Acadians. Other items, like boat forms are shared on a regional basis and made by Cajuns, Islenos and Indians.

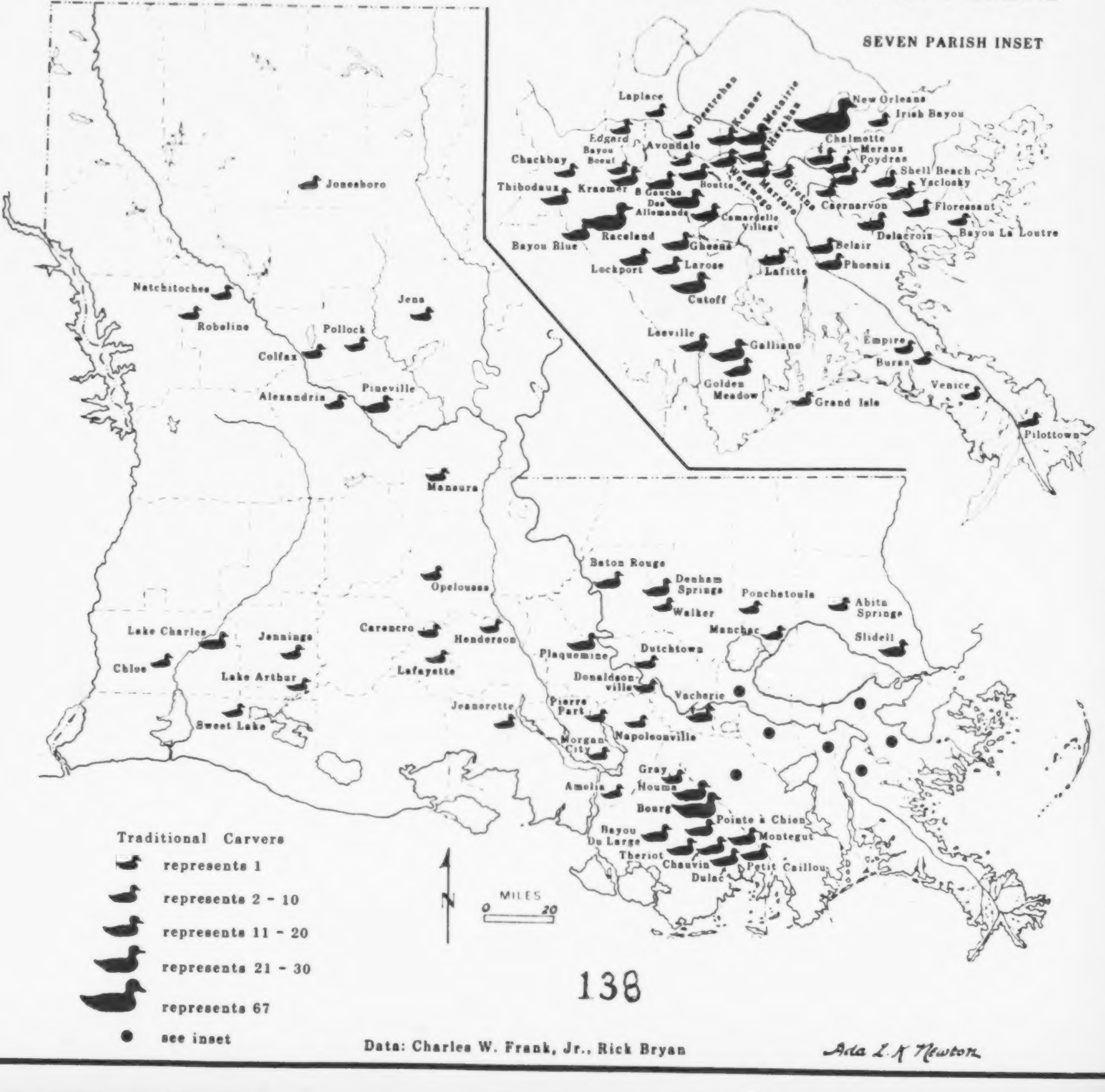
Nearly all the items and processes discussed in this section are in some sort of transition. While new folk buildings are rare, traditional foods are quite strong, though often modified as to procurement and utensils for cooking. Acadian palmetto and cotton weavers are quite few, but accordion makers are relatively plentiful. Quilters in north Louisiana are not only plentiful, but they are also apprently growing in number, though fewer persons make the quilts in traditional ways and forms.

The items discussed here have varying rates of survival, revival and change in tradition. Thus, it is important to understand these differences in artifacts and the processes that people use to make them, in order to best encourage their preservation. These sorts of considerations are discussed in the final essay on "Saving Your Own House ..."

The initial essay about crafts is the composite work of four persons, each of whom has carried out research for folk craft presentations of one kind or another. F.A. de Caro and Rosan Jordan, folklorists at Louisiana State University, researched and presented a show, accompanied by a booklet, called "Louisiana Traditional Crafts" at the L.S.U. Union in 1980. Susan Roach-Lankford, a folklorist from Ruston, is completing a dissertation on quilts. She also organized a show on north Louisiana quilts at the Alexandria Museum in 1980 entitled "Quilts: Deep South Traditions." Nicholas R. Spitzer carried out fieldwork on Louisiana crafts for the Smithsonian Institution's 1976 Festival of American Folklife and more recently began installing an exhibit of contemporary Louisiana folk arts and crafts in the Louisiana State Capitol building.

The authors were also able to build upon two recent and important folk craft shows in Louisiana. One at the Louisiana State Museum (1981) called "L'Amour de Mamam" featured Acadian textiles from an historical perspective. The other at the Alexandria Museum (1981) entitled "Doing It Right and Passing It On: North Louisiana Crafts" presented the work of living craftspersons from this previously unresearched area. Despite this groundwork, much more needs to be done to locate and encourage our traditional craftspersons. This overview article provides some definitions by example of traditional crafts, covers recent activity in the state, and points toward future work that will take many hands to accomplish.

TRADITIONAL WILD FOWL CARVERS


SEVEN PARISH INSET
Laplace
Destrehan
Kenner
Metairie
Harahan
New Orleans
Irish Bayou
Edgard
Bayou Boeuf
Avondale
Chalmette
Meraux
Poydras
Chackbay
Shell Beach
Yscloskey
Thibodaux
Kraemer
B Gauche
Des Allemands
Boutte
Westwego
Marrero
Gretna
Caernarvon
Floressant
Camardelle Village
Raceland
Bayou Blue
Gheens
Delacroix
Bayou La Loutre
Belair
Lockport
Larose
Lafitte
Phoenix
Cutoff
Leeville
Galliano
Golden Meadow
Grand Isle
Empire
Buras
Venice
Pilottown
Jonesboro
Natchitoches
Robeline
Jena
Pollock
Colfax
Alexandria
Pineville
Mansura
Baton Rouge
Denham Springs
Walker
Ponchatoula
Abita Springs
Opelousas
Carencro
Henderson
Manchac
Slidell
Lake Charles
Jennings
Plaquemine
Dutchtown
Chloe
Lafayette
Lake Arthur
Donaldsonville
Vacherie
Jeanerette
Pierre Part
Sweet Lake
Napoleonville
Morgan City
Gray
Amelia
Houma
Bourg
Pointe à Chien
Bayou Du Large
Montegut
Theriot
Chauvin
Dulac
Petit Caillou
N
MILES
0
20
Traditional Carvers
represents 1
represents 2 - 10
represents 11 - 20
represents 21 - 30
represents 67
● see inset

Data: Charles W. Frank, Jr., Rick Bryan

Ada L.K Newton

LOUISIANA FOLK CRAFTS

by Rosan A. Jordan,
F. A. deCaro,
Susan Roach-Lankford
and Nicholas R. Spitzer

In the folklife context the term *crafts* refers both to processes (e.g., basket making) and products made through those processes (baskets). Crafts (in the product sense) are utilitarian items fashioned for use in the daily or annual round of work activity (baskets may be used for storing cotton), or for use in carrying on everyday life in an efficient and satisfactory manner (e.g., clothing and bed coverings). Although the crafts item may have an aesthetic dimension, the utilitarian aspect is predominant (when the aesthetic element predominates we have folk art). However, when the crafts product is used in a ritual context (such as grave wreaths), or to create some art form (e.g., traditional musical instruments), the dividing line between folk crafts and folk art is a fine one. Folklife activities such as hunting or trapping, where no artifact is produced by the activity, are not generally referred to as crafts. However, the making of an item for use in such products as fishnet, bird trap or blowgun would be a craft.

Folk crafts are both products of a physical and social "landscape" and a response to that landscape. The materials used in a folk craft are traditionally taken from those available in the local environment (for example, split cane for Louisiana baskets). The physical environment to some extent also shapes the need for particular crafts (for example, boat building in a land of diverse water environments such as swamps, rivers, marshes and bayous), but the social environment works to define what crafts are needed and how that particular need should be satisfied. Even when the same needs for crafts products exist in many societies, the crafts which have evolved to satisfy those needs may differ considerably in form and in terms of the making process followed.

The folk craftsperson may be a specialist, or the craft may be practiced by virtually everyone in the community (though the former situation is increasingly the norm). The folk craftsperson learns his or her craft through a folk process by which methods and techniques are passed down informally in families and communities over generations, not through books or in formal classes. Folk crafts exist, then, in the context of communities where traditional ways of life are carried on, and the crafts are made to suit local needs and according to the standards of taste of the community (however, outside influences may be a factor; in recent years folk crafts have often been sold to collectors or as souvenir items, a development that has had an impact on both form and process).

Although Louisiana folk crafts have by no means been researched or documented very fully, there has been an active crafts tradition in the state. The following is meant to provide an overview of some of these crafts and some representative craftspersons. (Boat building and folk housing are dealt with later in this section in articles by Comeaux, Newton and Gregory. Indian crafts and occupational craft traditions as well as crafts in north and south Louisiana are covered in part in articles in the preceding section by Gregory, Stokes, Roach-Lankford and Spitzer).

Former market hunter and hardware store operator Ralph Shultz of Bucktown near New Orleans and two of his axe cut cypress working decoys from thirty years ago. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

HUNTING AND FISHING IMPLEMENTS: DECOYS AND NETS

Hunting and fishing are very important subsistence activities in many folk societies, and in Louisiana these activities continue to be widely practiced, both as occupations (often in a modern, commercialized version) and as sport. Traditionally, folk artifacts associated with these activities have been made.

Because of their aesthetic appeal, bird decoys, like quilts, have received considerable attention and appreciation from the general public. Made to attract flying wild fowl, the use of decoys in North America can be traced to pre-Columbian times. Decoy carving has flourished along the Atlantic seaboard, but for years commentators on decoy carving seemed largely unaware of the existence of such a tradition in Louisiana. It was thought that the decoy carving tradition remained strong down the coast as far south as North Carolina, and then weakened further south and around into the Gulf. As late as 1965, William Mackey wrote that "the great region lying...along the Gulf of Mexico has never gone in for decoy-making," adding that the decoys used in this region were supplied by northern factories (Frank, 1975:25). In 1976, however, in the catalogue of a major exhibition of hand-carved decoys, Paul A. Johnsgard noted that the carving tradition did indeed pick up again in Louisiana, though the exhibition in question did not actually include any Louisiana examples, because "only very recently have the details of the Louisiana decoy-carving history been established" (Johnsgard, 1976:22). These details had been documented by Charles Frank, whose book on the subject was published in 1975.

Frank's list of carvers includes several who were working in the nineteenth century, such as Edgar Danton of Raceland, "Baba" Palas of Buras, and Ezave Ragas of Bechel. But the craft particularly flourished in the years 1915-1935, especially in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes; the Depression may even have stimulated production during the last of those years as the carvers turned to the decoys as a source of income and as a way to fill time in a period of low employment. Commercial market hunters also made use of large numbers of decoys in earlier times. Of course, decoys continued to be made after 1935 and, if anything, the craft has seen a renaissance in the last decade. There has been a decided shift, however, away from the decoy as a working craft and in the direction of its being seen as an art form. Working decoys are still made, but many hunters have shifted to the use of decoys mass-manufactured of modern, synthetic materials, and the hand carved birds have become more and more collectors' items made for display. The change in decoy making has thus been from subsistence to sport and art. As New Orleans Creole carver Charles Hutchison has commented, "In the old days we used to catch *birds* with decoys, nowadays we mostly catch *men*" (personal communication, 1981). Today there are several organizations in the state for carvers that plan shows and confer awards. Most notable among these for their great diversity of members from folk to fine-art carvers is the Louisiana Wildfowl Carvers and Collector's Guild. Organizations such as these have been the trend in other parts of the country as well (Chittenden and Parsons, 1980:45).

Traditionally, Louisiana decoys were fashioned out of various materials: cypress roots, tupelo gum, and willow, or, at a more primitive level, simply of mud or Spanish moss with stick or straw heads attached. Earlier craftsmen were often trappers, market hunters and guides by profession and might also have carved paddles and made dugout pirogues. As elsewhere, the craft has been primarily a male craft, though some women have been carvers or painters. In some cases the tradition has been passed down in families; the Whipples of Bourg, for example, count well over twenty carvers in the family ranks (Frank, 1975).

Based on data about contemporary wildfowl carvers in Louisiana supplied primarily by Charles Frank, a unique map has been made for this volume to show the location of carvers currently known (Map). Clearly the many water environments of south Louisiana dominate the picture and should once and for all show the vibrancy of the tradition on this part of the Gulf Coast. Additional information from Rich Byran, which shows some carving tradition in north Louisiana, especially near such a major waterfowl refuge as the Catahoula Lake area north of Pineville, has also been added.

Given Louisiana's watery environment, net making has been and still is a craft of some importance, and there are net makers in various parts of the state, from rural areas like Bayou Grand Caillou south of Houma to urban areas like New Orleans. In the Atchafalaya Basin a great many handmade, tar-dipped nets are used, and the recent influx into the state of Vietnamese immigrants seems to have brought also an Asian net making tradition to Gulf Coast Louisiana. Perhaps ironically, the best documented traditions are not those of the coast but rather those associated with the inland fisheries in the northeastern part of the state, where freshwater commercial fishing developed in the early part of this century, and those associated with the Atchafalaya Basin. At one time in the northeastern Delta region large seines were used to catch the fish, but that method has declined since the 1950's. Today smaller hoop nets and "catfish" nets are mainly used. These nets are made in sections, knitted out of cotton twine, which is then hung over hoops made of wood (white oak); inside, tapered "flues," also knitted, are hung to create a kind of trap. Today, the netting may be made of nylon string, and the hoops of metal or fiberglass. The extent of the art of net making in north and central Louisiana has declined, but such craftswomen as Ellen Trichell and her daughter, Mildred Monroe, of Trichell Community in Natchitoches Parish, both wives of fishermen, continue to make nets there (women have often been the net makers in this area, though men make them also (Gregory, 1966:17-26; Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:16,44). Seines and hoop nets have also been used in the Atchafalaya and are similar in construction to those already discussed. Again, they are often made by women (Comeaux, 1972:50-51, 55-58). Crab traps made of heavy guage wire and frog nets are also made locally within the state (Comeaux, 1972:74, 77). Furthermore, catfish traps and live boxes made of thin pine strips are found in the Atchafalaya Basin, the Catahoula Lake area and elsewhere in freshwater fishing locations.

BUILDING CRAFTS; TOOLS AND TRADES

The creation of entire buildings (i.e., houses) within a folk aesthetic does not generally occur today. However, certain crafts associated with folk buildings, such as those described by Newton later in this section, may be found. Building in wood requires the ability to hew and notch logs in a variety of patterns such as "dove tail", "half dove tail" and "saddle." Although some traditional woodworkers have these skills, few put them into practice anymore except as a demonstration in a museum or folk festival setting. There are exceptions, however, such as Herman Davis, a woodworker from Florein who is constructing a log structure for a smokehouse as this is written. A number of persons in the Cane River Creole settlement are reputed to be able to mix and repair *bousillage* utilized in walls and chimneys of Creole half-timbered houses. Perhaps a larger number of persons statewide continue to rive wood by hand into shingles. Craftsmen have demonstrated this practice at festivals in north and south Louisiana, and many still make repairs of shingle siding or roofing with rived "shakes," as the cuttings are called.

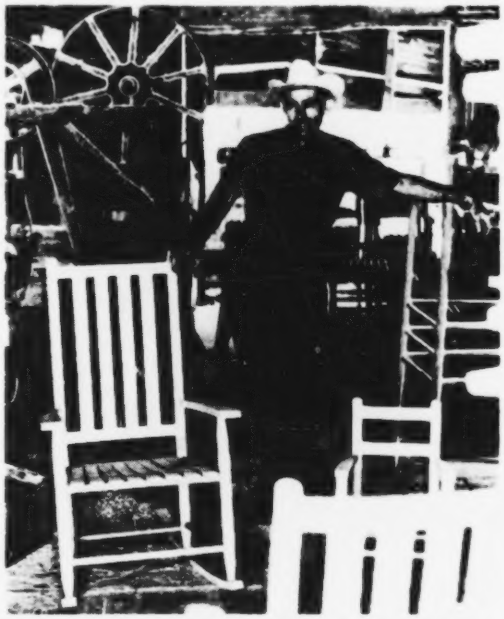
Some traditional craft practices revolve around decorative items within or on buildings such as ornamental ironwork, wood molding and plaster ceiling medallions. Though many of such works, found especially in New Orleans, are for structures that are within an elite rather than folk tradition of construction, the trades of ironworkers, wood carvers and plasterers definitely have folk elements in terms of how the crafts processes are transmitted, often within families, such as the father and son team of Albert and Thomas Lachin, who are third and fourth generation architectural plasterers (Tobar-Blanco, Perry Harker and Panquerne, 1978). Creoles of color have often dominated these craft specialties and are particularly associated with the ironwork found throughout the Crescent City (Christian, 1972).

Mr. E. L. Fox Smith of Vixen, Caldwell Parish, seen here demonstrating handle making at the Columbia Art and Folk Festival. Photograph: Gregory Stone.

In recent years blacksmiths, who are associated with more utilitarian functions, have become involved in decorative ironwork. However, unlike other earlier metal craftsmen, blacksmiths do not seem to show a unified folk aesthetic in the newer ornamental ironwork found to date. Blacksmiths do continue to make a variety of tools and craft-related items. The late Saul Guidroz of Carencro (1899-1981), whose blacksmith shop was photographed and documented in 1975 as part of Smithsonian Folklife Program field research, did everything from making horseshoes, buggy-wheel frames and triangles for Cajun music to fashioning tools for agriculture and oilfield work. Rayule Breaux, also a Cajun blacksmith, continues to make a variety of farm and garden implements in his shop just west of Lafayette. A number of other traditional blacksmiths still work in the state, and they are not limited by any means to French Louisiana. For example, Leroy Wilkinson of Montpelier is a third-generation blacksmith in his Anglo-American St. Helena Parish family (Workman, 1982).

Although blacksmiths may have made and continue to make the metal portions of tools, there are many items which require wooden handles. While most people today acquire factory-made handles at hardware stores, a number of woodworkers make tool handles throughout the state. Such handles as those of N. W. Webb of Hornbeck are generally thought of by users to be superior to mass-produced items, since they are specially fitted to individual tools. Webb's handles of white oak are primarily for axes and hammers and sell as fast as he can make them (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:10,43). The work of a black handle maker, E. L. Smith of Vixen, Caldwell Parish, is not unlike that of Webb, demonstrating that utility rather than cultural preference or style dictates the form of such items.

The formalization of certain crafts into trades could be the subject of an entire essay and the reader is referred to portions of GeorgeStokes's commentary on occupational folklife in the previous section. Those interested in craft skills and products surrounding boat building in Louisiana should consult the essay by Malcolm Comeaux later in this section.



D.L. Menard in his shop. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer for the Smithsonian Institution.

FURNITURE

Furniture made according to folk processes by rural dwellers for their own use or that of their neighbors (sometimes called "country furniture") has been a staple of the American cultural landscape for hundreds of years. Though mass-manufactured furniture has become the norm, some folk furniture makers continue to ply their craft in Louisiana as elsewhere. Geographer Lauren C. Post gathered information on Acadian chair making prior to the 1930's during his Louisiana research in the middle and late thirties and published a brief account of it in his *Cajun Sketches* (Post, 1962:98-99). These "creole chairs," as they were often called, had straight backs and cowhide seats, with the hair still remaining on the hide. Ash, hickory and red gum were used in their construction, which involved the use of various tools, including a food-powered lathe. One chairmaker, "old Aladdin," built his chairs during the summer and in the fall became an itinerant seller of his wares, travelling across the prairies in a wagon, selling the chairs for a dollar apiece.

Aladdin stopped making chairs in 1910, and Post suggests that the tradition died out in the 1930's, but in fact folk chairs are still being made in Acadiana, including some with rawhide bottoms in Oberlin and Duson. Other types are more common today, such as those of D. L. Menard, whose workshop occupies a spacious metal building in Erath, Vermilion Parish, and who makes several types of furniture, including rockers and ladder backs within a Lower Mississippi Valley style.

Rawhide-bottomed chairs were by no means limited to French Louisiana (and are in fact found in various parts of the United States) and in north Louisiana Herman Davis of Florien continues to make chairs with the hide seats. A former construction worker who decided to try another trade and bought out a woodworking shop, Davis learned the craft from the elderly man he bought out. He mills his own lumber, and the tools he uses, also handed over by his predecessor, are over seventy-five years old (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:9). A recent exhibition of north Louisiana folk crafts at the Alexandria Museum-Visual Arts Center included examples of bent willow and hickory furniture by an itinerant Arkansas craftsman who does sell his ware in north Louisiana (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:35), but this type of furniture has been made by residents as well. However, it seems less a regional tradition than a folk approach to the mass-produced styles of earlier eras.

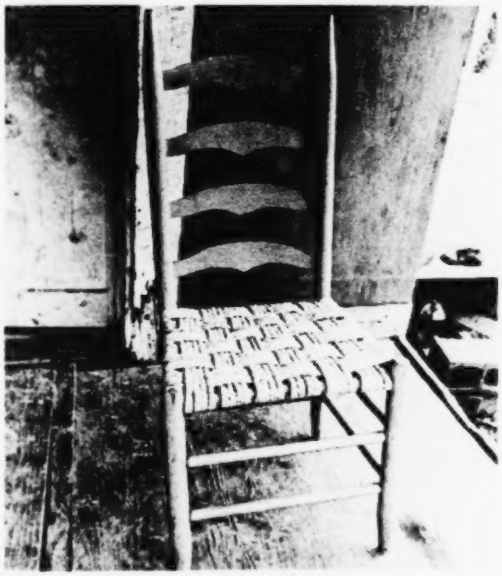
Madeline Celestine of the Coushatta tribe, Elton, working on a pine straw basket. (1966). Photograph Robert Yellin. (Smithsonian Institution.)

BASKETS

Louisiana Indians make a variety of baskets. Chitimacha double-weave baskets are among the most famous in North America, and Coushatta coiled baskets have found particular favor with collectors also (see essay on Indians by Gregory in previous section). However, Indian and Indian-style baskets are by no means the only ones being made in the state today. There is also a strong tradition of split white oak basket making practiced by both blacks had whites (and by at least one Coushatta). V. L. Westbrook of Ruston, who died in 1980, was one prolific north Louisiana maker. Rev. Westbrook was a retired Methodist minister, whose father and grandfather made such baskets, too. Born in Sabine Parish, he tried to make a few baskets as a child, lost interest in the art, then came back to it about ten years ago at a time when his work load as a minister had begun to lighten. After difficult beginnings he mastered the craft and made 3,900 baskets before his death, according to records which he kept. He and his wife would gather the raw materials by sawing down small white oaks (four to five inches in diameter). He maintained a small workshop, and here he stripped and soaked the wood and wove the half-inch or three quarter-inch strips into baskets (using a form around which he shaped them, an innovation of his own). It took him several hours to weave a basket. All of his baskets are round and range in size from four to twelve inches in height and from three to eleven inches in width. He sold most of them directly from his home to customers who heard about his work, but he also participated in festivals and fairs where he demonstrated his craft.

The round shape of Westbrook's baskets was probably dictated by his unique use of the central form, but Louisiana split oak baskets are made in a greater variety of shapes by other craftsmen. Jack Phillips, an Alabama native who now lives in Shreveport, fashions split oak baskets in many shapes and sizes: round, tapering laundry baskets; oblong egg baskets; low, rectangular flower baskets; and deep clothes baskets with tops, among others. Called the maker of "some of the finest white oak baskets in the South" (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:15), Phillips is a former trader and leather worker who turned to basketry when disabled and unable to work (indeed, forced or voluntary retirement as a factor leading to the taking up of a traditional craft seems to be a fairly common pattern among contemporary craftsmen; crafts have perhaps become more of a "leisure time" activity than when they were a more integral part of daily economic activity). Part of Phillips's technique in basket making was learned from Afro-American basket maker Fred Henderson of Alabama, who taught him how to split the white-oak strips, rather than whittle them. Phillips also traces his knowledge of basket making to the Cherokee tradition in Alabama (he is one-eighth Cherokee, but did not grow up in an Indian cultural tradition) and to observing Cherokee craftspersons. However, the form, style, and function of his baskets seem to be related largely to Anglo-American basketry.

Among Afro-American basket makers, the late Thonius Robertson of Washington, in St. Landry Parish, was probably the best known and had appeared at various fairs and festivals including the Smithsonian Folklife Festival (Tobar-Blanco, Perry, Harker and Panquerne 1978:20). Another man who carries on in this tradition is Edward Harris of nearby Nuba. He and his seven sons all make split oak baskets for a variety of uses. The utility and function of both Robertson's and Harris's baskets is demonstrated by the fact that they are sold in local hardware stores in nearby Opelousas.



Chair seat by Willie Mae Young. Photograph: Rosan Jordan.

CORN SHUCK WEAVING

One sees in Louisiana crafts both fidelity to the continuity of tradition and changes which have been made to meet the demands of changing times or, of course, to allow a degree of individual expression. The corn shuck plaiting practiced by Willie Mae Young, of Polk Community near Jackson, offers an excellent illustration of this balance between continuity and change. Mrs. Young learned her craft from her parents. She makes out of shucks a sturdy variety of floor mats such as her mother made (Mrs. Young remembers these as welcome on cold mornings), but she does not use any in her own home. Her father used the plaited shucks to make chair bottoms and horse collars, and she continues the tradition of weaving bottoms for chairs, for her own family and for others. However, there is no present demand for corn shuck horse collars, and Mrs. Young has never made one. She does make one item which her father and mother never did–placemats, the idea for which she conceived on her own to appeal to a contemporary market. She has sold these placemats and floor mats through Shadetree, an antiques and gifts shop in St. Francisville. She has also experimented with nontraditional materials, once fashioning a placemat of jute which she purchased at a local crafts supply store (friends and neighbors give her corn shucks). She was not particularly happy with the jute mat: though she liked working with the new material, she preferred the traditional natural color of the corn and may in the future try again if she can locate jute which is closer to the traditional color.

The making of utilitarian items from corn shucks has been a flourishing craft in West Feliciana Parish in the recent past, and, indeed, cornshucks in crafts have been widespread throughout the United States. For example, shucks were a common chair-seating material in the nineteenth century. Another practitioner of the art, Willie London, is married to a cousin of Mrs. Young; his wife recalls that various other people, including other family members, used to work with shucks. And Mr. London, who at one time bought and used horse collars made by Mrs. Young's father, notes that he knows people who claim to know how to weave shucks, though they do not actually do so. He himself learned to make bags from shucks as a child in "the west parish" (he now lives in Ethel in East Feliciana), and as a young father he decided, after some years of not making bags, to construct one to hold his first child's things when the family went to church. Eventually he made a "diaper bag" for each of his ten children. Later, again after some years of not making bags, he turned to bag making as a source of income. He has also made changes within the tradition he learned, apparently moving from relatively tightly woven bags to more loosely woven bags somewhat resembling string bags. Today many of the bags he makes are designed as women's purses and follow a stylish pattern with a long top which folds over the opening of the bag and which can be fastened closed. The objects which Mr. London uses for fasteners, however, are unique and varied and certainly serve to distinguish his purses from the store-bought variety: he has used Mardi Gras doubloons and tin cut from a beer can, among other devices. He also makes for men smaller, narrow bags which fit into a pocket. Like Mrs. Young, Mr. London has appeared at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival, and it is there that he sells most of the bags that he makes, a factor which has probably affected the kinds of bags he currently prefers to make.

It is interesting to note that three quite different techniques of working shucks have been used by living craftspeople from West Feliciana Parish. Willie Mae Young plaits (braids) the shucks, which are first steamed to make them slightly moist, using three strands which are first tied in a knot. As she proceeds she works in more shucks to create a long braid. To make a mat she coils the braid around and around and sews the coils together. For a chair bottom, the end of the braid is first looped around the back rung of the seat and sewn in a loop to hold it fast; then it is run back and forth between the back and front rungs to cover the opening; next it is looped around and woven between the strands running front to back; and finally the second end of the braid is looped around the rung and sewn. For sewing Mrs. Young uses a huge needle that her father used mostly for sewing sacks in the cane fields. Willie London does not sew any part of his bags, nor does he braid the shucks (which he selects carefully for strength and moistens in a pan containing a small amount of cold water). He works with two strands and twists them tightly together into a sort of twine, tied at one end and kept very taut. When he wishes to actually begin on a bag he ties the second end of the twine, which would otherwise unravel. To fashion the bag he uses a wooden frame, which might be a single piece of wood or several nailed together. The twined shucks are wound twice around the frame at one end; then Mr. London begins the process which he terms "plaiting," looping the twine to make a series of interlocking half-hitch-knots. Handles are done separately and woven in. Twisting the shucks is hard on his hands, and although Mr. London has considered trying some softer, commercially manufactured material for his bags, he has not yet done so. He has been amused by the surprise expressed by visitors to the Jazz and Heritage Festival that anything at all can be made out of corn shucks.

A third technique was used by Lucinda Ruth, who in fact no longer makes anything out of shucks at this time. Mrs. Ruth, who learned the art as a child in Cat Island, twisted her shucks somewhat in the manner of Willie London, but to fashion the mat, she sewed the resulting strands together with cotton thread. The LSU Museum of Rural Life has in its collection a mule collar of corn shucks which dates from around 1910, but we know of no one in Louisiana who still makes such collars out of shucks (though there may well be someone, and a recent museum exhibition catalogue[Black et al.,1980:24] shows a picture of Abraham Hunter of Wilkinson County, Mississippi, which is adjacent to West Feliciana Parish, making a mule collar). The Louisiana Traditional Crafts exhibition at LSU in 1980 included a basket made by Susan Lavinia White Anderson in 1909. Though the basket was actually fashioned in Mississippi, Mrs. Anderson lived in Louisiana and came from a family which was spread throughout the Felicianas as well as the adjacent counties of Mississippi. Although Mrs. Anderson apparently never made other baskets, her family regularly made a great many useful items out of shucks, according to her descendants (deCaro and Jordan, 1980). The use of shucks in West Feliciana Parish, once common to blacks and whites, seems to continue today only in Afro-American tradition.

QUILTING

The term quilting refers to the sewing together of two or more layers of fabric to provide greater strength or warmth. Quilted materials have been used for a variety of purposes (for clothing, rugs, hangings), but in American folk crafts the term quilt means a bed covering made of two, or more usually three, materials sewn together. Generally, a quilt is made of a top (either pieced, appliqued, or plain), a middle layer of filler ("batting"), and a back (or "lining"). Colonists brought quilt making to America, and the multitude of patchwork patterns which gradually developed followed and changed with the migration of the settlers. Early American quilts were predominantly utilitarian, necessary for bed covers, and were pieced often haphazardly from worn clothes and fabric scraps left from sewing. Quilting, the stitching that holds the layers together and keeps the batting in place, was probably hurriedly done in the early settlers' quilts. As economic situations eased and leisure time and fabric became more plentiful, quilts became more complex with intricate piecing and quilting designs. In these "fancy" quilts the finest needlework was demanded. By the nineteenth century, quilts had developed into a widespread American folk craft and art. Today, quilt making remains an uninterrupted folk tradition in many areas of the U.S. and has appeared among other groups, especially urban middle class, to become a popular craft, learned through formal classes and popular books.

Cloaner Smith of Lisbon, Claiborne Parish, with an Afro-style strip quilt.. Photograph: Susan Roach-Lankford.

Louisiana still has its share of traditional quilters who continue to make both "everyday" (also called "common" or "plain") quilts as well as "fancy" quilts. Although quilt making was introduced by Anglo-Americans, in Louisiana quilting is a vital tradition among Afro- as well as Anglo-Americans and is said to include some Coushatta Indian quilters. Historically, African slaves, who were not natively familiar with quilting techniques, learned the craft as part of their plantation work. The European aesthetic of precision and complexity can be seen in surviving slave quilts and in many later Afro-American quilts such as those of Frances Sykes, of Claiborne Parish, who has pieced such difficult patterns as the "Pineapple," "Broken Star," and "New York Beauty" (see Roach-Lankford's article on north Louisiana in the previous section).

The simpler "everyday" quilts are still frequently made by both black and white women, especially in rural areas for use as bed covers to save on heating bills. Fabrics for these quilts are often from factory or sewing remnants or garage sales. Basic patterns such as the "String" quilt or the "Nine Patch" are often used in these utilitarian quilts, although more complex patterns may also be used in everyday quilts. These quilts may use an inexpensive sheet or cotton muslin for the lining and a cotton or polyester batting. Generally, quilts are quilted in traditional four-sided wooden frames which may be suspended from the ceiling or placed on chairs or "horses." The frames allow the top to be stretched over the batting and lining so that all three layers can be hand-stitched (quilted) together. When there is insufficient room for the large frames in a small room, some quilters, especially in black communities, will stretch the layers over a bed to quilt it. Mary Anderson of Rapides Parish uses this technique, even though she admits that it is a problem to keep the top as smooth when it is quilted on the bed. The quilting design on utilitarian quilts is usually simple. It may be done "by the piece," which entails stitching about one-fourth an inch from the patchwork seams. Less frequently, quilting is done in "shells" or "squares" which consist of decreasing half-circles or half-squares of rows of stitching done about an inch apart.

In the past Afro-American quilters frequently made "strip" quilts for everyday use. These were constructed of scraps of cloth sewn into strips, often the length or width of a bed, and then sewn together. Although this type of quilt is also found in the Anglo tradition, it seems to have been made more frequently by black quilters. It has been suggested that these strip quilts, which have analogues in West African textiles, were the aesthetic preference of the African slaves because the basic strip design preserved a cultural memory (Vlach, 1978:70,73). Today the strip quilt seems to be losing favor with black quilters such as Charlotte Thomas, of Rapides Parish, and Rosie Lee Allen, of Claiborne Parish, who both made strip quilts when they were younger but now prefer traditional patterns such as the "Flower Garden," "Star," and "Around the World."

Generally, the makers of utilitarian quilts learned quilting from their mothers, who had to make quilts "just for cover," and many Louisiana quilters continue in this tradition. Some quilters such as Minnie Lee Graves and Opal Madden, of Lincoln Parish, and Nova Mercer, of Jackson Parish, helped their mothers make everyday quilts, but after their marriages, with the influence and help of neighbors and friends, they began to make fancier quilts such as the Louisiana favorites, the "Flower Garden" and the "Double Wedding Ring." Although collected sewing remnants may be used in such quilts, they may require the purchase of color-coordinated fabrics, and more attention may be paid to the fiber content of the fabric and batting. Quilting designs as well as the piecing or applique pattern may be more complex and tighter. Some fancy quilts are also quilted by the piece, but they may also have other elaborate quilted designs such as feathers, wreaths, or other floral motifs. These fancy quilts may be used in the home on special occasions, given as gifts to relatives or close friends for weddings, showers or other events, displayed in fairs, saved as future heirlooms, or, more infrequently, sold.

Often quilters work alone on their own quilts or on those they quilt for the public; however, they may occasionally quilt with church, homemaker, or other groups on special projects, usually for fund-raising. In some areas groups of neighbors, friends, or relatives still get together to help each other quilt. Retirement communities and senior citizens' centers in towns such as Ferriday, Ruston, Monroe, Grambling, and Lake Providence make quilts on occasion to raffle or sell and sometimes provide quilting services for the public. Quilting for these groups not only is a money-raising project, but also provides companionship and a meaningful activity for retired women.

Louisiana museums have begun to realize the artistic merit of quilts with the growing popularity of quilting. This has resulted in several exhibits of Louisiana quilts in museums in the state, including the Alexandria Museum (catalog by Roach-Lankford, 1980), the LSU Union Gallery (1980), the Louisiana Tech Art Gallery (1981), and the Masur Museum in Monroe (1982). Along with museums, communities have also been organizing one-day quilt shows in which any area quilter can display her quilts; these events are often held in conjunction with fund-raising events and serve to draw in a greater audience. With this increasing attention and popularity, quilts are becoming more highly valued and possibly the strongest, most popular folk craft within the state.

ACADIAN WEAVING: COTTON, PALMETTO AND SPANISH MOSS

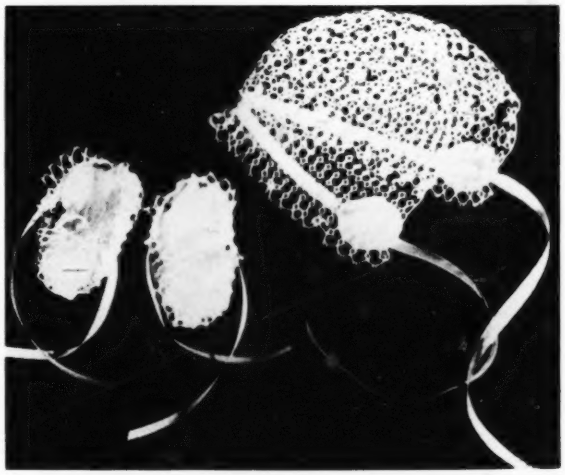
Elvina Kidder of Arnaudville weaving palmetto at her home. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

One extremely important Louisiana folk craft which can be said to be no longer a living art for all practical purposes is the spinning and weaving of cotton by Acadians. Although this practice flourished in south Louisiana for two centuries, it is practiced today by one or two traditional weavers and little more by revivalists. Acadian cloth was woven on massive, handmade looms which nonetheless produced fairly narrow pieces of cloth (never more than thirty-seven to forty-two inches wide). The material was used for various purposes, including clothing and coverlets, and the Acadian cotton blankets are especially well known. Cotton was the favored raw material (wool being used very little), due to availability and the south Louisiana climate, and one particularly distinctive feature of Acadian weaving was the widespread use of brown cotton, in addition to white. The brown cotton, also called *coton juane* and *nankeen* because of association with another, Oriental brown cotton, has been shown by recent research to have derived probably from Mexico (not from the Orient or from the West Indies, as is sometimes said); it is a pleasant *cafe au lait* color and has the virtue of not needing to be dyed, and so it was grown fairly widely at one time (but virtually not at all now). Sometimes the brown cotton was alternated with white to produce bands of each, or indigo dyes were used, or strips of commercially made cloth of various colors salvaged for the purpose were woven in. Solid brown was the most common color for the blankets.

Although Acadian textiles are not as well known as some other kinds of American folk weaving, there has been interest in promoting the appreciation of this Louisiana craft over the years. Before the turn of the century members of the Avery family, fearing that the tradition might even then be dying out, promoted it and were responsible for an Acadian weaving display and demonstration at the Columbia Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The Works Progress Administration, which attempted to foster various handcrafts during the 1930's, was also involved in fostering Acadian weaving. Slightly later Louise Olivier of the LSU Department of Extension operated the Acadian Handicrafts Project, which marketed a variety of Acadian crafts, including weaving, and there was a display and sales shop on the LSU campus. Several American presidents or their wives, ranging from Dolly Madison in 1812 to Jimmy Carter, have been presented with Acadian textiles. Most recently there has been a concerted effort made to document and study the tradition and its products from an historical perspective and an exhibition of Acadian textiles was held at the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans in the Fall of 1980, organized by Vaughn Glasgow and Tabitha Rossetter. The exhibition included over three hundred items, not only textile pieces but also looms and tools, as well as information on such aspects of the tradition as associated songs. A book on Acadian weaving by the exhibition's organizers is in progress (Glasgow 1980).

Although there have been reports of weavers in French Louisiana who carry on the craft from oral tradition and imitation, most weavers in the state are revivers of the craft. One person who did card, spin, and weave *coton jaune* as a child under the tutoring of her mother, Colestine LeBlanc, is Gladys Clark of Duson. Mrs. Clark and her mother have appeared as weavers at the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife and have been featured at a variety of local presentations to show their table mats and napkins, among other things, in brown cotton.

Another form of weaving that has been carried on by some Acadians utilizes *latagnier* or palmetto. This craft was probably learned from local Indians—and is still carried on among Houmas living in Terrebonne Parish. The best known Acadian palmetto weaver is Elvina Kidder of Arnaudville, who makes baskets, fans, pocketbooks and hats among other artifacts. Miss Kidder "began learning palmetto braiding from her mother and sisters when she was five years old" (LeBlanc, 1982:10). Although she began by making the traditional wide-brimmed men's hats and boy's dress hats, she later moved on to duplicate the high style of the day in many of the women's hats and accessories she made. She also utilized the sewing machine to join her tight fine weave together in a variety of creations. Thus, Miss Kidder represents a transition in the folk process from traditional materials, methods and artifacts to newer processes and designs. In part her marketing interest was peaked by the Acadian Handicrafts Project. Project Director Louise Olivier made frequent visits to Miss Kidder and her sister Alida Durio, as well as to Gladys Clark, who also participated. They were especially encouraged to make and sell their more traditional items. A number of Miss Kidder's works from the project are in collections at LSU and the State Museum.



Bonnet and boots by Theresa Hughes. Photograph: Rosan Jordan.

LACE AND NEEDLEWORK

Because they have often been associated with opulence and luxury, lace and embroidery may seem out of place in a consideration of traditional crafts. But exquisite laces and embroideries which from about 1500 on adorned the costumes of the rich and also vestments and altar cloths of the church were, after all, largely the work of anonymous artisans. And these domestic decorative arts have been preserved in our own time largely as the work of women, who practice them as a means of creative expression and as a way of embellishing their homes or their clothing. Many of the items which are made by hand or decorated with handiwork today are produced for special occasions (christenings, weddings, burials), the special nature of the occasion being emphasized by the elaborate display of skilled handwork. Moreover, many women learned their needlework skills and the specific patterns they use from members of their communities, and learning to do needlework was generally considered an ordinary part of becoming a woman in their communities.

For example, the Louisiana Traditional Crafts exhibition at LSU in 1980 included crocheted doilies made by Minnie Lee Graves of Hico Community near Dubach. Mrs. Graves learned to crochet from a high school friend. About age fourteen at the time, Mrs. Graves was intrigued watching her friend sitting under the pine trees crocheting during recess and the noon hour at school. Her friend, Vera Fowler (Herren), had learned to crochet from her mother, and she offered to teach Mrs. Graves. After first learning a chain stitch and then an edging and most other basics, Mrs. Graves was eventually able to execute almost any piece of crochet. Neither Mrs. Graves nor Mrs. Herren ever learned to crochet by using the written instructions often appearing in magazines and books; they could, however, like many other traditional craftspeople, reproduce any crocheted article they wished if they had the actual item to go by.

Mrs. Graves has doilies scattered throughout her home—on top of chests and tables, under lamps, and hanging from shelves in her china cabinet. She has also crocheted larger items, notably two bedspreads which she has recently given to two great-nieces; but neuritis in her hand now prevents her from doing any more crochet.

A great number of women still crochet today, although a growing number of them learned with the aid of instruction books and use commercial patterns. It is common, however, even for those using books to seek the aid of an accomplished craftswoman when attempting to learn an especially difficult stitch.

Like crocheting, tatting is a needle art still practiced in north Louisiana, although its practicioners are considerably fewer than those who do crocheting. Although tatting can also be learned with printed instructions, it is most frequently learned by observation and individual tutoring since it is quite difficult. In south Louisiana, Theresa Hughes of Lafayette learned tatting as a young girl from her brother-in-law's niece, Delia Broussard. After her marriage in 1931, Mrs. Hughes spent fifteen years travelling with her husband, whose job maintaining and repairing locks and safes involved calling on businesses all over the south. During those years of travel, Mrs. Hughes sat in the car and did tatting while her husband made his business calls. She sells her work, and she reports that there has always been a demand for it more in fact than she can keep up with. Besides baby bonnets and booties, Mrs. Hughes makes lace-edged handkerchiefs which the owner of a local fashion shop buys from her, and satin garters which she decorates with tatted lace are a popular graduation present for young women, who supposedly later wear them to be married in.

Mrs. Hughes has tried a number of times to teach her craft to others, but without success. She has concluded, in fact, that it is too difficult to be readily taught. As the stitches in tatting are formed over the fingers, and the only equipment is a small shuttle which merely carries the thread, the exquisite forms do seem to materialize by magic at the flick of the tatter's fingers. Mrs. Hughes owns several instructional booklets which she has accumulated over the years, and from these she has added patterns to her repertoire, although she copies them by looking at the patterns rather than by following the instructions. She likes patterns which are "tight," and she also feels that people like her work because it is "tightly made" and will hold up after being laundered, unlike the tatting of people who may in fact work faster. It takes Mrs. Hughes about a week to make a baby bonnet. She prefers cotton thread. She has made booties of rayon thread, but finds rayon harder to work with and not as satisfactory in terms of holding up after laundering.

Perhaps one of the most overlooked lacework tradition in Louisiana is that carried on by a few women of *Islenos*, or Canary Island Spanish, descent in St. Bernard Parish. A wide variety of cotton crochet items generally referred to by the term *pano* are made by Mrs. Martin Alfonso of Delacroix Island and other persons there and at Vscloskey. *Panos*, generally made of white cotton thread in tight symetrical patterns, are used as bed covers *(pano de cama)*, table covers *(pano de mesa)* or small shelf display items *(panonitos)*. Balanced against the white body of most *panos* are intense colors of red, blue or green. Such colors and the style of the lacework are similar to that still found in the Canary Islands and southern Spain.

Women in the more recently settled Latin American communities in New Orleans also brought with them a wide variety of needlework skills which formed part of every young woman's education. Spanish nuns in Latin America, in turn, are probably responsible for some uniform features of the handwork, as well as for passing on to their pupils a tradition of fine workmanship. For example, Maria Marenco makes such items as pillowcases by the technique of drawnwork, a technique common in Latin American handicrafts but little known in the United States. Other Latin needlewomen, such as Etelvina de Valdes and Rosa Cardona, make beautiful garments such as baptismal dresses or garments for other ceremonial occasions; Mrs. Cardona has taken to doing embroidery for Mardi Gras gowns, for example (de Caro and Jordan, 1980:27-28).

***Pano* maker, Mrs. Martin Alphonso of Delacroix, St. Bernard Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer, Louisiana Folklife Program.**

ALL SAINTS' DAY WREATHS AND OTHER RITUAL-FESTIVAL CRAFT ITEMS

Emma Gaither of Maringouin and Theresa Mouton of St. Martinville represent a tradition which was at one time more widespread in south Louisiana. They make wreaths which have ritual uses in local communities. These wreaths are made principally for All Saints' Day (November 1), which is, in Louisiana and Mediterranean-derived Catholic areas in general such as the Hispanic-American Southwest and Mexico, a day for remembering deceased relatives and friends. Cemeteries are visited, tombs are whitewashed (or, more likely today, coated with latex-based paint), and flowers are put on graves. In Mexico a great many folk artifacts associated with the "Days of the Dead" are manufactured, and in Louisiana there has been a tradition of making artificial wreaths and flowers for graves. Beaded mourning wreaths were used in New Orleans and in St. Tammany Parish, and the Petit Paris Museum in St. Martinville has an example of a tin wreath. Wreaths such as Mrs. Mouton makes, using crepe paper flowers dipped in wax, were at one time common in St. Martinville. Twenty years ago it was usual to see black women selling such wreaths on the square before St. Martin of Tours Church of All Saints' Day morning, wreaths which were then carried for their own and family use.

Though the ritual traditions of All Saints' Day continue to be strong in Louisiana, there has been a major shift away from handmade artificial wreaths to other decorative forms such as mass-produced plastic flowers. Yet since the tradition points to eternal life of the souls who rise from Purgatory and the Saints already in Heaven by way of unwilting artificial flowers—plastic or otherwise—the belief and associated aesthetic seems consistent, though the crafts tradition has largely withered. Mrs. Mouton, who believes she is the last person in St. Martinville who makes such wreaths, which she sells to local residents comments, "My flowers don't cry (melt) in the sun or rain." Reportedly, the handmade artificial wreaths are still used more extensively on the Cajun prairies to the west.

Mrs. Mouton's wreaths, which are referred to as "crowns" in St. Martinville (from the French "*couronne*," a name by which the wreaths are still known in Basile), are made of wire, crepe paper, and wax. The flowers are shaped out of the paper, and thin wire is used to attach them to a circle of thicker wire (generally a coat hanger). Green paper suggestive of a stem is used to cover the wire, and the creation is dipped in wax to stiffen the flowers and to provide protection against the elements. Mrs. Mouton does not recall precisely who taught her to construct wreaths when she was a child, except to credit older relatives in a day when many knew how to make the crowns.

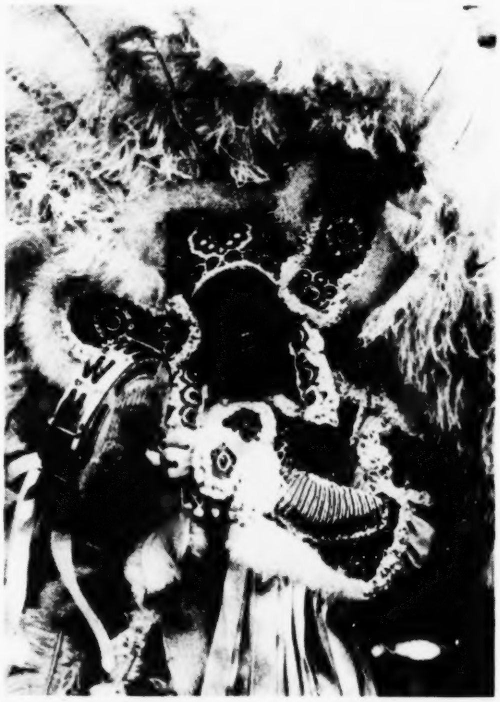
Mrs. Gaither's wreaths are different but also simply made. She too learned to make them from a family member as a child over sixty years ago. She starts with a coat hanger shaped into a circle and covers this with wads of newspaper, which are tied on with strips of cloth. Previously cut strips of crepe paper are wound around the inner padding. She does not wax the wreaths, and so they deteriorate fairly quickly (in the past, wreaths in the St. Martinville area were not always waxed either). She notes that she has made wreaths using, instead of crepe paper, strips cut from plastic trash bags, which are impervious to the weather. Mrs. Gaither makes the wreaths for friends, who bring her the materials, and for her own family. In 1979, she made about forty wreaths. She is proud that she has never let a year go by (since she took over the responsibility from her mother) without honoring her dead relatives by making wreaths for their graves. What is particularly interesting about the ritual tradition in which Mrs. Gaither participates is that the placing of the wreaths takes place in the cemetery of the Sweet Home Baptist Church. Although All Saints' Day is historically a Catholic celebration, it is also, for Louisianians, an occasion for the affirmation of family ties and of the continuity of the family through time. That Baptists in Maringouin have chosen All Saints' Day as the time for their commemorative ceremonies is an interesting example of one religion's borrowing from another.

A variety of other religious activities in Louisiana have a craft aspect, though often not as a defining feature. Home altars and shadow boxes found in Catholic homes in French Louisiana are creative assemblages of sacred materials. Much the same could be said for St. Joseph altars, though they are not crafts in the usual sense of the word. They are, however, traditional material aesthetic forms in a ritual context. Perhaps a stronger case can be made for the craft aspects of the St. Joseph breads which are molded into a variety of intricate sacred forms (see photograph accompanying article this section by Gutierrez). Although some church, yard and roadside stations-of-the-cross icons were at one time carved from wood, this tradition does not persist in French Louisiana. More research may, however, turn up *Santo*(saint) makers among recent Latin immigrants.

Kindred to some extent to the wreaths described above are tombstones and other grave markers made at home or by local craftspersons. Within the French tradition are the intricate metal crosses found in many Louisiana cemeteries, which feature *fleurs-de-lis* and hearts, among other shapes. Such items were originally made by blacksmiths, but they are not made regularly today except as a demonstration of a traditional skill.

Just as craft items are associated with rituals, so too are they a part of festivals. This is particularly true with regard to Mardi Gras. Traditional costumes run the gamut from the dazzling bead-and-feather creations of the Mardi Gras Indians in New Orleans to the simply sewn rag-tag outfits of some Cajun and rural Creole Mardi Gras clowns. A great deal of time and energy, not to mention money, is put into the costumes of New Orleans Mardi Gras Indians. Costume makers such as prizewinning twenty-seven-year-old Charles Taylor of New Orleans wear their costumes only once before tearing them down and reusing the beands to make outfits for other people or their children. His costumes generally do not use any complete pieces of earlier costumes. Thus, an apparent Afro-Caribbean aesthetic of improvising in the making of new costumes comes into play, whereby old parts are disassembled and then reassembled in interesting new ways.

Many people make Mardi Gras costumes without a specific cultural tradition in mind. Many, of course, also simply buy costumes. The same is true with most of the floats in parades, with at least one exception. The Barth family of New Orleans has made *papier mache* Mardi Gras floats and masks for four generations. Joseph Barth III comments, "Our Mardi Gras floats are the only ones that are individually made of *papier mache* . The other floats made by the big producers are made from molds and they aren't even made here. My father is always saying it just isn't right that every float has the same face and the same pair of hands " (Tobar-Blanco, Perry, Harker and Panquerne, 1978:22).



Mardi Gras Indian bead, feather and ribbon costume. Photograph: Eric Bookhardt.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Folk instrument making is a craft currently thriving in Louisiana along with a resurgence of interest in traditional music and culture. Nowhere is this more evident than in south Louisiana, where sixteen accordion makers are currently active (Map). The accordion was patented in Vienna in 1829 and did not arrive in Louisiana until the 1880's (Comeaux 1978:118). It is thought by some that the instrument was introduced by German settlers from the Midwest, but it was also made available through retail outlet merchants. Definitive research on how the accordion became the centerpiece of twentieth-century Cajun music has not been carried out, but it does appear that local manufacture of the instrument did not begin until it became more difficult to get the German models, such as Hohner and Monarch, during World War II (Comeaux, 1978:112). Necessity then spawned local creation of what some humorously called "le Abbeville air compressor." Comeaux says:

> Broken accordions had to be repaired, and several musicians from necessity took it upon themselvs to repair them. Most did it only as a hobby in their spare time, but for a few it grew to be a business. These craftsmen became very good at repairing accordions, and they soon began making the entire instrument. Locally made accordions were quickly recognized as superior to the imported models, and an industry had begun. (1978:122)

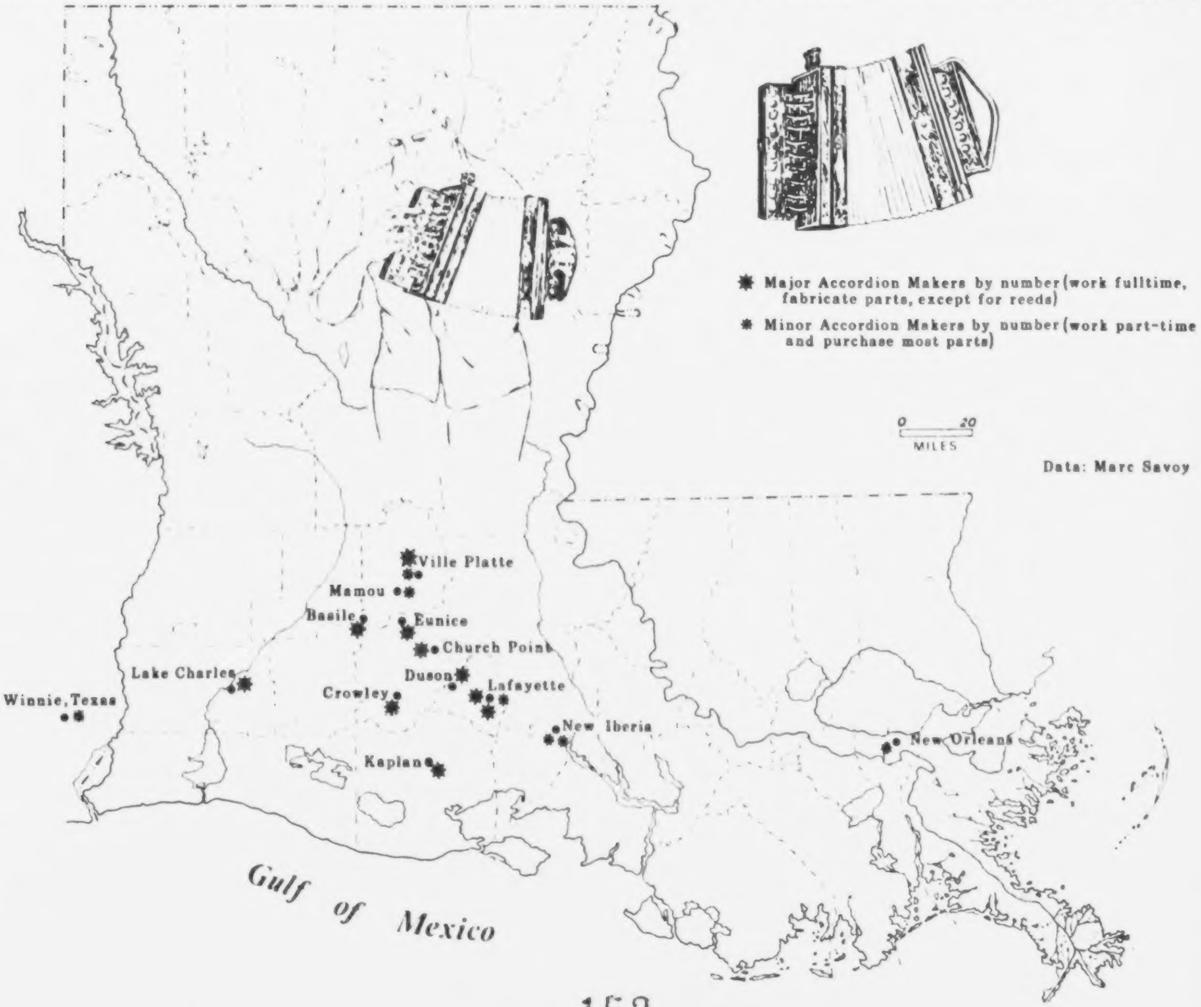
The leading proponent of accordions made in Louisiana is Mark Savoy of Eunice. Recognized as an instrument-builder throughout French speaking North America and France, Savoy began experimenting with accordions at an early age. Steeped in Cajun music and culture, but also the recipient of an engineering degree from LSU, Savoy has developed models of "Acadian Accordions" over the years as he has tried to make his instruments to the exacting standards of professional performers of traditional music from French Canada in particular (Savoy, n.d.).

As a folk instrument, the violin has a longer history in Louisiana than the accordion. It is also easier to construct a simple violin out of such items as a gourd or cigar box—many old-time fiddlers made their first instrument out of a box wired with window screen to a knife-cut neck. The violin, unlike the accordion, is not associated exclusively with the French culture of south Louisiana. It has been played in hillbilly and, later, bluegrass music as well as Cajun music, blues and old-time jazz. While the total number of violin makers in Louisiana today has not yet been surveyed, a number of craftsmen are active. Perhaps the best known in French Louisiana is musician and historian Lionel Leleux from Leleux Community on the prairies northwest of Kaplan. His instruments, in addition to having a fine tone, usually have a variety of pearl inlays to add to their luster. In north Louisiana, former "Louisiana Hayride" performer and current Shreveport resident Tex Grimsley is also known for his folk fiddles. There are surely others in the area, owing to the great popularity of the instrument, but north Louisiana music traditions are just beginning to be researched. Other south Louisiana makers include Cajuns Adner Ortego of Washington and Royne Fontenot of Eunice. Cigar-box violins are not constructed today except as demonstrations of the roots of a particular person's playing ability. Joseph "BeBe" Carriere, an older Creole man from Lawtell, St. Landry Parish, was asked to construct such a violin for a research project on zydeco music. He made two models, one of which is in the Country Music Museum in Nashville, and the other of which is included in the exhibit "The Creole State."

No traditional guitar makers have been located in the state as of this writing, although a large number of craft revivalists make this instrument and others such as the dulcimer, banjo and mandolin. Of these, the mandolin is reported to have been made in a folk form out of turtle shells for musicians in the Marthaville area (H.F. Gregory, personal communication to NRS). Undoubtedly, basic homemade variants of the other instruments were made also, as was true elsewhere in the South.

Some instruments of African and Afro-American origin have been and are currently made in Louisiana, albeit in quite modified forms. Perhaps the best starting point for research on such items is in historical accounts of the gatherings of slaves in Place Congo in New Orleans, in which descriptions of the music often include mention of the drums. Another fascinating source is the Works Progress Administration's "Ex-Slave Narratives." From these, folklorist Robert B. Winans has shown the following references to instruments in Louisiana: fiddle (10); banjo (6); percussion (9); bones (3); guitar (1); accordion (2); jews harp (1); jawbones (1) and cow horn flute (1) (1980). Contemporary work with black music in Louisiana has not revealed homecrafted drums except where individuals use already formed objects such as oil drums and overturned waste baskets for percussion. However, there are bones players in the state, and at least one maker of bones for this use is Paul Duhon of Judice Community, west of Lafayette. Duhon learned how to play and make bones from black railroad workers. Folk music researcher David Evans has located one-string instruments, similar to some found in West Africa, in Washington Parish. One maker-player of the one-string mouth-bow (also called a "jawbone" and "diddley-bow") documented by Evans was the late Eli Owens of Bogalusa (Evans personal communication to NRS). Dr. Fred Kniffen has also reported seeing okra pod kazoos among blacks in south Louisiana.

MAKERS OF CAJUN ACCORDION IN LOUISIANA


Major Accordion Makers by number (work fulltime, fabricate parts, except for reeds)
Minor Accordion Makers by number (work part-time and purchase most parts)
0 20
MILES
Data: Marc Savoy
Ville Platte
Mamou
Basile
Eunice
Church Point
Lake Charles
Duson
Lafayette
Winnie, Texas
Crowley
New Iberia
New Orleans
Kaplan
Gulf of Mexico

Perhaps the most unique contemporary folk instrument, played with an Afro-Caribbean aesthetic, is the *frottoir* found in Creole zydeco music. Although rhythmic scraping was probably once provided by notched sticks and animal jawbones, the washboard played with spoons became a mainstay of a variety of Southern musical forms, including zydeco in the twenties. Perhaps because the rubboard syncopation was so essential to zydeco, vest-hung *frottoirs* were developed later after the introduction of corrugated steel in Louisiana for house roofing and barn siding. A few south Louisiana tinsmiths and sheet-metaloutfits make these instruments to order as a folk-cottage industry.

Certainly there is a vast difference in the degree of craftsmanship between that required to make an accordion or violin and many of the simple folk instruments like okra pods, bones and *frottoirs*. Items such as Indian cane whistles and Indian-Anglo cow horns (for calling neighbors or hunting dogs) have not been touched upon, although they are still made. Their musicality is certainly less significant than their craftsmanship. As the revival of folk music tradition continues in Louisiana we are likely to see many more instrument makers of all degrees and kinds.

Violin maker Lionel Leleux. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer. (Smithsonian Institution.)

CANE CARVING

Finding craft and other material items in the New World that are of African origin has long been an elusive search for students of folk tradition. In part the lack of definitive African roots for crafts is due to the conditions under which slaves came to America—lacking their tools and materials and uprooted from their traditions in general. Of course, many black craftsmen make artifacts such as quilts or split-oak baskets in apparent Anglo styles. On the other hand, the methods of construction and patterns used are often quite different. Thus some Afro-American crafts follow a pattern seen in a number of other creative traditions (such as music and story telling) whereby improvisation and stylization take precedence over conservative faithfulness to a particular form. There are also some intriguing cases in the United States where apparent African material connections have been maintained (see Vlach, 1978). In Louisiana, connections to African tradition are sometimes seen in quilt form, graveyard traditions, body art and foodways, among others. One apparent link is in the carving of walking sticks, carried on by at least two men in opposite ends of the state. In Homer, David Allen has been making canes since around 1950. Using mostly hickory as a material, he carves various shapes on his canes: spirals, diamonds, or serpentine motifs. He may add rhinestones to create eyes for snakes or human faces. In New Orleans, Hugh "Daddy Boy" Williams creates more elaborate canes, many with erotic motifs that he calls "X-rated." Perhaps his most fascinating works include the African folktale about the "Signifyin' Monkey" as a motif. The monkey at the top of the stick is arguing with a tiger, snake and, perhaps as a Louisiana element, an alligator. The work of both carvers shows remarkable similarity to items found in parts of West Africa.

Walking sticks of rather different design are made by white carvers such as Eola oil-field worker Early Vidrine, who learned cane carving from his father. He carves his canes from dogwood or ash with a simple vine design which was inspired by a dogwood tree he saw wrapped with rattan vine (Minto and Bernard, 1980:16). Basket maker Jack Phillips, from Shreveport, also carves walking sticks occasionally; however, he puts the design emphasis on the handle of the cane rather than the shaft. His canes usually exhibit elaborate faces such as snarling dogs, devils or snakes. Unlike Vidrine's and Allen's canes, Phillips' canes are unvarnished, though he sometimes uses paint to highlight facial features of his creations.

Another Anglo carver was the late Ernest Cargle of Provencal (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:21). His intricate designs do not seem linked to a particular cultural sytle. Such highly individual carved forms are sometimes also called "tramp art" or "prison art," since they tend to show detailed repetitive designs made by those with time on their hands.

FOLK TOYS

In any society toys are needed to entertain children and provide an outlet for their play needs and fantasies. They may also serve as aids in education and acculturation (see also Soileau's essay on children's folklife in the previous section). There is a wide range of American folk toys, traditional play objects such as whirligigs, flap jacks, and whimmy diddles (Schnacke, 1973). Louisiana shares in this larger American tradition. For example, Blake Owen of Pineville makes a wide variety of toys—wind toys, balance toys, spool tractors (a commercial thread spool is powered by a rubber band to run along the floor), switchblades (a rubber band and a clothespin are the mechanism which activate a harmless wooden "blade" in imitation of more deadly knives), pecking chickens (a weight hanging from a string is jiggled, and this motion causes an attached wooden chicken to rock back and forth as though pecking), and others. Owen learned woodworking techniques from his father, though he did not start on toys until recently when, in the late 1960's, his children grown, he rediscovered his father's tools and began to remember some fo the toys of his own childhood. Fir is a favored wood for his toys (which may also incorporate metal parts) (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:20, 37-40).

Toys may be one aspect of a larger crafts repertoire and Jack Phillips of Shreveport, who makes baskets and furniture, also makes toys, including puzzles and children's chairs. Other toys may mirror aspects of Louisiana folklife in providing miniature "models" of adult activities. Ira W. Sandel of Plainview grew up in a lumbering community at a time when logs were still hauled by oxen-pulled wagons. He started whittling a few years ago for his grandchildren and today makes miniature representations of those log wagons of cedar, hickory, sweet gum, leather and metal. Pete Gregory, raised in Concordia Parish in the Delta region of the state, grandson of a boatbuilder and fisherman, remembers being given a toy bateau. As a teenager, he learned to carve himself, and he has continued to use that knowledge to make toy folk boats for his children and those of neighbors. Gregory makes other kinds of toys as well (Gregory, Green and Raymond, 1981:14, 11, 38, 41).

Cornshuck and apple dolls are widespread in rural areas of the United States and seem to spring from independent invention everywhere as well as from the influence of national craft magazines (i.e., it is not a folk process of learning). A number of cornshuck-doll makers are found throughout Louisiana, from Chauvin and Duson in the south to Pineville and Ruston in the north. Geraldine Robertson of Opelousas makes cornshuck dolls as she learned as a girl. Her dolls, which she has sold in folk festivals, range in size from four to eight inches tall, have yarn hair, and are usually dressed in calico skirts. Along with the individual dolls, she has begun to create nativity scenes featuring animals and angels with the Biblical characters. These scenes incorporate modern materials also, such as straw flowers, yarn and colored ribbon.

TRADITIONAL CRAFTS: THE FUTURE

Louisiana crafts are becoming more recognized here and elsewhere as tangible links to the traditions of the many groups in the state. They are at the same time becoming symbols for the future of hand skills and traditional ideas. In this process crafts may change greatly in form and function. For example, when an item such as a basket or quilt becomes popular on the market, its cost goes up and it may become an "art form" in the eyes of the buyer as well as the seller. This is not necessarily regrettable, since crafts sales can generate income for rural people while putting outsiders more in touch with local traditions. The negative effect can be that commercialization will lead to the lowering of quality, the loss of traditional significance in a community and a smug assurance on the part of the buyer that he or she is somehow really supporting the traditional community. Complex questions on the place of traditional crafts in festival and commercial settings are rarely asked by festival presenters, craftspeople or consumers. Certain items seem destined to remain fairly traditional because of their sheer practicality. Such is probably true of tool handles, which will never be big sellers as "artistic" items. Quilts seem to function well in both worlds. Quilters can quilt for the home and hearth as well as for the buying public. Quilts "work" as abstract art to some and as bed cover and a symbol of family ties(e.g., the "Double Wedding Ring") for others. Duck decoys seem especially well suited to exist in at least two settings: on the marsh (working decoy) or on the mantle piece (art decoy).

One factor clearly in favor of the continuing vitality of traditional crafts in the state is the infusion of new ethnic groups. Latin Americans—Cubans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans among others—have become an important presence in New Orleans over the last two decades and have brought with them not only needlework traditions and their own tradition of All Saints wreaths but no doubt other crafts of which we are not yet aware. There is even a Honduran hammock maker in New Orleans, Maria Luisa Winberger, a native of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, who came to New Orleans in 1951. She learned to make hammocks in Honduras from an Indian woman from the Mosquito Coast region, a travelling vendor of fabrics who also taught hammock making as a way of promoting sales of her wares. She sells those hammocks which she makes today and has appeared at the Jazz and Heritage Festival. The Vietnamese are even more newly arrived; their crafts include nets, boats, paper lanterns, musical instruments, traditional clothing, altar cloths and banners (de Caro and Jordan, 1980:28, 30-31).

As traditional handmade items are increasingly in the public eye through festivals, co-ops and cottage industry production, it will be interesting to see how Louisiana's many craft traditions change—and remain the same—in the future.

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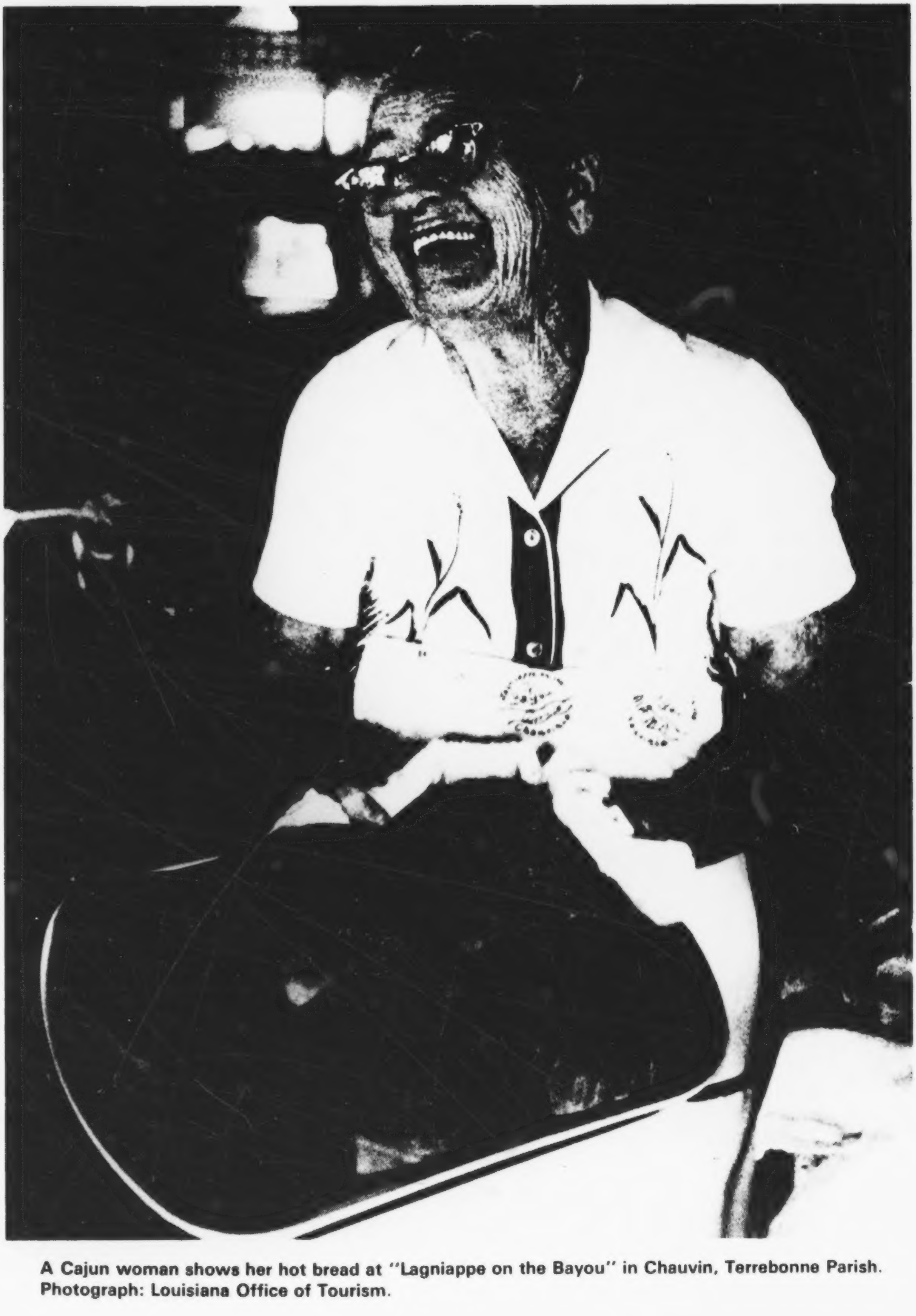

A Cajun woman shows her hot bread at "Lagniappe on the Bayou" in Chauvin, Terrebonne Parish. Photograph: Louisiana Office of Tourism.

LOUISIANA TRADITIONAL FOODWAYS

by C. Paige Gutierrez

Along with music, food is perhaps the most pervasive symbol of Louisiana's traditional heritage. Its local use to describe Louisiana culture and values ranges from the ribald expression "Gumbo, Go-Go, and Do-Do" to allegedly describe Cajun lifestyle, to Jimmie Davis's sacred song of hearth and home, "Suppertime"; and of course there's the Hank Williams classic "Jambalaya." Yet the transition from traditional subsistence foodways in the swamps of south Louisiana and the wooded northern hills has barely been examined in all the romanticization of Louisiana's food traditions. While living off the land is still a powerful symbol in Louisiana, the reality of local food sources, or the mingled African, Spanish, French, English or Indian methods of using them, is only beginning to be understood in ways that go beyond traditional nutrition studies or the all-pervasive regional cookbooks. It is fascinating to note on the latter subject, in a state struggling with literacy, that, next to the Bible, a cookbook is often the most revered text.

While food as a traditional item of taste and style seems destined to survive the acculturation and change of much that is folk in Louisiana—in part because people have to eat and they eat best in the home, the source of culinary tradition— the traditional contexts or events for food procurement, preparation, serving and eating are changing as rapidly as boudin becomes a popular item in 7-11's. However, unlike other forms of folklife there is not a complete break with tradition. As such, foodways seem destined to serve as a source of physical strength as well as traditional cultural strength for the future.

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A recent issue of *The New York Times Magazine* contains one of a series of Louisiana Office of Tourism advertisements designed to lure visitors to the state: a large color photograph of boiled crawfish, crabs and shrimp iced down with onions, peppers and other seasonings is accompanied by the statement "There's a lot of good eatin' in this country, but not this good." The advertisement, along with countless others which proclaim the glories of Louisiana food, reflects the national belief that there is something special about the state's culinary heritage,[1] and the native belief that the local food is something to brag about, something to present to the general public as part of the region's identity. Indeed, traditional cooking is one area of Louisiana folklife that is strongly endorsed even by the most "modern" of citizens, those who may disdain the "old-fashioned" styles in music, architecture or other areas of folklife. Local and national journalists and cookbook editors have produced volumes on Louisiana food (with a decided emphasis, like the above-quoted ad, on New Orleans and Cajun country), but parallel research on Louisiana foodways by folklorists and other scholars has been rare.[2]

The term "foodways," as it is now used by writers in various disciplines, has a broad definition. The study of foodways may include the production, distribution, preparation, preservation, serving and eating of food, as well as the social, symbolic, psychological and behavioral aspects of food. Historians, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, ecologists, archaeologists, theologians, biologists, home economists, nutrition specialists, journalists, artists and poets have all had something to say about foodways—which is not surprising, considering the fact that food has both biological and cultural components. Food serves as nourishment, but specific foods and food habits are part of our social, technological, economic, religious, aesthetic and communicative systems. Thus food has meaning beyond that of mere survival, making its significance in human life both varied and complex.

But what is the special province of the folklorist in foodways studies? What are "folk" foodways? Don Yoder offers a definition:

> Folk cookery can be readily defined as traditional domestic cookery marked by regional variation. As everyday, domestic, family cookery based on regional tradition, it is obviously the opposite of the commercial, institutional, and scientific-nutritional versions of cookery. Diffused regionally into folk-cultural "provinces," it varies from both national and international cuisines. The study of folk cookery includes the study of the foods themselves, their morphology, their preparation, their preservation, their social and psychological functions, and their ramifications into all other aspects of folk-culture. (1972:325)

Yoder's definition (in which the term folk cookery is apparently interchangeable with folk foodways) indicates that folk cooking, like other folk activities, is"traditional'-its practice and appreciation are passed from generation to generation, ideally without the help of cookbooks or other modern media,[3] and usually within the context of the family or community. Like other folkways, cooking and related food events vary from region to region, from group to group, and from practitioner to practitioner, but within a discernable folk community, a distinct "aesthetic" governing foods is present. (A similar variation occurs over time as well as space.) And, like other folk practices, foodways do not exist in isolation; they influence and are influenced by other factors of their cultural setting.

The study of traditional foodways involves both the material and nonmaterial aspects of the subject. Research on food as material culture includes such topics as ingredients and the physical changes they undergo during processing (i.e., recipes, loosely speaking), and the nature of utensils, tools, cooking equipment, and storage facilities. Scholarly activity in these areas might include the documenting, collecting, photographing, filming, measuring and/or mapping of food and food-related materials—although the ever- ephemeral finished dish does not translate well into print, and technology does not yet allow the precise recording or preserving of taste, smell, texture and temperature. A folklorist interested in material culture might study the design of homemade crawfish traps or corn grinders, the nature and distribution of the many types of gumbo found in Louisiana,the process of making meat pies in Natchitoches, the methods of smoking ham in north Louisiana or the drying of shrimp in southeastern Louisiana.

But the folklorist is not limited to the study of material aspects of food. For example, a researcher might document traditional methods of procuring foodstuff—hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering, growing—with an eye for the nature of men's versus women roles in these activities. Or a focus on methods of food distribution could include topics as diverse as the old-fashioned Cajun family *boucherie*, at which members' animals were slaughtered on a rotating basis and the meat distributed to members of the group; the role of Indians as herb-sellers at the old French Market in New Orleans; the social functions of Vietnamese food stores in Louisiana; or perhaps the significance to regional identity of quasi-mass produced products such as frozen boudin or rice dressing mix. The nature of specific food events—meals, snacks, coffee breaks, rituals, festivals, eating contests—is also of interest and involves such topics as the importance of St. Joseph's Day altars to the Italian community in New Orleans, the many food-related festivals in Louisiana (the Galliano Oyster Festival, the Zwolle Tamale Festiva, etc.), or the role of food at weddings and funerals. The study of nonmaterial aspects of food also includes food preferences, aesthetics, and taboos, as well as the relationship between a group's beliefs, religious or otherwise, and its foodways.

Louisiana food traditions vary with both the physical and cultural geography of the state. Physical geography partly determines the availability and relative ease of acquisition of specific foodstuffs. People seldom ignore nature's locally produced bounty, although there are exceptions.[4] Thus, it is not surprising that people in southeastern Louisiana catch and consume a large amount of shrimp and know how to cook them in more ways than do people in St. Martin Parish (which is slightly inland), who in turn concentrate more of their efforts on crawfish. But cultural factors partly determine to what degree the potential foods offered by an environment will be exploited, as well as which non-native foods will be brought into an area. Thus, settlement patterns have influenced foodways patterns. Louisiana's earliest settlers, the Indians, have left a legacy of corn dishes to descendants of Europeans and Africans throughout the state.[5] Not content with corn as the only grain, the French imported rice and wheat in the early colonial period; rice, which happens to grow well in southern Louisiana, soon became a "native" food still strongly associated with Louisiana French cooking.[6] German small farmers along the Mississippi used their skills to make vegetables available to the New Orleans market; they also added their own style of sausage-making to the state's cuisine (Gueymard, 1973:13). Spanish influence has resulted in tamales in northwestern Louisiana, jambalaya in southern Louisiana (probably a descendant of Spanish *paella*: see Feibleman, 1971:179), and *caldo* in St. Bernard Parish. Yugoslavian immigrants to Plaquemines Parish at the turn of the century contributed their knowhow to the oyster and orange industries and their culinary skills to the production of such foods as oysters and spaghetti and orange wine. Black cooks perfected methods of deep-fat frying and barbecue and reinforced the Spanish preference for hot spices, which were also used in Africa and the West Indies (Jones, 1974:82-83). The slave trade was responsible for the introduction of certain ingredients, such as okra and peanuts.

Louisiana's diversity makes it an intriguing, if not overwhelming, laboratory for the study of traditional foodways. For purposes of analysis, the state is usually divided into the "Anglo" north (which includes the Florida Parishes excepting their southern extremities) and the "French" south. Such a division is useful, but it must be noted that the boundaries of the two areas are by no means easy to mark, and the diversity within each of these two subregions is great. New Orleans in particular requires a separate designation, because of its urban nature and its history as a port city to which dozens of immigrant groups have come.

In New Orleans a researcher might concentrate on one of the many ethnic groups and their foods—if he can separate one group and its food from another. Harnett Kane, a native of the city and a popular Louisiana writer, comments on the ethnic complexity of the city's food:

> Like a language or an art, a living cuisine borrows, assimilates, expands. With a population so multilingual, Creole cooking has been modified with the years. A Frenchman has married an Italian girl; some Jugoslavs move into the French section; a German cousin comes to live with the Creole family—and each adds something.
>
> Take my family as an example. Though it is of Irish descent, the present generation grew up on gumbo and cafe' au lait. We like jambalaya as thoroughly as any Creoles do, but we also enjoy Italian stuffed artichokes, as well as an emphatic crab mixture suggested by a Dalmatian friend from the lower Delta. Since one family branch is German, we have long appreciated pot roast and noodles; yet in the main, no matter what goes onto the family stove, it emerges with a strong French-Spanish seasoning. (1949:317)

The culinary blending and borrowing described by Kane has been common in New Orleans since colonial times, when Spanish, African and Indian influence and environmental necessity contributed to the transformation of Old World French bouillabaisse into Creole gumbo (Feibleman, 1971:15). Some "Ethnic" foods have become so widespread that they have become as much the property of the city as a whole as of the original group: Italian muffulettas are one example; red beans and rice (probably a legacy of New Orleans' Caribbean connection) another; and "Creole" mustard (of German heritage) another. But many items have remained associated with particular groups, and there are Cuban, Vietnamese and Middle Eastern grocery stores, among others, to cater to specific tastes. Thus, a folklorist interested in the broad topic of "New Orleans foods" would begin by narrowing his topic.

A problem particularly relevant to New Orleans foodways research is that of the role of "gourmet" or "elite" traditions in the city.[7] This problem arises in food research elsewhere in the state but is especially noticeable in New Orleans. Trained European chefs have worked in the city since colonial times (Feibleman, 1971:18; Mitcham, 1978:5). Trade in luxury food items began during the colonial era, and by 1803, Louisiana was importing luxury cheeses, dried fruit, pasta and expensive wine (Robin, 1807:44).[8]

Today New Orleans presents itself to the world as a center for fine dining, with offerings ranging from the most elite to the most traditional styles. Indeed, New Orleans restaurants have been responsible for introducing Louisiana folk dishes, such as jambalaya, boiled crawfish and red beans and rice, to visitors from all over the world. The famous nineteenth-century restaurant, Begue's, originally an eatery for French Quarter butchers, served this purpose, as do the countless restaurants that today strive to serve "authentic" Louisiana home cooking to natives and visitors alike. But not all "traditional" New Orleans dishes are derived from a "folk" tradition. For example, pomano *en papillote* and oysters Rockefeller were both invented at Antoine's restaurant by Jules Alciatore, the son of Antoine Alciatore, who was a European-trained professional chef (Kane, 1949:325). Even though these dishes originated in New Orleans and may have been influenced in part by the city's culinary milieu, few folklorists would label them "folk." On the other hand, few folklorists familiar with New Orleans restaurants would agree with Yoder's statement that commercial institutional cooking is necessarily the opposite of folk cooking; sometimes the two may overlap.

New Orleans also has a long tradition of cookbooks. These books are invaluable historical sources, but the researcher must be aware of their shortcomings as sources of "folk" recipes. For example, *The Picayune Creole Cook Book* (1901) states as its purpose the preservation of old Creole ways, but it also states the necessity of standardizing recipes, instead of relying on the traditional "pinch of this, pinch of that" method. The book laments the passing of the old "darky" cooks, thus implying that the intended audience was composed of those who could (or who used to be able to) afford servants. In addition, some of the recipes and suggested menus require ingredients that were relatively expensive, again implying an audience of means, even though the book makes a point of including "cheap" dishes. The book also emphasizes the "moral" and "nutritional" aspects of food preparation, and we can assume that consideration for these factors modified the content in ways that do not necessarily reflect the culinary ethnography of the times. Lafcadio Hearn's *Creole Cook Book* (1885) contains food-related proverbs and street cries along with recipes, but he too espouses the scientific-nutritional approach to cookery:

> Now to attain perfection in any line, care and attention are requisite, careful study a necessity, and application the moving force. Hence, cooking in all its branches should be studied as a science, and not be looked upon as a haphazard mode of getting through life. Cooking is in a great measure a chemical process, and the ingredients of certain dishes should be as carefully weighed and tested as though emanating from the laboratory. (1884:1)

Although cookbooks such as Lafcadio Hearn's *Creole Cook Book* and *The Picayune's Creole Cook Book* contain much useful and interesting data on New Orleans foodways, the researcher must consider the biases of the authors before analyzing the contents.

The relationship between New Orleans Creole cooking and south Louisiana rural Cajun cooking (south Louisiana regional cooking is often called "Cajun" cooking because of the dominance of that ethnic group in the area) is complex. An understanding of the interplay of their foodways presupposes an understanding of the interplay of Creoles and Cajuns. There is disagreement in the state as to exactly who or what constitutes a Creole or a Cajun; the disagreement centers around questions involving race, class, and language (see the essay on south Louisiana in this volume). Popular writers frequently portray the Creole as a member of an aristocratic class of Spanish or French descent and his food as a Louisiana version of a European gourmet tradition. Cajuns and their food, on the other hand, are seen as the rural, peasant counterpart of the Creole tradition. Although these distinctions ring true in many cases, a clear division between the two groups and their culinary styles is not easy to specify. There has been and still is some overlap between Cajun and Creole identities. There are (and were) wealthy Cajuns and poor Creoles. In addition, both groups share many of the same ethnic influences (predominantly French, but also Spanish, Indian, African, and, in some subregions, Italian and German), and the same ideological influence (Latin Catholicism, which supposedly accounts for a shared general approval of the enjoyment of food and drink, as well as more specific practices such as the development of many meatless (*maigre*) dishes for Fridays). Both food styles also depend on roughly the same physical environment, accounting for the shared interest in seafood and game. Feibleman comments on what he sees as the significant similarity between Cajun and Creole food:

> If the Creoles lived in luxury in New Orleans along the Mississippi and on a few of the bayous, while the Acadians were settling the swamps and the back country, the two groups met at least long enough to agree on one paradoxical rule in all matters of food. The rule was, and is, that there is no rule—no one way of doing things... In the best sense, both Creole and Acadian kitchens are the kitchens of ad lib. (1971:19).

As has been seen in the discussion of New Orleans, it is difficult to generalize about the area's foodways. It is no less difficult in the case of Cajun food. It is safe to say that south Louisiana rural cooking reflects a liking of hot pepper, heavily seasoned foods, long cooked, one-pot dishes served with rice, smothered, seasoned vegetables and dark roast coffee (Fournet, 1939; Gueymard, 1973). However, within the region, variation is great: *grillades* on the prairies, barbecued shrimp in Terrebonne Parish, *tasso* in the Opelousas area, *andouille* along the old German Coast—and a widespread intermingling and exchange of food styles throughout the region. In addition, non-Cajun ethnic groups have influenced local cooking styles in much the same way as that described by Kane for New Orleans (see above). Also noteworthy in south Louisiana is a tendency to turn any event into a food event, if at all possible. Festivals feature food, and many are centered around a particular food (rice, crawfish, boudin, etc.). Weddings require more than a punch and cake—a full meal is served in St. Martin Parish. Business meetings, fund-raisers, and club meetings provide reasons for preparing community meals. It is also interesting that in south Louisiana, community cooking is a status job often held by males, many of whom are locally famous for their culinary skills.

North Louisiana foodways have not received the popular attention given to south Louisiana foodways; folklorists, too, have been more intrigued with the "exotic" south Louisiana culture. North Louisiana folkways in general reflect a common bond with the American South (Roach, this volume), and the diet is true to its Southern heritage with its emphasis on pork and corn products, greens, yams, peas, game, and freshwater fish, especially catfish. Roach points out that summer vegetables are today a mainstay of north Louisiana cooking, with many varieties grown locally. The area is noted for its fine barbecue; and church suppers, family reunions and local fairs with their food preparation contests are important food events. Although the Shreveport area has felt the impact of urban America on its foodways,[9] the relative isolation of much of north Louisiana suggests that it would be a fertile field for folklore research. Hilliard's comment on the conservative foodways of the American south should apply well to north Louisiana:

> Without the cultural "shock" of immigrants moving into the South and handicapped by a lower level of living than other regions, many elements of the southern diet persisted through the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century. Thus, the traditional southern foods have survived the settlement years, a civil war, and more than a century of time to become a frontier "relic" in the midst of twentieth-century American life. (1972:69)

A thorough study of rural foodways of both north and south Louisiana is not available, but the small amount of work that has been done does shed some light on similarities and differences between the two regions. Fournet's 1939 thesis, *A Comparison of Food Habits in Non-French and French Louisiana*, indicates that both areas share the same basic foods, but that there are, some differences in preference and many differences in method of preparation (79). For example, although both regions consume much pork (as does the rural United States in general), north Louisianians eat more ham, probably because ham production is easier in the drier climate (Fournet, 1939:91). (Similarly, south Louisianians

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eat more seafood because it is available to them.) North Louisianians consume more sweets–a fact reflected in the abundance of dessert recipes in that area. Fournet also found that north Louisianians have a preference for spare ribs, while south Louisianians use more of a variety of beef cuts in general (1939:68-72). Frying is the preferred method of preparation for meats in the north; in the south, no one method is preferred (Fournet, 1939:68-72). South Louisianians prefer to smother their vegetables, while north Louisianians boil their vegetables. Hilliard points out the prevalence of the latter cooking method in the American South (1972:51), and Fournet attributes the method's use in north Louisiana to the area's English heritage (1939:91). In a more recent comparative foodways study, Steelman finds that north Louisianians are relatively more concerned with food-related values (social status awareness, quality of product, concern for health) that "relate well to the Protestant Ethic" and its emphasis on work, achievement, external conformity and science (1972:95-96). (For historical references to the foodways of both north and south Louisiana, see Hillard, 1972; Shugg, 1939; and Taylor 1982).

Knowledge of specific traditional foodways often serves as an ethnic or regional boundary marker. For example, a south Louisianian is likely to know how to catch, cook and eat crawfish, while people from outside the region are often mystified or even repulsed by these activities. In the past, outsiders associated the eating of crawfish with the image of the poor, illiterate, swamp-dwelling Cajun, and Cajuns were ridiculed for eating the inexpensive and supposedly inedible, unsanitary "mudbug." But in recent years, south Louisiana has experienced an economic boom, Cajuns have found a revived pride in their ethnicity, and crawfish have become an accepted, expensive, and even fashionable food. Now it is the newcomer to the region who is chagrined by his refusal or his inability to do something as "simple" as peeling and eating his share of boiled crawfish (Gutierrez, 1984) Crawfish and other "unusual" native foodways may become part of an informal "initiation rite" for outsiders. A newcomer may be subtly or directly challenged to eat raw oysters or hot peppers, and it is said that an outsider becomes a Cajun only when he learns to eat crawfish and drink dark roast coffee. Thus, affiliation with certain foods and cooking techniques serves both to differentiate members of a group from nonmembers as well as to unite people within a group. Shared foodways may also provide a common bond among subgroups within a region:

> For the cuisine of the Cajuns (whether they are descendants of Acadia or were born in the area of black, American Indian, Spanish, English, Irish or any other racial ancestry) seems to be the people's one true cultural connection. (Greene, 1979:44)

New groups in a region may also incorporate regional foodways into their diets without abandoning their old foodways. For example, Italian homemakers in Tangipahoa Parish cook okra, grits and red beans and rice as well as traditional Italian dishes (Falkowski, 1972:55-58).

As in other areas of folklife, modern influences have affected Louisiana traditional foodways. The advent of electricity and refrigeration has removed the need for the *boucherie*, and thus community hog-killings, with their attendant social ramifications, have become relatively rare. Store-bought bread has replaced homemade bread for all but the most traditional or the most modern gourmet or natural-food-oriented cooks. Modern markets and roads, as well as larger incomes, have made the purchase of fresh or packaged produce more convenient and economical for the working family, and thus the skills necessary for raising and preserving one's own produce often grow out of a hobby rather than a necessity. And few are the people who still grind their own corn, milk their own cows, or live exclusively on what they can hunt, catch, gather and grow. Increasing literacy coupled with radio and television has expanded the curious individual's food horizon: a Winnfield or Abbeville housewife may serve her family Chinese stir-fried vegetables or an East Indian curry if she so desires. In addition, modern nutritionists at least attempt to persuade residents to forego certain traditional foodways, such as heavy use of fats or long cooking of nutritionally fragile vegetables, in favor of healthier practices.

Although it is true that modern technology and communication have led to the demise of many traditional foodways, these have also been enlisted as aids in the continuation of tradition. Some Cajun cooks season meat by injecting the veins with liquified pepper and other ingredients delivered through a veterinarian's hypodermic needle, instead of using the old-fashioned method of piercing the meat and stuffing the holes with chopped garlic, onions and pepper. Which way is better is a matter of opinion; both result in a regionally-defined dish (Gutierrez, 1980). Appliance stores in Lafayette offer lessons in preparing regional foods in microwave ovens, and local authors have produced Cajun microwave cookbooks, which instruct the reader on how to make a roux without the usual tedious, careful stirring. Hitachi rice cookers are common fixtures in Cajun homes, and St. Martin Parish Cajun cooks wholeheartedly endorse Magnalite cookware as superior to the traditional seasoned black iron pot that used to be carefully passed from generation to generation. Freezing and other modern preservation techniques have practically ended the old seasonal cycle of food availability. Crawfish farming promises to make the spring crawfish boil a year-round event; other developments in production, preservation, distribution and marketing promise to expand the geographic and seasonal availability of numerous perishable foodstuffs.[10] And, perhaps ironically, the revived interest in folk and ethnic heritage which swept the nation in the 1960's and 1970's has been felt in Louisiana, where locals now strive to preserve the knowledge of folk foodways through cookbooks, festivals, and other media.

Mary Lou Gunn of Ruston shells peas on her back porch. Photograph: Susan Roach-Lankford.

Because the impact of modern culture has been felt even in the most isolated areas of Louisiana, an attempt to research traditional foodways in the state leads to a theoretical question inherent in any research on traditional cuisine: What are traditional foods, and how do we recognize them? Similar questions are common to all folklife research—how do we recognize traditional music or crafts—but the problem is particularly acute concerning food because every member of a society eats, and virtually every member partakes in some phase of production, procurement, distribution, preservation, or preparation of food on some occasion. Thus, in a society like Louisiana, where individuals may function in a traditional sphere, a modern sphere, or both, it is difficult to point to the "bearers" of "traditional" or "folk" cuisine. When an oil company executive of Cajun heritage hosts a *cochon de lait* (pig-roasting) for his business associates, is he carrying on the same culinary tradition learned from his father, who hosted such events for the extended family, perhaps as part of a *boucherie* tradition? When a young bride learns to cook the way her grandmother did by reading a regional cookbook published by a local church group, is she partaking of her "folk" heritage? When a family has a meal of spicy fried chicken and "dirty" rice (rice dressing) at Popeye's in New Orleans (or in New York City), are they eating traditional Louisiana food?

Answers to these questions would undoubtedly vary from folklorist to folklorist and would in part depend on the training and personal biases of individual folklorists, who, like members of any profession, are not in total agreement concerning the boundaries of their subject matter and the validity of their theories and methods. An extreme purist who is only interested in "authentic" folkways would probably answer "no" to all of the above questions: the Cajun oil executive has taken his skill out of a traditional, folk community context; the bride with the cookbook is not *learning* her craft in the traditional manner and setting; and the diners at Popeye's are eating standardized food at a commercial fast-food franchise that is capitalizing on a Louisiana tradition. On the other hand, a more broadly oriented folklorist might answer "yes" to the above questions: the Cajun oil executive is carrying a traditional skill and aesthetic into a new and meaningful context—a community which, though modern, has its own folk elements; the bride is using literacy, a modern skill, to help her produce a traditional product, in a time when demography and economics often prohibit direct learning from one's grandmother; and fast food chains like Popeye's have employed modern distribution methods to make traditional regional foods available on a regular basis over an expanded geographic area.

Louisiana foodways range from the very traditional to the very modern, with many variations in between. In addition, there is a great ethnic and regional diversity at points throughout the traditional-modern continuum. This essay does not constitute a survey of all Louisiana foodways and the processes of change which have affected them over the years; indeed, sufficient field data is not yet available for such an undertaking. Hopefully future research will make possible a comprehensive overview of the state's foodways and a greater understanding of one of Louisiana's important cultural resources.

Cajun hog butchering in southwest Louisiana. Photograph: Robert Yellin for the Smithsonian Institution.

FOOTNOTES

1. The WPA's *Louisiana: A Guide to the State* quotes Twain and Thackeray on this subject (Saxon, Dryer and Wixon. 1941:225,226). For a more recent example, see the last two chapters of Calvin Trillin's *American Fried* (1974).

2. An exception is the work that has been done by graduate students in the Louisiana State University School of Home Economics. During the 1930's a series of five theses on Louisiana cookery was produced: *Louisiana Cookery—Its History and Development* (Reed, 1931); *The History of Table Manners and Customs and the Influence upon Manners and Customs of South Louisiana* (Carey, 1933); *Fish Cookery in South Louisiana* (Hatfield, 1933); *The Place of Native Carbohydrate Foods, such as Rice, Corn and Sweet Potatoes in the Daily Menus of South Louisiana People* (Pope, 1934); and *A Comparison of Food Habits in Non-French and French Louisiana* (Fournet, 1939). Fournet's thesis is particularly well done and useful to folklorists. The others vary in quality, but most contain valuable content, and all contain useful bibliographic information.

In more recent years, LSU graduate students have produced other relevant work in various departments: *Food Customs in a Selected Louisiana French Parish* (Fontenot, 1967); *Sociability and Creativity Aspects Related to Food in a South Louisiana Community* (Day, 1971); *Connotative Meanings of Food in a Selected Louisiana Subculture* (Falkowski, 1972); and *Socio-Cultural Factors Related to Food Habits and Attitudes in Selected Louisiana Communities* (Steelman, 1972). Steelman has since gathered data on food in Independence and Kentwood as part of the U. S. Department of Agriculture's Quality of Life Research.

3. The nature of the role of literacy and mass communications in the transmission of folk culture leads to theoretical problems for folklorists. South Louisiana in particular has produced and/or inspired countless cookbooks (and at least one television cooking show, hosted by Justin Wilson), ranging from mimeographed sheets sold at local festivals to Time-Life's *American Cooking: Creole and Acadian* (Feibleman, 1971). Some cookbooks contain written versions of folk recipes, some contain standardized versions of folk recipes, some contain idiosyncratic recipes that apparently bear little relation to the region represented by the book, and some contain all three types. Complicating the problem is the fact that some locals read the cookbooks and incorporate some of the recipes (either modified or unmodified) into their cuisine, and then pass this information to others orally. Ethnographic fieldwork is useful in evaluating the content of a given book, since it provides field-based data for comparison to printed materials.

4. For example, the Houma Indians traditionally avoided eating their totem, the crawfish. Most, if not all, Louisianians today follow the European aversion to eating insects, even though these are abundantly available in the state. In addition, trappers discard 3,000 tons of nutria meat each year, because few people will eat a "rat-like" animal (*State-Times*, 1982).

5. For an account of the use of corn by early settlers in Louisiana, see Robin (1966: 188-190).

6. During the French regime, Louisiana was already exporting hulled rice to the West Indies (Surrey, 1916:378). Robin describes its consumption as "Prodigious" at the time of the Louisiana Purchase (Robin, 1966:112).

7. Elite groups may be viewed as having their own "folk" traditions. See de Caro and Jordan (1980).

8. Robin notes that these products were sold "in the farthest reaches of the countryside" as well as in New Orleans (1966:44).

9. See Spitzer's essay (this volume) on south Louisiana as a folk region.

10. Data collected in the Shreveport area by Sam Hilliard suggests that foods that have a high status nationally are also favorites of many of the respondents.

11. Boorstin discusses the American desire to overcome the limitations of seasonal diets through technology, the desire to "level" time and space (1973).

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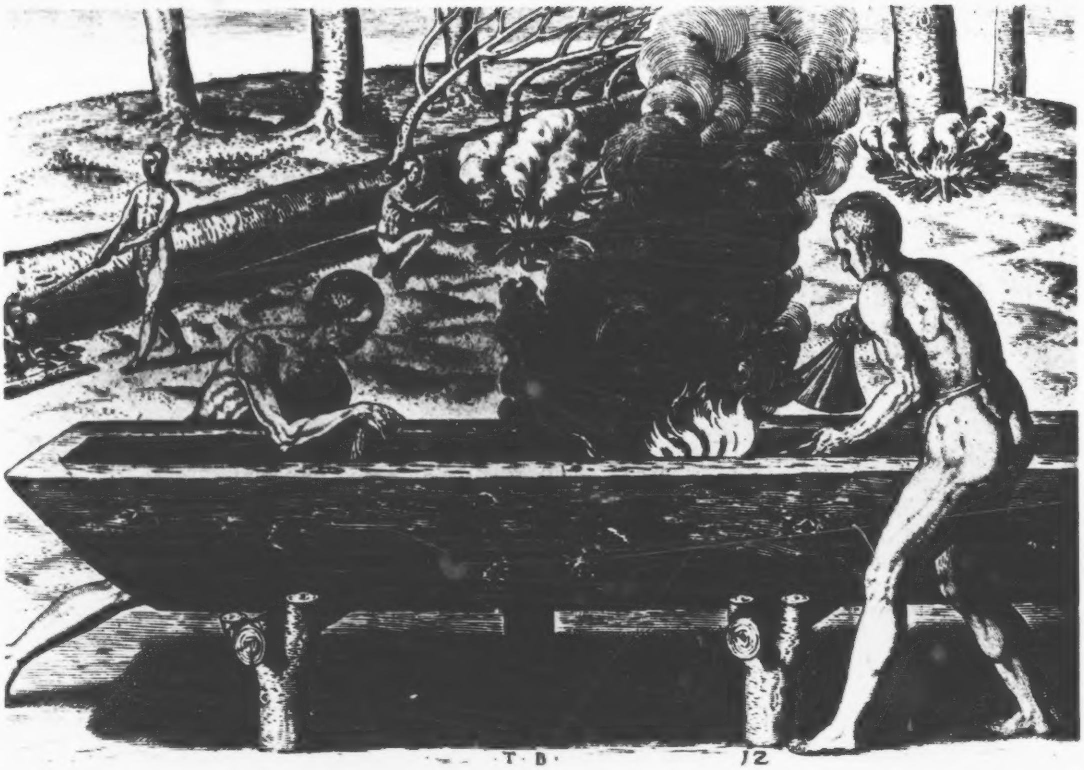


Fig. 1. Indians along the Virginia coast making a pirogue-type boat in 1585. Photograph: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 57,531.

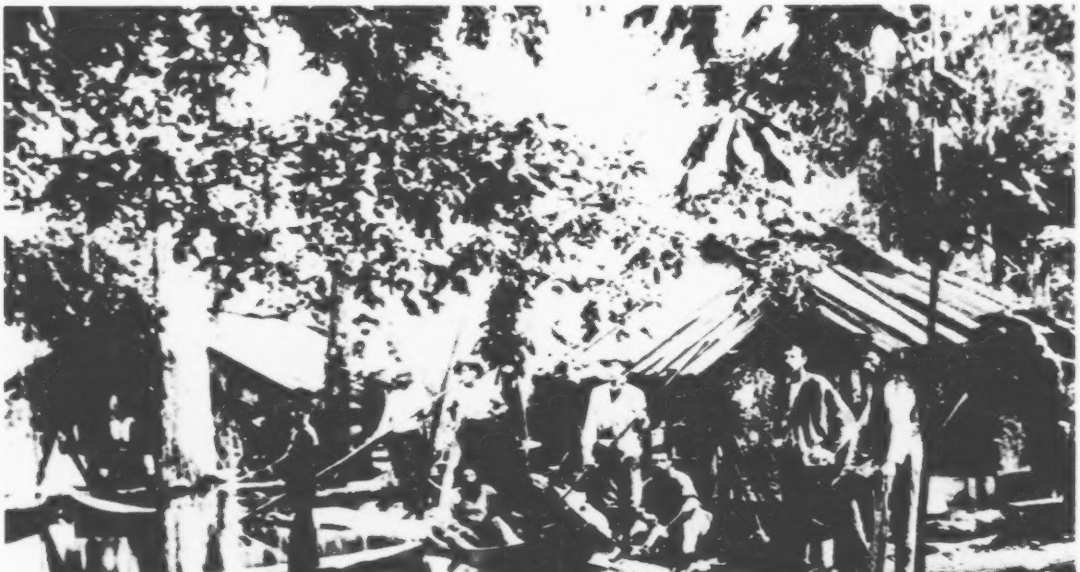


Fig. 2. A view of a lumber camp in the swamps in 1888. The men in the background are standing on a raft. Note the five pirogues in the picture. Photograph: Archives, Tulane University.

FOLK BOATS OF LOUISIANA

by Malcolm Comeaux

Folk boats are those wooden craft made by hand in forms that have been handed down over time and learned by each generation of builders through imitation, oral instruction and practice. Such boats are traditionally constructed by their users or acknowledged local makers. Their work function in a subsistance and cash economy is food and other resource gathering and transportation. To understand boats' significance and their forms it is also important to look at their cultural sources and the social dimensions of their construction and use.

Indians provided the model for what is now called the pirogue—a boat associated today with Cajun culture. Historical French/Mediterranean influence was felt in some boat types and especially with regard to the practice of forward facing, stand up rowing with the brace device for oars called a joug. Yet this time-honored practice is disappearing in the wake of metal flake, sport boats of the pleasure seeker as well as the engine powered, folk-derived craft of the contemporary subsistance and commercial fishermen.

Although north Louisiana is not known as an area for boat making, Anglo-American up-river ancestors often floated their way down stream on rafts and barges that provide sources for the flatboat. Perhaps the most recent cultural connection in boat form and function is the apparent linkage of the oyster lugger of south Louisiana to the Dalmatian coast of Yugoslavia from which have come Slavonian immigrants over the last century.

If a diversity of cultures has contributed to Louisiana's boat types, the diversity of ecological niches in which they must function has also given impetus to modification of style and use over time from the pirogue that can "float on a dew" in shallow swamps and marshes to the steady barge that can support a house. However, Louisiana's boat types and the strength of this on-going tradition of building and use are barely recognized or documented in the state. Louisiana, along with other coastal states like Maine, Maryland and Oregon, has a vibrant set of boat traditions that we take for granted while marine architects from afar are amazed at the economy and beauty of a Lafitte skiff made entirely from unwritten plans.

New folk houses are rarely constructed today, but they are still lived in and thus provide a visible connection to the heritage of the past. Folk boats are constantly refurbished, made anew and modified as to material. As such they are cultural vessels that join the regional heritage of the past to the future pursuit of food and other water-related resources.

In the article that follows, Malcolm Comeaux updates the landmark work of William Knipmeyer (1956) which was reprinted in 1976 as "Folk Boats of Eastern French Louisiana." Comeaux draws upon his in-depth work with Atchafalaya Basin boats and culture and expands to include coastal and deep-water craft as well as boats up river in north Louisiana and beyond. Dr. Comeaux is a native of Lafayette and has also written about Acadian accordians and the Spanish Moss industry. He now resides in the very dry state of Arizona where he is a Professor of Geography at Arizona State University.

Folk boats of Louisiana are an excellent vehicle for the study and understanding of material culture. There are several basic styles of folk boats, and each has changed and evolved through time and space. These changes have come about as a result of the varieties of environments exploited, new technology that is introduced or locally developed, and changes in the world at large, as for example the development of roads, or the desire for new water-related sources (as shrimp, crawfish, or oil). Most Louisiana fishermen are conservative, and do not want to change, but as fishermen everywhere in the United States, they are tied to the national economy, for they must sell their products and buy goods from the surrounding society. Changes in boat technology are inevitably forced on fishermen, but these changes are molded by people to fit their ideals, needs, and knowledge, and in these changes there is continuity, as the new ways are superimposed on the old. In this manner some boat types are abandoned, while others evolve and change.

Boat types used today are the result of the interplay of culture, environment, and technology. A person reared in a particular culture will have preconceived ideas of how to build and use boats, and this background will help determine what boats are used, and what changes are made in any boat style. Environments will also help determine boats and their use, as Louisiana watercraft are used in deep oceans and shallow coastal lakes, in large powerful rivers and in shallow, quiet bayous, and in marshes and swamps. There are boat types particularly suited to each of these environments. The last factor influencing boat styles is technology, and it offers the greatest opportunities for rapid change. As new technology is introduced, watercraft are changed to fit the new technology, and where the two can successfully blend, a new boat type quickly develops. Boats that cannot successfully use the new technology are often abandoned, except where particularly adapted to a task or environment.

A study of small working boats is difficult for two reasons. One is because boats have been ignored by scholars. A great amount has been written on steamboats and sailboats because of the romanticism associated with them (Glassie, 1976: 105), but the small, sometimes dirty, working boats are considered prosaic, and so have been ignored. A second reason for the difficulty is the lack of standard terminology to describe boat types. Any small change in a boat design will cause a new name to be used to describe it, and, of course, names to describe the variation will vary from one region to the next, with confusion the result.

Only a small percentage of the people in Louisiana are today dependent on boats for work or transportation. Most Louisianians are urban dwellers and have little need for boats, except for recreational purposes. The same can be said for farmers and those persons living in small towns away from streams or the coast. Where boats are important, however, they are of critical significance, and in these areas a great amount of boat tradition is found. There are two broad traditions concerning boats extant in Louisiana: that found in northern, or Anglo Louisiana, and that found in southern, or French Louisiana (Map 1) (for a study of the north-south boundary line, see Newton, 1975). One other fact about boats and people should be mentioned; black people of Louisiana do not have a boat tradition. Blacks have traditionally been associated with agriculture and cities, and they have never been associated with commercial fishing in inland waters.

Boat building and use traditions have never been as diversified or strong in Anglo Louisiana as opposed to French Louisiana. North Louisiana was settled by Southerners moving westward, and boat building and fish consumption was never important in this culture (Comeaux, 1978:91 and Padgett, 1963:27). Fishing, meanwhile, was very important along the Upper Mississippi and Illinois River systems, and fishermen from these areas drifted into north Louisiana. Boat traditions, however, were important only to the "river rats" and fishermen along rivers, and this way of life has largely ended, along with many of the boat traditions (Gregory, 1966).

Boat traditions in south Louisiana, the area of French influence, have always been strong and varied. Almost all early French settlements, except for those on the prairies of southwest Louisiana (p. 176), were along bayous or rivers, and although most early French settlers were farmers, water bodies were always important as sources of food and as transportation routes. One early French writer, in describing the significance of boats to local inhabitants, said (Robin, 1966:100):

> People in this country are so accustomed to travel by water that the generic term *'voiture'* (standard French for "carriage") is always applied to a boat. If a Louisianian says to you 'I brought my *voiture*': 'Can I give you a lift in my *voiture;* he is referring to his pirogue or skiff as a Parisian using the same word would mean his coach.

Many boat types were used in this early era. Boats quickly evolved to fit ecological niches and particular chores. An observant writer (Robin, 1966:101), who lived in Louisiana from 1803 to 1805, explained the many varieties this way:

> This diversity of shape of these boats comes from the diversity in their usage and in the places where they must go. Those that come from the far-off rivers that are wide and shallow are wide and flat in order to draw little water, while those that navigate the surface of the deep rivers must overcome the swift current, are more elongate and draw more water and are heavier. Their thick, rounded bottoms glide over the snags nad logs which are found in all parts of the river bed. The narrow bayous where

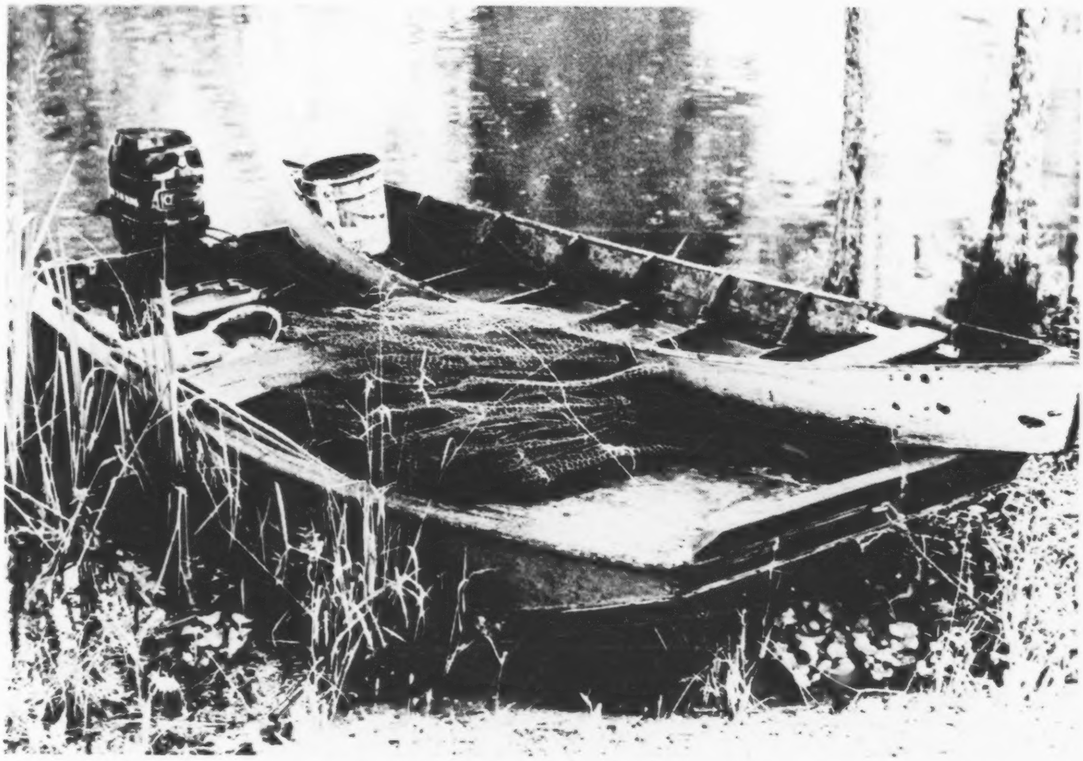


Fig. 3. A plank pirogue on a flatboat. The flatboat takes the pirogue and crawfish traps to a swamp, and the pirogue will be used in the swamp to crawfish. The can at the front of the pirogue will carry the bait, and will hold the crawfish when they are initially emptied from the traps. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

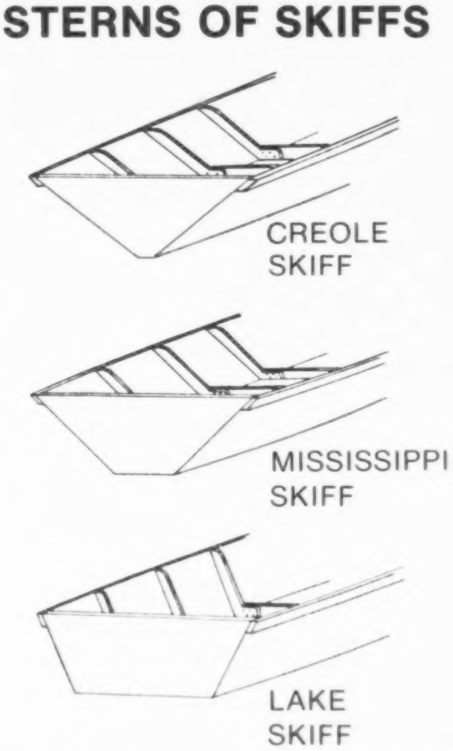

STERNS OF SKIFFS
CREOLE SKIFF
MISSISSIPPI SKIFF
LAKE SKIFF

Fig. 4. Sketch of the sterns of skiffs. (Malcolm Comeaux.)

> the water sometimes rushes in torrents require boats that are shorter and lighter, whereas others still require very light skiffs in order to shoot the rapids or to be dragged over the river bed in low water.

He further stated (Robin, 1966:101) that there were even luxury craft requiring 15 to 20 slaves to row them, and that they were owned by wealthy plantation owners who wanted to flaunt their wealth.

Boats remained important in the lives of many French-speakers until about the 1930s, when an expanding efficient highway system made travel by boats along bayous inefficient. Since that time, the use of folk boats has declined. Many south Louisianians, however, remain employed in the exploitation of water-related resources, so boats continue to be significant, and boat traditions persist.

Although boat traditions are stronger in south Louisiana, there are relatively few differences between the boat types used in inland waters in the two areas. There are just so many ways to build a small craft, and in inland waters these techniques are widely known, from the Gulf Coast to Minnesota. South Louisiana boats differ from those in north Louisiana in the accouterments, the way the boats are used, their far greater numbers, the keeping of relict craft, their diversity of type and their better maintenance (such as frequent paintings,[1] and the use of small sheds to protect boats from inclement weather. There is a considerable amount of overlap between boats used in inland waters and those used in shallow bays and inlets along the coast, but there is a vast amount of difference when comparing boats used in inland waters, and those offshore.

THE PIROGUE

The term pirogue[2] (pronounced many ways, but usually "pero," or "perog") is used throughout Louisiana to refer to a small one- or two-man craft that is flat-bottomed, narrow, and pointed on the ends. To most Americans this craft would be classified as a "canoe," but that term is never used in Louisiana to identify a pirogue. The modern pirogue traces its roots back to Indian dugout pirogues, and it has gone through a long evolutionary pocess before developing into its present form.[3]

The dugout was the only true boat used by Indians in Louisiana prior to the arrival of Europeans. A few birch bark canoes entered the state with French Canadian explorers, but such craft were not built by Louisiana Indians, most probably because no locally suitable bark was available to build this type canoe.[4] Constructing a dugout was a laborious task before the arrival of whites. The Indians had to use fire to both fell the tree and hollow the log (Fig. 1) (Le Page du Pratz, 1758, Vol. 2:188-89; Kalm, 1937, Vol. 1:229-30; and Penicaut, 1953:8-9). Having only fire as a tool, Indian pirogues were crudely made, disproportional, and very thick-hulled (Le Page du Pratz [1758, Vol. 2:189] says they were three inches thick). The result was a bulky craft that often weighed several thousand pounds. The Indians of Louisiana built their dugouts of cypress,[5] and cypress remained the main building material for dugouts as long as they were built. Early French explorers and settlers quickly recognized the pirogue as an excellent craft for use on inland waters, began acquiring them from Indians and soon were building their own improved models.

The French had steel tools, particularly the ax, adz and auger (or gimlet), and with these tools a pirogue could be quickly and carefully constructed, and made quite light. The ax was used to fell the tree and roughly shape the craft, while the adz was used to hollow out the log. The auger was used to drill holes through the bottom of the craft so the craftsman could check the thinness of the hull (Knipmeyer, 1976:111-15). Other tools to help simplify the task were used when available, such as a saw, knife, hatchet, plane, drawknife, templates, as well as both the foot and hand adz.

With their tools and their superior knowledge of watercraft, the French built vastly improved versions of the Indian pirogue. In particular, the French changed the shape of the pirogue. Le Page du Pratz (1758, Vol. 2:188) mentioned that Indian dugouts in Louisiana were blunt ended, and this was generally true of Indian pirogues in the South (Fig. 2). The French made their pirogues pointed on the ends, and this made them easier to propel and more seaworthy. The French also changed the method of building pirogues; as opposed to Indians, they first formed the outside of the log, and then hollowed out the middle. The outer side was very carefully shaped, and French pirogues had equal dimensions and curves on either side of the centerline; this gave them excellent balance. After the outer hull was shaped, and much of the hollowing completed, auger holes were placed along the curvature where the bottom of the craft meets the sides, and also in the very center of the bottom. The craftsman then finished hollowing out the log, using the holes to check the thinness of the hull (the holes were later plugged with pegs when the craft was nearing completion). With these techniques the hull was made of uniform thickenss, and without weak spots as might be found in Indian pirogues (where, during the burning, the hull may have become too thin). Being thin-hulled, it was much lighter than Indian dugouts, and this made it easier both to portage and to paddle against a current. As long as dugouts were built, these basic techniques and tools did not change, nor were they improved upon.

Size and use of the dugout changed with time. Many of the earliest ones were very large, up to 50 feet with a beam to match (Surrey, 1916:57) and were used to haul cargo and passengers long distances. Use of these large pirogues ended in the late eighteenth century, though a few remained along the Mississippi well into the steamboat era. Small dugouts (about 12 to 14 feet

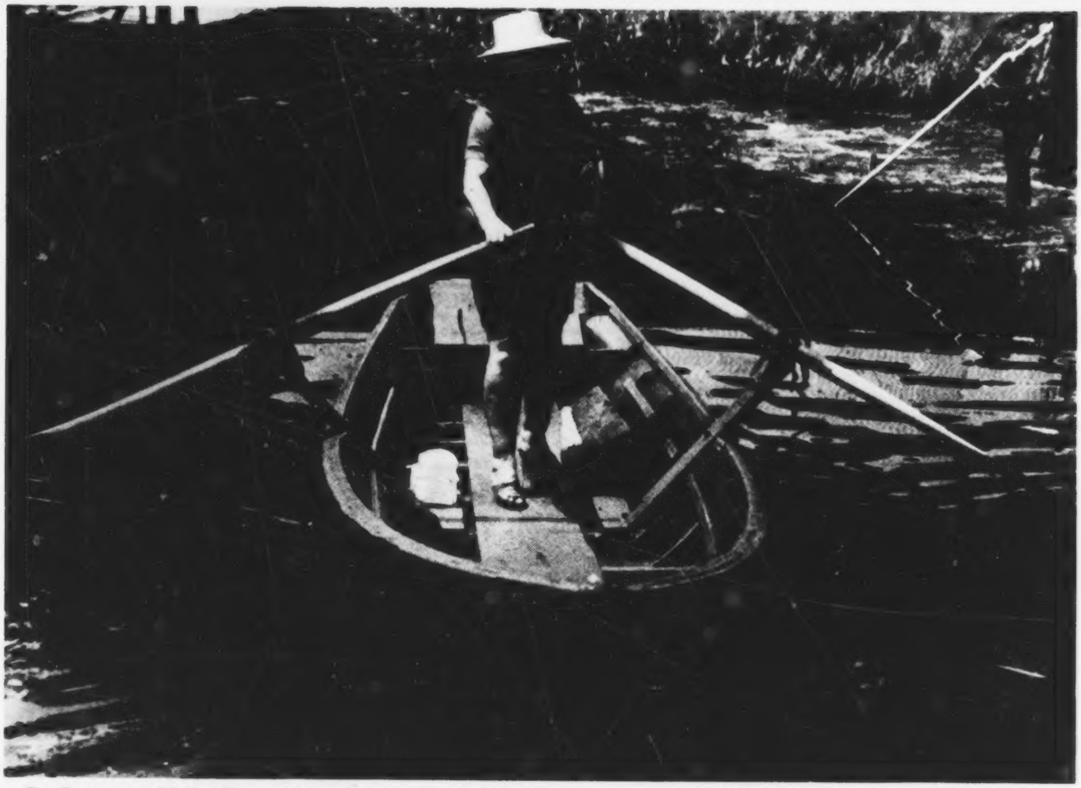


Fig. 5. A *joug* which allows this woman to stand while rowing her skiff. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux

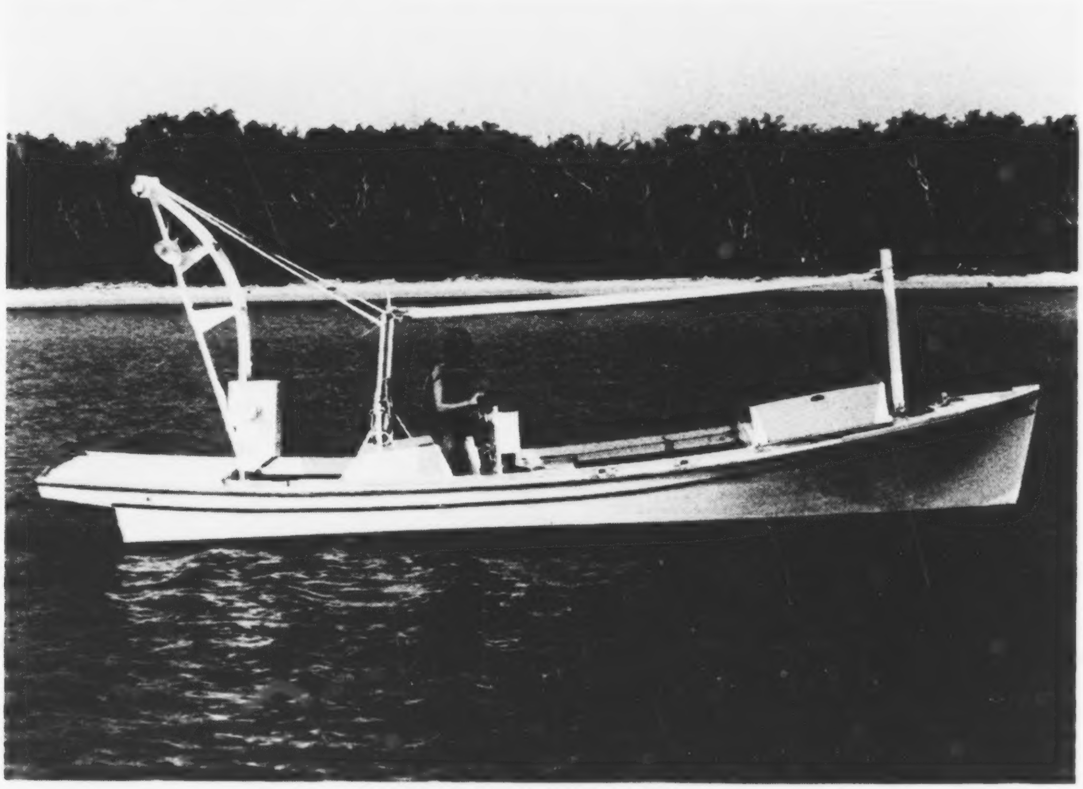


Fig. 6. A Lafitte Skiff. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

long) continued to be built and remained popular along the smaller streams of the state until about 1900 (Knipmeyer, 1976:110), where they were used for fishing, trapping, hunting, and ferrying.

Decline of dugout pirogues was swift. After 1900 they were only built in any numbers in south central Louisiana, and very few have been built since 1950. By 1956 they were found only in south central Louisiana, and by 1972 there was only one dugout in use in the Atchafalaya Basin (Comeaux, 1972:38, 41). Quite a few remain, however, in the coastal marsh. Few logs exist from which more pirogues could be built, and this was a major reason relatively few were made after 1900. Another major reason, however, was the fact that large scale mechanized lumbering of cypress trees from swamps was reaching its peak at this time (Fig. 2), and cypress lumber was cheap. With the growing scarcity of cypress trees, and the availability of good quality cypress lumber, plank pirogues were born. Swamp and marsh dwellers recognize the virtues of dugout pirogues, such as their durability, and their aid in hunting (as they make little noise when bumping into trees and stumps), as well as their major drawback, their weight. Some undoubtedly would continue to build and use dugouts if they could get suitable logs. The only dugouts built in any numbers since the late 1930s are racing pirogues used south of New Orleans along Bayou Barataria in an annual "Pirogue Derby." They differ from traditional working pirogues in that these are very narrow (14 inches at the widest), long (easily over 20 feet), and light (about 45 pounds).

Once logs became scarce, pirogues were built of cypress planks, and since cypress planks have become scarce, they have been built of marine plywood (Fig. 3). These new boats evolved from dugouts, greatly resemble them, and are used for the same purposes as dugout pirogues. It is not surprising, therefore, that they are almost universally called "pirogues," even in north Louisiana, though sometimes they are called "plank pirogues" to differentiate them from dugout pirogues. These modern pirogues still resemble dugouts in use today in the following ways: they are relatively short, averaging 12 to 14 feet; they are slightly wider near the bow, as the run to the stern is longer; the bottom is flat and ends at a ridge at the bow and stern; the gunwales are slightly flared, and curve slightly toward front and rear; small fillets reinforce the bow and stern; two thwarts are in the craft, the one to the rear being the seat; and a strip of molding is placed on the outside top edge of the gunwales.

Pirogues are used almost exclusively in swamps or marshes. Narrow pirogues are used for hunting and fishing in swamps, as they are an ideal craft for traversing a wooded area, and in swamps they are always paddled.[6] Pirogues are also commonly used in coastal marshes for trapping, and in this area they are usually wider and longer, and are either paddled or poled. In the marsh pirogues are used in narrow man-made canals, called *trainasses* (Davis, 1976: and Kammer, 1941:104), and are portaged between lakes where canals do not exist. These small light craft are never used in a large river, because of the danger of swamping. The highest concentration of pirogues is in southern Louisiana, but they can be found throughout the state. The pirogue does not lend itself to mechanisation. On a few the rear end is cut off and a transom added to support a small outboard motor, or an inboard engine is used, but neither approach is truly successful. As a result, today's pirogue, never used for long distance travel, but rather only for a few specialized purposes, is declining in significance.

THE SKIFF

The skiff (*esquiff*) is of an ancient design, and examples of this boat type are found in many parts of the world. The term skiff refers to any small flat-bottomed craft with a sharp bow and square stern, but throughout the Mississippi River system it is recognized as a particular boat type. The distinguishing features are intangible, but it is a boat type recognized by all who make their living on the water.[7] The first skiffs were used along the Upper Ohio by 1800 (Comeaux, 1978:76), and as the design was well known by the French, skiffs were probably used in Louisiana long before that date, though this has not yet been proven (Knipmeyer, 1976:134). The problem is one of terminology. Almost any boat with a pointed bow could be called a skiff, and boats resembling skiffs had very specific names, such as *peniche*, *chaloupe*,[8] and *galere* (Knipmeyer, 1976:134). One early writer, however, saw "real skiffs made of planks of varying timbers in the European manner" that were made in Louisiana before 1805 (Robin, 1966:100), so skiffs, or variations of modern skiffs, were undoubtedly in Louisiana very early.

Three varieties of skiffs soon evolved. The major difference between the types was in the shape of the stern (Fig. 4). Names to identify the skiff sub-types varied from one region to the next, but in Louisiana they have been termed the "Creole skiff," the "Mississippi skiff," and the "lake skiff."[9] The Creole skiff is the smallest. It has the narrowest beam, the greatest amount of sheer and rake out of the water at the stern, and the transom is V-shaped, often times as narrow as two inches at the bottom. The lake skiff is the largest and widest, and has a stern that is wide and almost rectangular. The Mississippi skiff is intermediate between the two.

Each of these skiff types has attributes that largely determine use and distribution. The lake skiff is the most stable, seaworthy, and capable of carrying the heaviest load, so it is usually found along the large coastal lakes and bays or in the Mississippi River. The Creole skiff is least stable but is easiest to row, and it is usually found in inland waters, particularly in the Atchafalaya

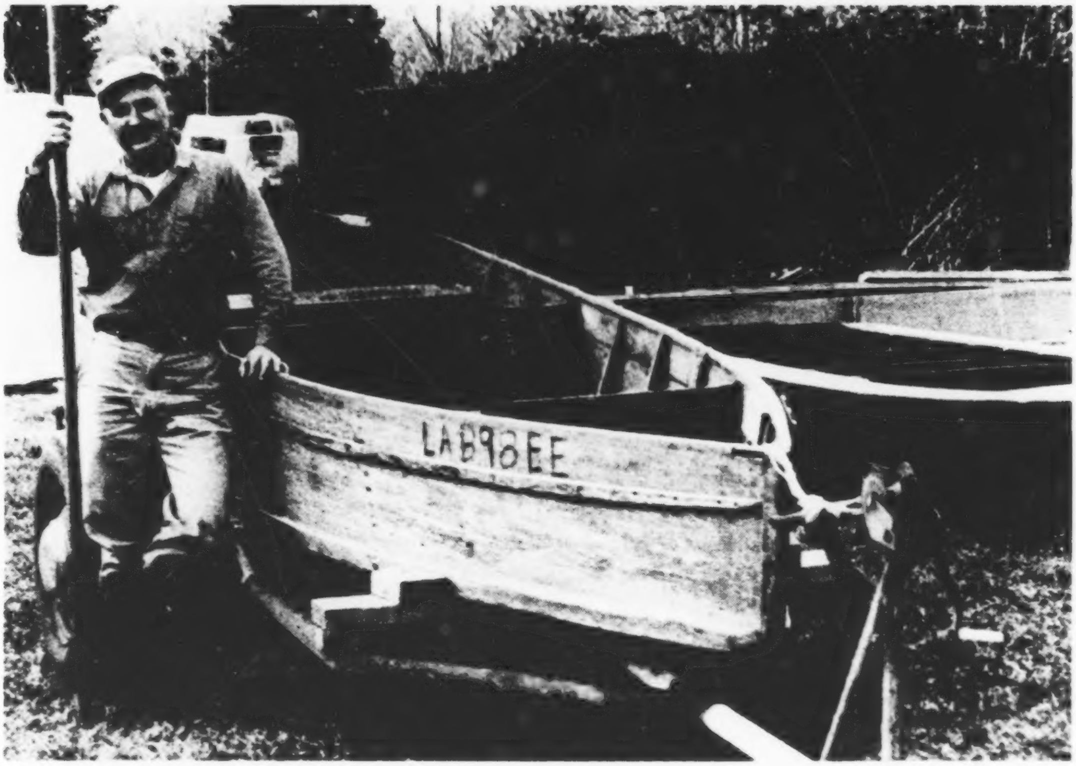


Fig. 7. An Atchafalaya skiff. The man is holding a pole with a hook on the end, used to raise crawfish traps. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

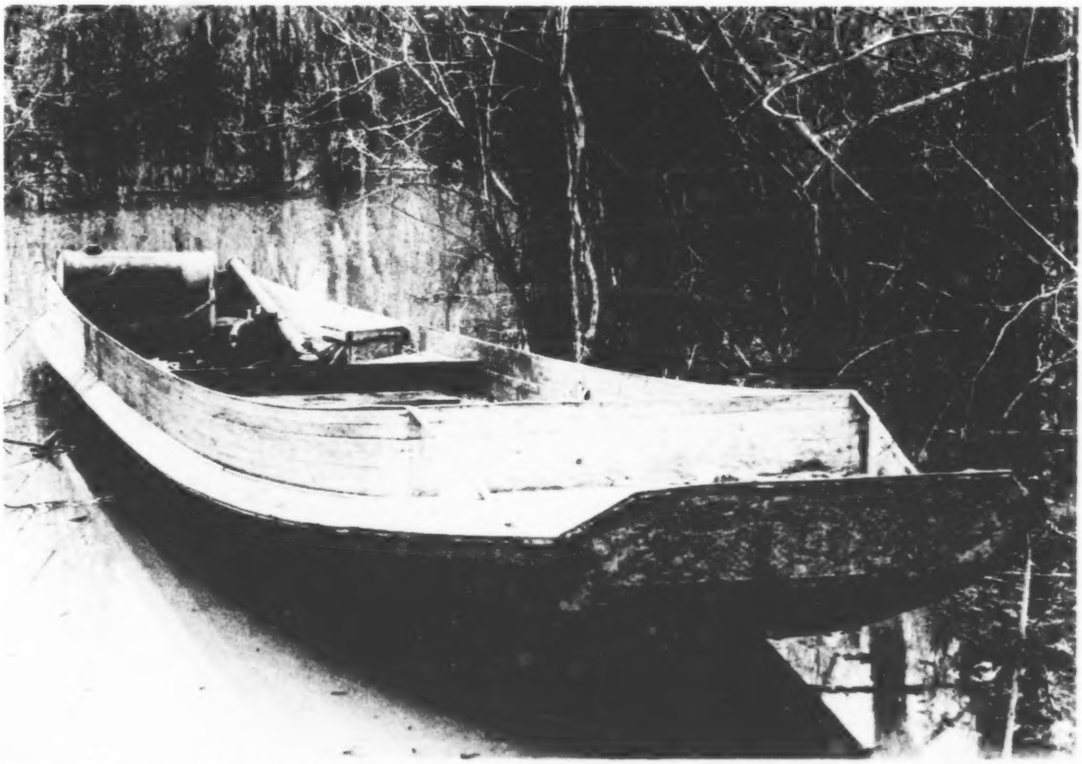


Fig. 8. A bateau with a two cylinder, eight horsepower Lockwood-Ashe engine. Note the large amount of sheer at the bow. The use of coaming is typical of boats in the Atchafalaya Swamp. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

Basin. The Mississippi skiff has some of the virtues of each. Fishermen have always recognized merits of the various types, and try to get a craft that fits a need. Skiffs have delicate lines, and true skiffs could never be built by inexperienced fishermen, so they have always been built in small boatyards scattered along the Mississippi River.[10]

One unique feature of some skiffs in south Louisiana is the method used in rowing them. A device known as a *joug* elevates and extends the tholepins and straps beyond the side of the craft (Knipmeyer, 1976:140-42). This allows for easy rowing while standing and facing forward (Fig. 5). It is used especially on the Creole skiff, but can be occasionally found on other craft. It is a technique that was introduced from southern Europe, where such a method of rowing boats is common.

Traditional skiffs are now very rarely seen in north Louisiana, and only a few survive in south central Louisiana. The skiff is a boat designed to be rowed, and when internal combustion engines were introduced, the skiff began a slow decline in popularity, as it is not really ideally suited to carry either an outboard motor or an inboard engine. Inboard engines were put in skiffs, and a large skiff with such an engine is called a *canotte* (Knipmeyer, 1976:135), but few if any exist today.[11] There were, however, two specialized types of skiffs that evolved to handle engines, and one of these is now known as the "Lafitte skiff," though locally made skiffs are sometimes known by other terms, such as the "Delacroix skiff" from St. Bernard Parish.

Lafitte skiffs are indeed skiffs in the general form of the boat, though much larger than other skiff varieties (Fig. 6). They are designed to work in shallow waters behind and along the coast. Lafitte skiffs are now found widely used along the Louisiana Gulf Coast, especially in the inland shrimp industry. These are sleek craft with powerful inboard engines, which today are usually Chevrolet or Oldsmobile engines converted to marine use. Constructing a Lafitte skiff is difficult, so they are usually built in small "shipyards" by specialists, but they are also sometimes built by individual fishermen.

The other skiff type to evolve for use with an engine uses an outboard motor. It is called by no special name by its users, and only referred to as a "skiff," but it is quite different from traditional skiffs. This boat evolved in the Atchafalaya Basin, and is very popular there, so should be termed the "Atchafalaya skiff" (Fig. 7). In order for a boat to use an outboard engine efficiently, it must be able to plane, and this skiff, as is also true with the Lafitte skiff, is modified in order for it to do so. The gunwales do not rake up at the stern, but rather the bottom extends straight back from the center, and the rear bottom is very broad. Since there is little sheer to the gunwales, it is an easy boat to build, and if of wood, it is usually built by the owner. With the pointed bow, which usually has little rake, the Atchafalaya skiff can be driven through the water hyacinth which now chokes many of the streams and swamps, and it can push aside small trees in a swamp, so it is widely used in overflowed lands, especially by crawfishermen. (Comeaux, 1972:68)

THE FLATBOAT

The flatboat is today the major boat used by folk fishermen in inland waters in Louisiana, and this boat type is found along all river courses. Although there are many flat-bottomed boats, to river people there is only one "flatboat." The major characteristics that identify a flatboat are: an oblong shape with a blunt bow (scow bow) and stern, a flat bottom, and vertical or slightly flared sides. These characteristics will, in general, identify all craft belonging to the flatboat group. This flatboat family has gone through a long evolution, as they have been easily adapted to new technology, and there are many varieties of flatboats.

Flatboats evolved from the large barges moving goods downstream to New Orleans. These barges developed in Europe, were used along the United States eastern seaboard, and at some unknown but early date were introduced into the Mississippi River system (Johnson, 1963:131-33, 141-45). Evidence that early flatboats evolved from barges is circumstantial but strong: a barge was commonly called a "flatboat," and a primitive flatboat in French Louisiana is called a *chaland*,[12] meaning "barge" in standard French; flatboats, though smaller, resemble barges in form; construction of early flatboats and barges was similar (built upside down with bottom boards running athwart rather than lengthwise); and small barges resembling early flatboats are still built by fishermen.

The first flatboats were developed by fishermen. If a fisherman could not afford to buy a skiff but needed a boat larger and more stable than a pirogue, he would build a flatboat. Flatboats were easy to build, as they were oblong, with little or no sheer to the sides, and the bottom boards were nailed athwart. The ends were raked slightly upwards, with the bow narrower than the stern. This construction made them easy to paddle or row, highly maneuverable, and quite stable (Comeaux, 1978:82-83). This early flatboat was never as good as a skiff, but it would suffice.

A few of these early flatboats are still being built, but they are not very common. In the French area they are called *chaland*, and in north Louisiana "paddle boat," though local names to identify this craft about (Knipmeyer, 1976:131-33). They are today usually built of marine plywood, which greatly simplifies construction and gives them greater strength. Today the *chaland* and the paddle boat are used only for short trips. In the French area it is common to stand while paddling a *chaland* across a stream.

Changes in the design of the flatboat began when small internal combustion engines became available soon after 1900[13] (Comeaux, 1972:42), for

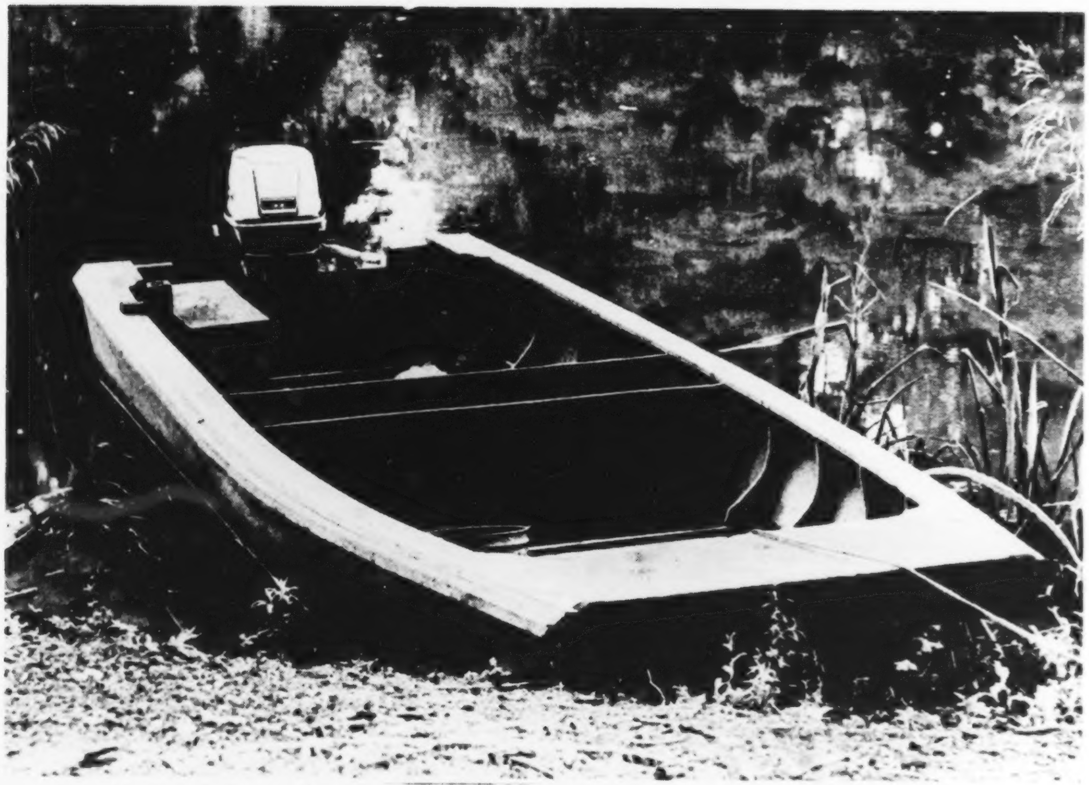


Fig. 9. A rather typical flatboat in south Louisiana. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

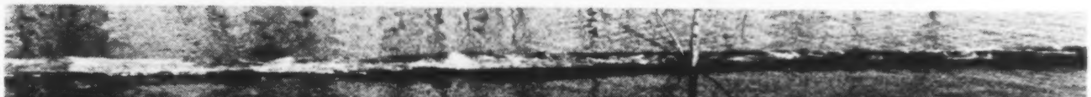


Fig. 10. A typical flatboat in north Louisiana. In the right foreground is a "live-box" for storing live fish. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

the flatboat, when modified, was ideally suited for use with inboard engines (Fig. 8). The major changes in the flatboat were to double the length, so that the average was well over 20 feet (but it was not greatly widened); the run forward was made much greater than the run aft; a rudder was used; and the bow rose high out of the water because of a large amount of forward sheer. There are many names for this type boat, such as joe boat, john boat, gas boat, launch, and put-put, but in French Louisiana the term "bateau" is most widely used. Whereas the French word *bateau* means the same as "boat" in English, in south-central Louisiana it always refers to this type of craft. The engine used in the bateau was a small two-cycle engine, still affectionately called a "put-put" by older river people; there was even a company in Plaquemine that manufactured put-put engines.[14] A few boats of this type were made particularly large, had powerful engines, and were used in swamps as traveling stores and as fish-buying boats.

The bateau was once widely used, but its popularity declined rapidly. In 1956, up to 60 percent of all boats in the Atchafalaya Basin were bateaus (Knipmeyer, 1976:144), but now there are only 4 or 5 left, and these are kept for nostalgic reasons. The reason for the decline of the bateau was again developing technology. Outboard motors were first developed soon after 1900 (Casson, 1964:257), but by the 1950's they had been perfected and had gained acceptance. The long, heavy, and slender bateau could not be made to plane, so could not be efficiently used with an outboard motor, and it was quickly discarded.

Many boats of the bateau type survive in the upper Mississippi River system, where they are usually called "launches." In this region it has been common since the 1920's to use automobile engines in this craft, and sometimes even marine engines. With such an engine they are very powerful and can be used for special chores, such as in seining or as small tug boats. This type craft is sometimes seen in Louisiana pushing the houseboats of drifters. Since it was unusual to put such large engines in bateaus in Louisiana, powerful outboard motors could do much more work than a put-put, and there was thus another reason for abandoning the bateau. In the future, however, should a need arise among folk fishermen in Louisiana inland waters for a powerful boat that need not plane, a bateau with a powerful engine will probably quickly develop.

The boat that developed to complement the outboard motor evolved from the flatboat family, and it is now the only craft commonly referred to today as a "flatboat" (Fig. 9). This boat differs from earlier flatboats in several respects: the bottom is made of marine plywood; it is wider, widest just aft of the waist, where it has a beam of about three feet; the stern is broad and has no rake out the water; finally, it is considerably shorter than a bateau, averaging sixteen feet. Though shorter, the rear hung engine of a flatboat allows work space equal to a bateau. The flatboat's major advantage when equipped with motor, is speed; the all day trip of a bateau can be accomplished very quickly. The flatboat also uses less gas as it planes on top of the water, rather than plowing through it.

The flatboat is now far and away the most common boat on Louisiana inland waters, and this fact is true throughout the entire Mississippi River system (Comeaux, 1978:84). The only difference between flatboats used in the French and Anglo areas is that flatboats made in south Louisiana are usually of much better quality, sturdier, and better maintained (Figs. 9 and 10). Locally made, very heavy gauge aluminum flatboats are now gaining acceptance by commercial fishermen. Small factory-made aluminum flatboats, too light and unstable for use by commercial fishermen, are now widely sold for use by sportsmen; no greater compliment can be paid to the often maligned folk-oriented flatboat.

Barges, from which flatboats evolved, still survive in Louisiana and are still built by folk fishermen (Fig. 11). Except for their smaller size,[15] they resemble the early barges once used in hauling goods from the Ohio River to New Orleans. The main use of barges today is for handling large, heavy, and awkward loads, such as for seining (Fig. 11), ferrying or as a base for a houseboat. Houseboats (also called campboats) are built on barges (Fig. 12) and so should be considered a part of the flatboat family.

The origin and evolution of houseboats is unclear. They probably evolved from "Orleans" or "New Orleans" boats that carried goods between the upper Ohio and New Orleans, and they were often used as floating stores. These Orleans boats were relatively small and narrow and had an arched roof extending bow to stern (Johnson 1963:136). "Kentucky" boats were also popular at the same time, but Orleans boats were different; Kentucky boats were larger, and had a flat roof that did not extend from bow to stern, leaving part of the bow uncovered. A view of Orleans boats that greatly resembled modern houseboats was sketched as early as the year 1828 (Samuel, et al. 1955:23). After this date, it is not unusal to see sketches and photographs of similar craft on the Mississippi. It is unknown when fishermen, drifters, wood cutters, and other river people began living in them as permanent homes, but it was apparently not very early, as it was not mentioned by early writers. A visitor to the Atchafalaya Basin in 1888, for example, did not mention houseboats, but on several occasions he mentioned the "huts" of fishermen (Coulon, 1888), huts that were undoubtedly under water for part of the year, for houses in swampy areas near rivers and streams in the Mississippi River system were never built on stilts to avoid the annual spring flood. It must have been soon after 1888 that houseboats were adopted, for six years later there were 173 houseboats in the Atchafalaya Swamp (Smith, 1898:539), and by 1922 that figure had grown to 679 (Sette, 1925:197). Houseboats were very popular in the early part of the twentieth century, and they

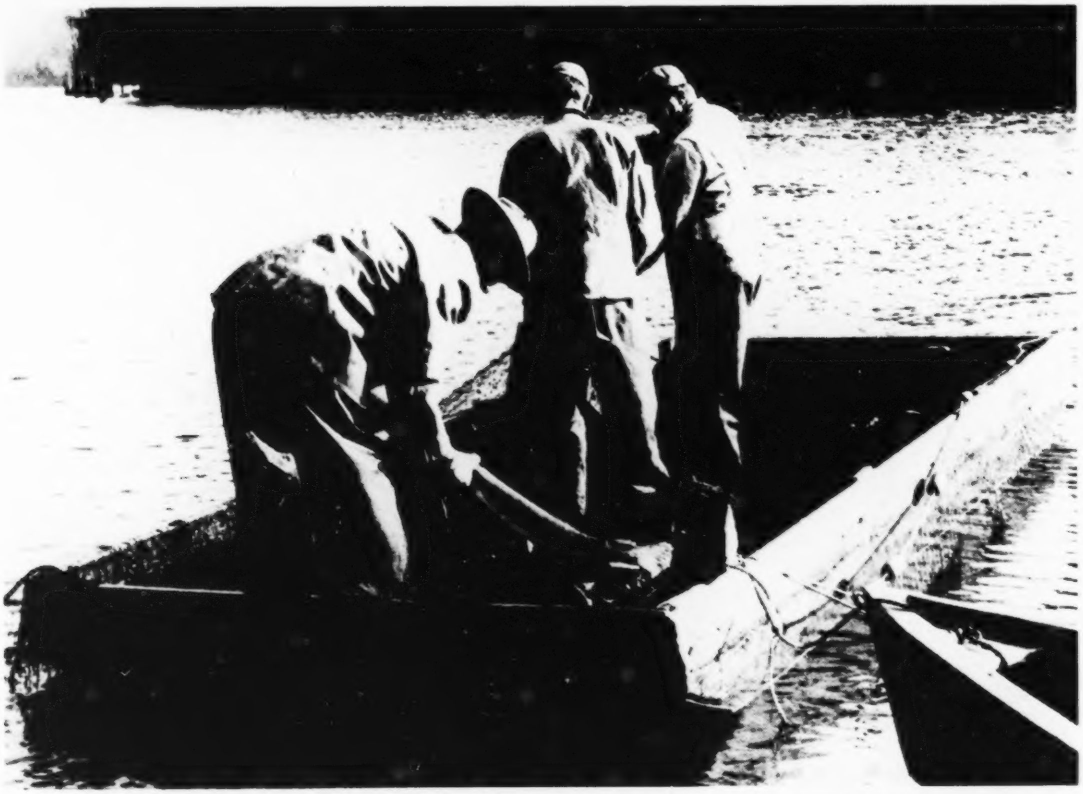


Fig. 11. Men seining from a barge. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

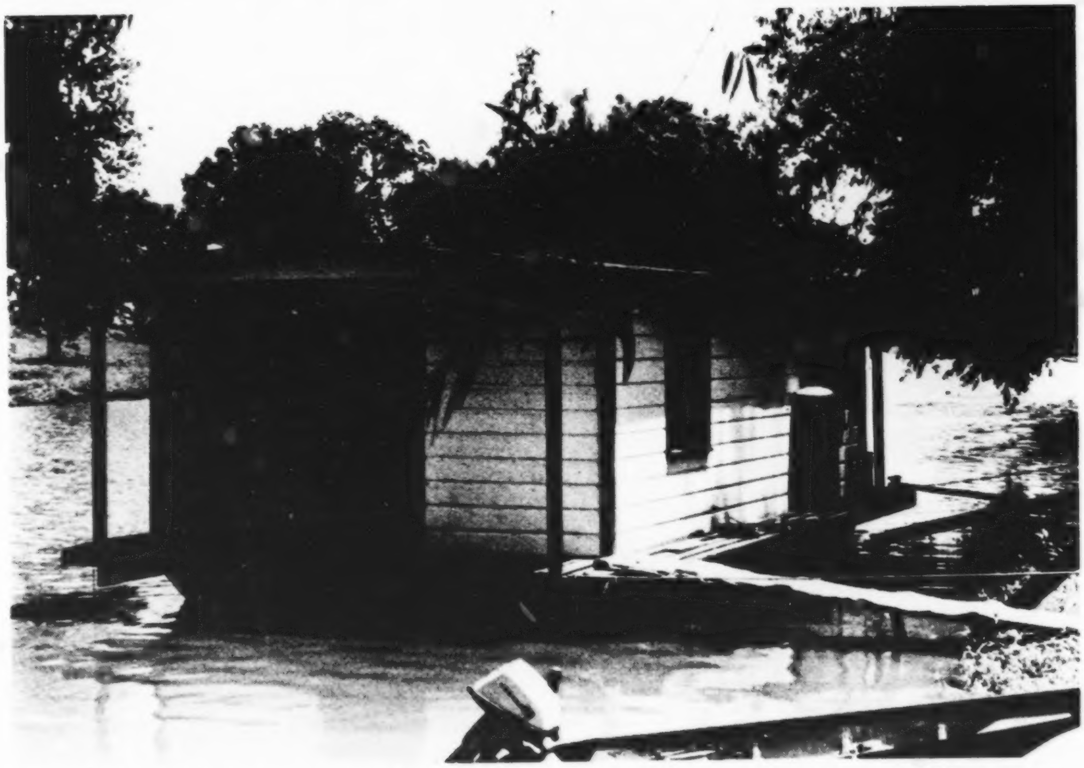


Fig. 12. A small houseboat tied to shore. Note how this craft has a gable roof, and a small catwalk extends beyond the side of the hull; neither feature is traditional on houseboats. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

could be seen along all major streams, not only in Louisiana, but in the entire Mississippi River system. Most were occupied by fishermen, and almost all towns along major streams had one used as a fish market.

The typical houseboat is as wide as the hull supporting it, about 10 feet, and only rarely is there a catwalk extending beyond the hull along the side. They are about 35 feet long, one room wide, and three feet deep, with the front room a living room, the second a bedroom, and the rear room a kitchen. There is a small porch on the bow, and the roof is low and arched (some today have a low gable). Most houseboats in Louisiana today are abandoned or are pulled onto shore and occupied there.

COASTAL AND OFFSHORE CRAFT

Boats used in coastal and offshore situations are different from boats used in inland waters. In this environment, stability is of critical importance, and boats here are much more seaworthy than those found on inland waters. Many are flat-bottomed and designed for use near-shore and in the large bays and lakes behind the coast, while others have deep V-shaped hulls for use offshore (Map p. 176)

The flat-bottomed boats commonly used along the coast are numerous, but the craft can be grouped into several categories. One of these is the Lafitte skiff (mentioned elsewhere). This skiff evolved from large Mississippi skiffs that were rowed in coastal waters in the early days of the shrimp industry, when seines were hauled by hand (these were known as "haul seines").[16] Today these skiffs, powered by large engines, are very popular, and their main advantage over other types is their speed (most can do 30 miles per hour, or better) and maneuverability.

The traditional inland and near-shore craft is the lugger (Fig. 13). This craft evolved from sailing boats native to the Mediterranean that were introduced and used along the Louisiana coast, and they got their name "lugger" from their Mediterranean rig (Padgett, 1960:190). When gas engines were introduced, the sailing luggers declined rapidly, as the motorized luggers evolved. The new luggers resembled sailing luggers except that the centerboard casing was omitted, and a cabin to house the engine and operating controls was placed at the rear (Becnel, 1962:23). They were small flat-bottomed craft, 20 to 30 feet long. Later more seaworthy luggers were introduced, and they are called "Biloxi oyster luggers," as they originated in Biloxi, Mississippi (Padgett, 1969:489). The Biloxi oyster luggers are from 40 to 50 feet long, had more of a V-bottom, and had greater freeboard. They were thus more seaworthy than the local luggers, and they became quite popular for close offshore work (Becnel, 1962:24). Luggers are noted for being particularly slow, but in the days of sailing ships, when these boats were each fitted out with a single large lugsail, they were "celebrated" for their quickness (Mathews, 1928:330).

Luggers are closely associated with oystermen who came to this country from the Dalmatian Coast (Padgett, 1960:243), and who possibly introduced the craft, or at the least modified and popularized it. It is still the only major commercial oystering boat, and when used for this purpose luggers are easily recognized because of the boards along the sides several feet high. Many are used also in shrimping and found rigged for the otter trawl. Luggers today are found widespread along the Louisiana coast where inland lakes and bays abound.

The potential for Louisiana offshore shrimping was discovered in 1937, and in 1938 Florida fishermen introduced a seaworthy fishing boat, as well as many new mechanical techniques (Anderson, et al, 1949: 3-4). Local Louisiana residents could not have rapidly developed this industry, as they did not have a suitable craft, nor did they have the necessary technical knowledge, techniques, or capital, and so outsiders initially dominated offshore shrimping. The newly introduced shrimp boat is known as a "South Atlantic trawler," and it is a large boat, 50-65 feet in length, and sometimes even longer (Fig. 14) Small versions of this boat are called simply "shrimp trawler," and are commonly used in bay and near-shore shrimping, whereas the larger variety are referred to as "Florida-type shrimp trawlers," and are used in deepwater. Since they generally have a deep draft, deepwater ports are needed, and Florida-type trawlers are commonly seen concentrated at such suitable ports. Both trawler types can be considered true folk boats, as they have been accepted by locals, and they are constructed in both shipyards and back yards (Fig. 14), and are built in both wood and steel.

Other boat types should be mentioned. The crew boats used in the oil industry are powerful sturdy craft that are designed for offshore work. It is a widely recognized type that is constructed by local boat-builders, but it has yet to be studied in detail. Vietnamese fishermen have recently come to the Louisiana coast, and they brought with them their concepts of how a boat should be built. Whether or not any of these Vietnamese ideas are successful and later accepted by others along this coast remains to be seen. Menhaden fishing is also very important off the Louisiana coast, but this is a very mechanized, capital-intensive operation, rather than a folk industry, and the boats employed are not folk boats.

OTHER CRAFT

There are other craft that simply do not fit categories. One of these is the raft (*cajeu*), which is made of logs or reeds. Indians used such rafts (Delanglez, 1964:272; and Le Page du Pratz, 1774:362), as well as the early French (Surrey, 1916:58-59), but they were never important or used for long in this early period. The only time rafts were important was during the early cypress logging era (Fig. 2) when large rafts, called "cribs,"

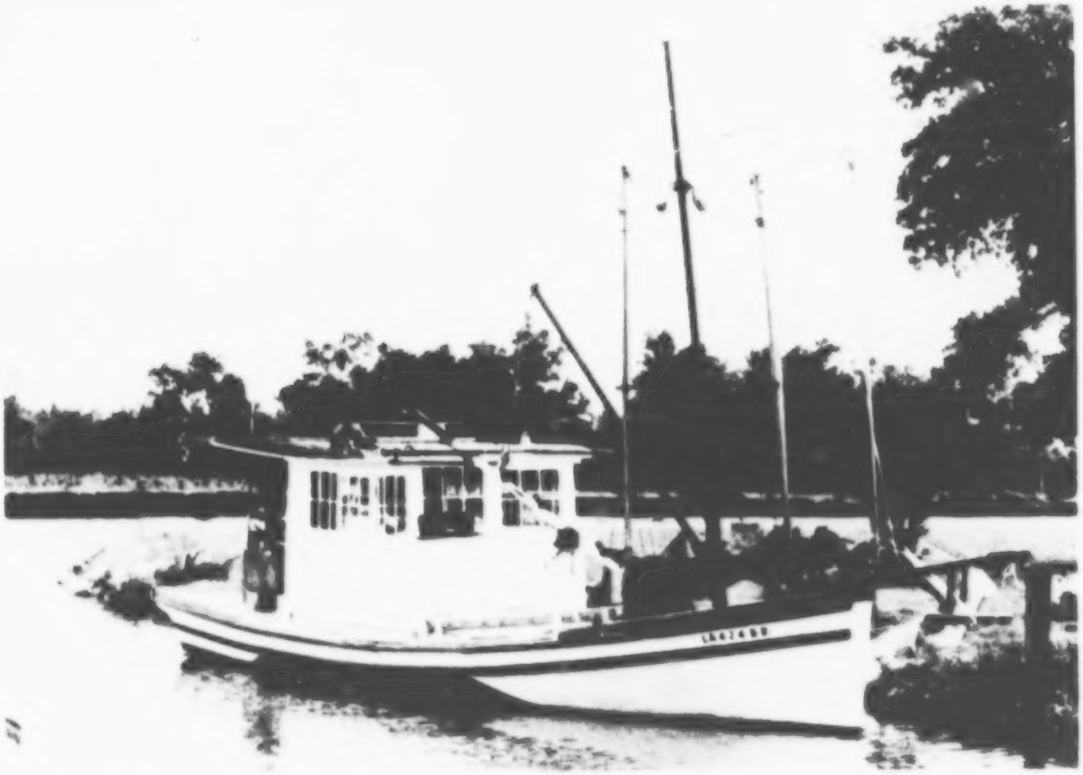


Fig. 13. A typical lugger along a bayou in south Louisiana with shrimp trawl. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

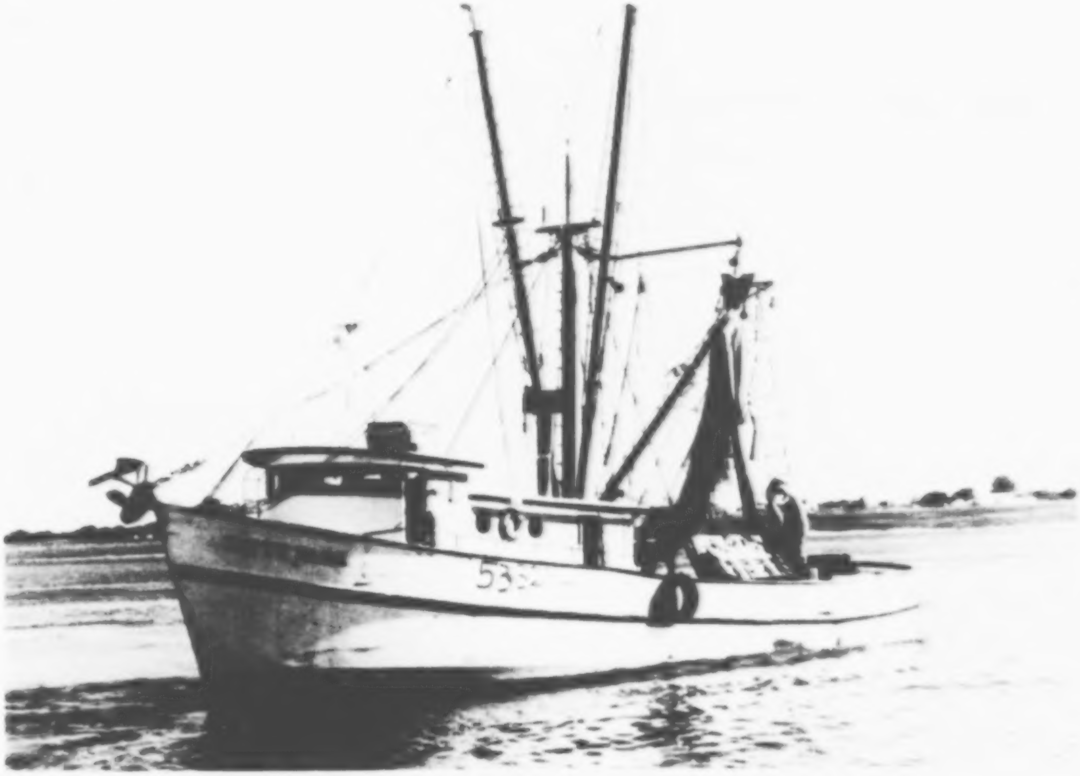


Fig. 14. A typical South Atlantic trawler. Photograph: Malcolm Comeaux.

were used by swampers (Coulon, 1888:10). These cribs were crude affairs and were later abandoned as living quarters when comfortable bunk-houses, called "quarterboats," were built on barges.

Another type of boat was a strange craft used in transporting live fish from a swamp area such as the Black River in north Louisiana (Gregory, 1966:9). It was called a "tow-car" (also "live-car," "fish-car," "well-car," and "live-boat"). The tow-car was made with bulkheads on the ends, and the sides were of slats. It was towed empty into swamps, riding high in the water with the bulkheads empty, and as fish were purchased from swamp dwellers, it was lowered by filling the buildheads with water, and the live fish were added to the central section. Tow-cars were probably first used in Louisiana in the 1870's (Comeaux, 1972:31) and were the first successful technique allowing the commercial movement of fish from a swamp. They remained important until artificially manufactured ice began to be used to keep fish "fresh" (about 1899). Fish mortality rates were so high in tow-cars that they could not be used in summer months, and only hardy kinds of fish could be transported in even the best of conditions. The use of ice allowed the efficient movement of all fish from the swamp at any season, and so the tow-cars declined rapidly, the last one used in Louisiana about 1918 (Comeaux, 1972:35).

Many other boat types have been omitted. Some are not folk boats, and others were folk boats used in the distant past, beyond the memories of informants. Such boats were not covered, especially if they did not evolve and do not have lineal descendents used today as folk boats. Examples of boats in this category are keelboats and bateaus (not to be confused with the earlier-mentioned bateau). Both of these were built of planks and designed for long distance travel along inland waterways in the 1700's and early 1800's (see Johnson, 1963:63-103, 152-80). There were also many boat types used along the coast and lower Mississippi that fit this category, such as frigates, ketches, brigatines, *barques*, *chaloupes* and others.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The folk boats of Louisiana provide a good example of how culture, environment, and technology interplay to cause changes in boats and to determine how and where boats are used. Culture goes a long way in influencing how people perceive and use boats; as, for example, how boats are rowed facing backwards in north Louisiana, while in south Louisiana it is common to stand and row facing forward. In general, the people of French descent in south Louisiana have a more developed boat tradition than those of Anglo descent in north Louisiana, due in part to greater environmental need. In south Louisiana boats are better built, better maintained, and have more meaning in the lives of local people.

No culture in Louisiana is in complete isolation, and new ideas are always being introduced.[17] These new ideas are accepted or rejected, and the determining factor seems to be whether the new idea or concept is a success or failure when adapted locally. Small inboard engines were placed in pirogues, and a few of these can still be seen. But it was not a successful marriage, and the technique was rejected with only a few being made. Inboard engines could be used with the flatboat, however, if the flatboat was modified. This was done and a new boat type evolved, the bateau. The skiff, meanwhile, was meant to be rowed, and did not easily lend itself to the use of inboard engines. Eventually skiffs in coastal areas were modified to carry inboard engines, and the Lafitte skiff evolved, but in inland waters the idea did not work, though the *canotte* was an attempt to combine the two. The same sort of story happened when outboard motors were introduced. Occasionally an outboard motor is seen on a pirogue or true skiff, but it is only efficiently used with flatboats or Atchafalaya skiffs, boats that evolved to complement the outboard motor. Developing technology, therefore, had a tremendous influence on boat types, as well as their evolution and use.

The environment also played a role in determining boat type, evolution, and use. Offshore boats are very different when compared to those that work coastal bays and lakes. The same is true for inland waters; boats used on large rivers, such as flatboats, differ from those used in swamps, such as pirogues or Atchafalaya skiffs. Before deciding on a craft, a person will always consider the environment that is to be exploited.

There are many kinds of boats in Louisiana, and each has been designed to fill a particular role. Some have been abandoned, particularly since advancing technology has made some types obsolete, such as the *chaland*, the *canotte*, the true skiff, and the bateau. Others, meanwhile, fit an environment or chore so well that they have not changed, nor been abandoned, such as the pirogue and barge. What has been surprising about boats in Louisiana, however, were the rapid changes in the flatboat family as technology was introduced. Boats were adjusted to that technology, and new types evolved and were readily accepted.

FOOTNOTES

1. Certain colors predominate. Almost all pirogues are painted green (Knipmeyer, 1976:115). Most flatboats are painted gray, with red trim. Most large coastal boats are painted white, and again with red trim.

2. The word "Pirogue" is a Carib Indian word meaning "dugout." The Spanish adopted the word and spread it to the English and French in the New World. It was a widely used term in the American South and was spelled many ways, such as periauger, pirage, pretty-oager, petiaugua, periagua, and others.

3. Origin and evolution of the pirogue is well known. The best study of pirogues in pre-historic times is that by Johnson (1963:20-54) and that for contemporary times is by Knipmeyer (1976:108-130).

4. There is one exception to this rule. One authority on Indians (Swanton, 1911:345) mentions the Chitimacha, who lived along the southern edge of the Atchafalaya Swamp, as having elm bark canoes. In pre-historic times, birch bark canoes extended only as far south as northern Illinois (Johnson, 1963:81).

5. In other ares where cypress would not grow (as north of the Arkansas River), many other woods were used (see Johnson, 1963:52-54).

6. Paddles are made of cypress, and when made today the wood comes from an abandoned cistern or sometimes from an old picket fence. This wood is light, will not become water-soaked as other woods, is well seasoned, is easy to carve, and is long lasting. They are usually about five feet long, have a T-shaped handle, and a blunt or slightly rounded blade.

7. Details for making a skiff can be found in U.S. War Department (1909:218). The example is identical to skiffs used on the Mississippi River at the turn of the century, only larger.

8. The *Chaloupe* was quite different from the skiff and unrelated to it,as it had a keel (Johnson, 1963:63). Most *Chaloupes* were lug-rigged, two masted fishing boats used in coastal waters.

9. Elsewhere in the Mississippi River system they are known as the "fuller-fisher" (Creole Skiff), "half-fisher" (Mississippi skiff), and "yawl" (lake skiff) (Comeaux, 1978:78). Only the term "yawl" is widely used, and almost all river people along the Mississippi know the word.

10. This writer knows of only one remaining skiff factory, the Weaver Skiff Works on Racine, Ohio. It was established in 1869, and today produces 75 to 125 skiffs a year.

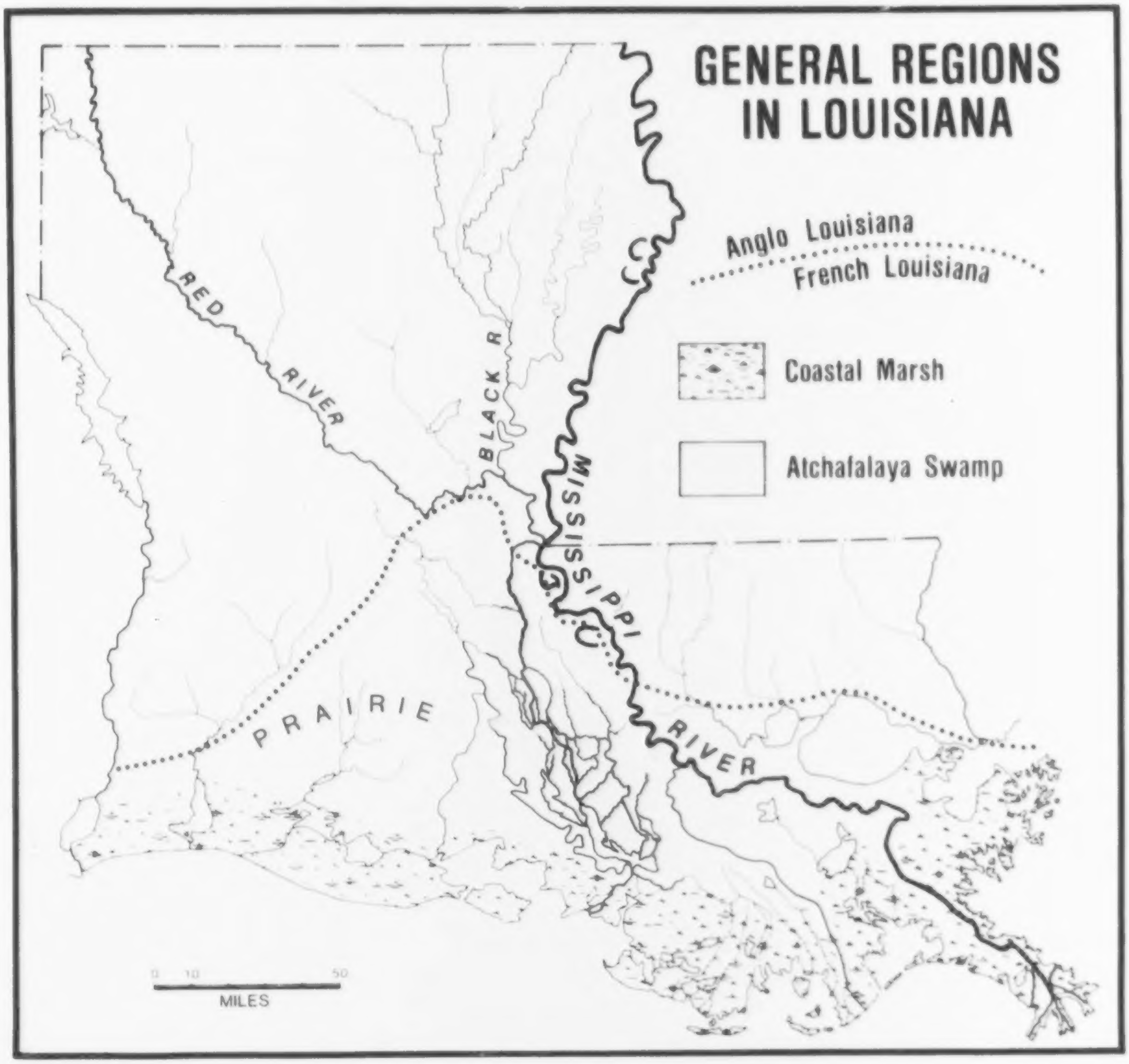
11. One writer states that the *canotte* evolved from the lugger and was used in particularly shallow water (Becnel, 1962:7). It had a hinged keel that slid into a casing in the boat whenever it hit bottom.

12. Also, an informant once told this writer, when asked to describe a *chaland*, that it was "nothing more than a very small barge" (Bourque, 1968).

13. Louisiana fishermen were not slow in motorizing their craft in comparison to other Mississippi River fishermen, for the first boat with an engine in Lansing, Iowa, an important fishing town, was in 1910 (Carlander, 1954:59).

14. Most old informants in the Atchafalaya Swamp stated that the Lockwood-Ash engine was made in Plaquemine, but it was not that simple. The Lockwood-Ash was originally made in Michigan by the Lockwood Motor Company and sold to Sears, which sold them under the trade name "Sears Motor-Go." Most swamp dwellers purchased their engines from Sears, and the Lockwood-Ash was by far the most popular engine used in Louisiana rivers and swamps. The Nadler Foundry and Machine Company (now Nadler Incorporated) of Plaquemine began repairing these engines and bought parts from Sears, but later bought them directly from the Lockwood Motor Company (which is now part of Outboard Marine Corporation, manufacturers of Evinrude and Johnson outboard motors). In the early 1920's the Lockwood Motor Company quit making Lockwood-Ash engines, and the Plaquemine firm bought the patent rights and began manufacturing them, calling them "Nadler" engines (swamp dwellers, however, continued calling them "Lockwood-Ash"). The Nadler company produced these engines until the early 1950's. The Lockwood-Ash engines were made in four models, two and one-half four horsepower single cylinder models, and six and eight horsepower two cylinder models. The Nadler company built all but the six horsepower version. Many of these engines survive int he sheds and shops of old swamp dwellers and are in surprisingly good condition.

It can further be noted that the addition of certain engines in some cases transformed the basic range and use of a boat. The "mudboat" craft are powered by "enormous" automobile engines. During high water they can plow a *trainasse* (trough or ditch) through the marsh. This usage is restricted apparently to the chenier plain area.


GENERAL REGIONS IN LOUISIANA
Anglo Louisiana
French Louisiana
Coastal Marsh
Atchafalaya Swamp
RED RIVER
BLACK R
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
PRAIRIE
0
10
50
MILES

15. Johnson (1963:116-21) gives contemporary descriptions of early barges. Details for building a small barge are given in U.S. War Department (1909:217-18). This account explains how to launch the boat upside down and have the current flip it over. This was the folk way of doing it (see also Stacy, 1947:21-22). All small barges are today turned over by hand before launching.

16. These seines were set out in a large semi-circle, and then they were manually pulled to shore (Johnson and Lindner, 1934:12-13).

17. New ideas today are commonly thought of as technological rather than cultural, i.e. ways to fabricate a particular style of boat or new materials to use rather than overall design. However, Nicholas Spitzer reports that the cultural influence of the Vietnamese on the Gulf Coast has already resulted in the introduction of a south Asian boat type called a *tchuen*. Built currently in Biloxi but sold to Louisiana Vietnamese shrimpers, the boat is smaller than most shrimp trawlers with a sharp V bow but an overall shallow draft. The result is a very maneuverable craft that can work well inland and in deeper waters. The Vietnamese are also duplicating the more common South Atlantic and Florida-type shrimp trawlers.

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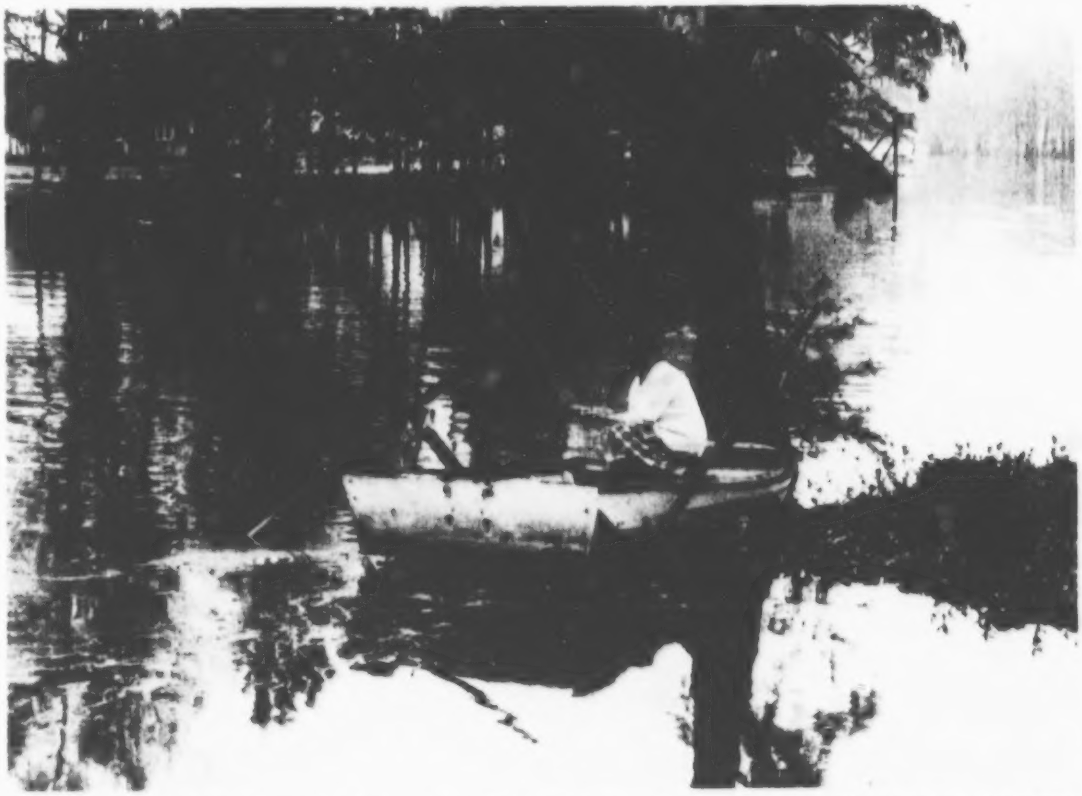

A woman fishes from a wooden *bateaux* outfitted with a rowing *joug* (for stand up use) on the inland bayou near Pierre Part, Assumption Parish. Photograph: Marjorie Hunt. (Smithsonian Institution).

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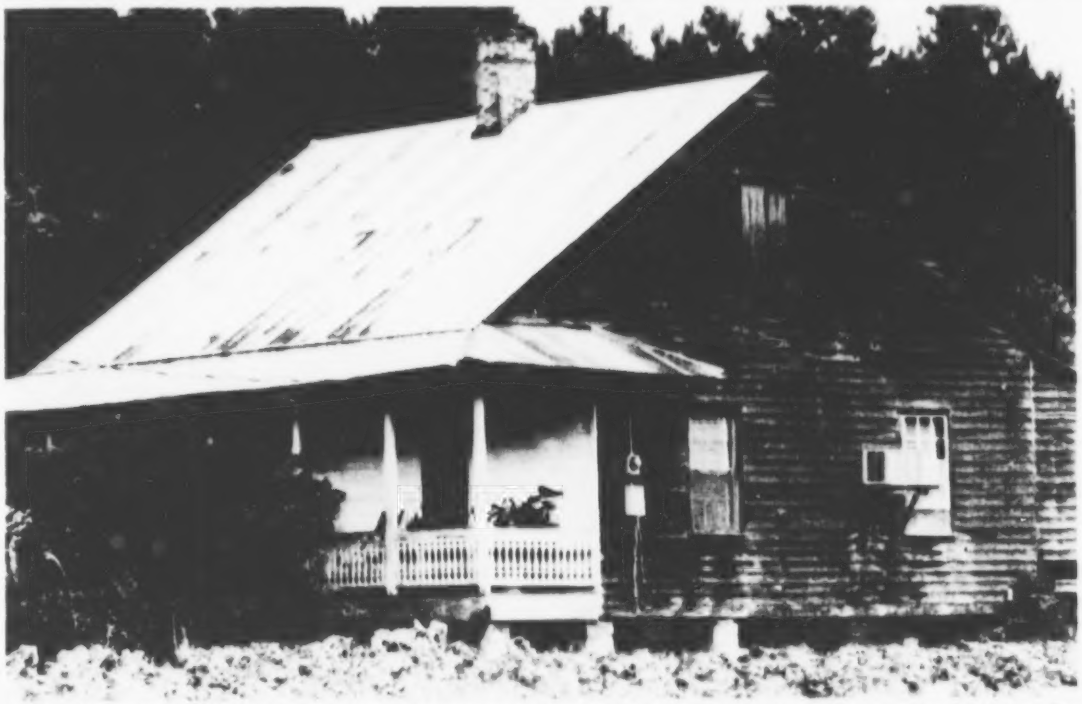


Creole cottage with false gallery, French settlement, Livingston Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

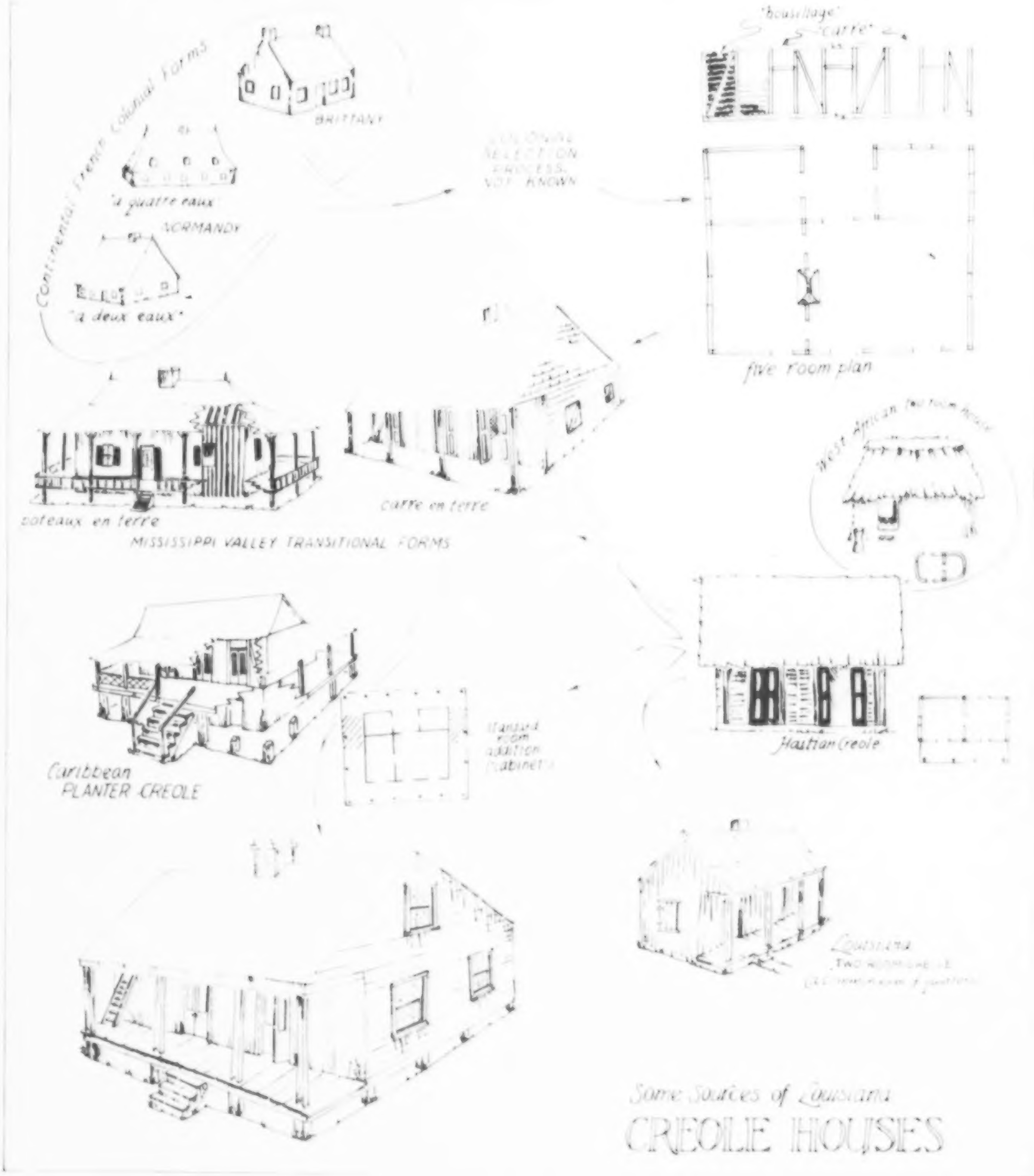
LOUISIANA FOLK HOUSES

by Milton B. Newton

Folk houses (and associated settlement patterns) are key elements in the traditional rural landscape. They are also found in modified forms in urban neighborhoods. Housing created within folk cultural traditions can be viewed in a variety of ways. It can be discussed as to formal features of design and dimension. The movement of house forms or types can be plotted over time and space (historic-geographic method). Building use patterns as part of a household economy can be examined. Finally the structures can be viewed as symbols of cultural heritage that lend meaning to the contemporary life of people in a region. The latter is true in the case of log houses preserved by local "pioneer heritage" groups or Creole cottages moved to an "Acadian" museum setting. The symbolism may be less conscious but no less significant as thousands of traditional French hip roof lines are modified into the suburban tract house landscape.

It becomes harder each year to find the core traditional folk houses in Louisiana, and it is important for those interested in such structures and their associated settlement patterns to become aware of the types and processes of construction (and destruction) that make up the folk architectural landscape. To this end we are lucky to have a legacy of internationally renowned folk-house experts following in the work of Dr. Fred B. Kniffen, LSU's Emeritus Boyd Professor of Geography. Kniffen's students and colleagues have for years continued the quest for better understanding of folk houses as cultural forms on the land. Currently at LSU Jay Edwards has carried this research into distribution and formal features of French housing in south Louisiana while also looking into log houses in the Florida Parishes. Faculty members in the Architecture Department at Louisiana Tech in Ruston have carried out similar survey work in Lincoln Parish.

Of all of Kniffen's students, the one best known for his work on folk housing is Dr. Milton B. Newton. Dr. Newton, the current chairman of the Georgraphy and Anthropology Department at LSU, has worked for well over a decade on folk housing and landscapes in Louisiana with particular reference to the Florida Parishes. He has served as editor of Pioneer America: The Journal of Historic American Material Culture, *as well as authoring the* Atlas of Louisiana *and numerous articles on folk housing settlement patterns and material culture in the southeastern United States.*


Continental French Colonial Forms
BRITTANY
'a quatre eaux'
NORMANDY
'a deux eaux'
SELECTION PROCESS NOT KNOWN
'bousillage'
'carre'
five room plan
poteaux en terre
carre en terre
MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TRANSITIONAL FORMS
West African two room house
Caribbean PLANTER CREOLE
standard room addition (cabinets)
Haitian Creole
Louisiana TWO ROOM CREOLE

Some Sources of Louisiana
CREOLE HOUSES

LOUISIANA FOLK HOUSES

By Milton B. Newton

In Louisiana, we recognize two major folk traditions in house construction, plus one mixed category. The southern one-third of the state bears the clear, firm mark of a French architectural heritage of several strands: Continental, Canadian-Acadian and Caribbean. These sources of ideas blend to make the Louisiana French house types. These traditions were followed, usually not in the same areas, by the British tradition. The Louisiana house types that trace principally back to Britain include three main strands: Tidewater, Upland South, and Mid- western—the first two also including some elements from the Caribbean region. British types dominate the historic built landscapes of about two-thirds of Louisiana, although popular conceptions of the state's heritage commonly omit this extensive region of British cultures. Finally, we may place together several forms that seem historically unrelated: the "bungalow-shotgun" tradition. Bungalows, shotguns and presumably related types appear most frequently in the Mississippi Valley and in towns. These three traditions, then, laid the folk foundation for Louisiana built landscapes that were eventually twice renovated—in the ages of lumbering and of tract housing.

French Houses

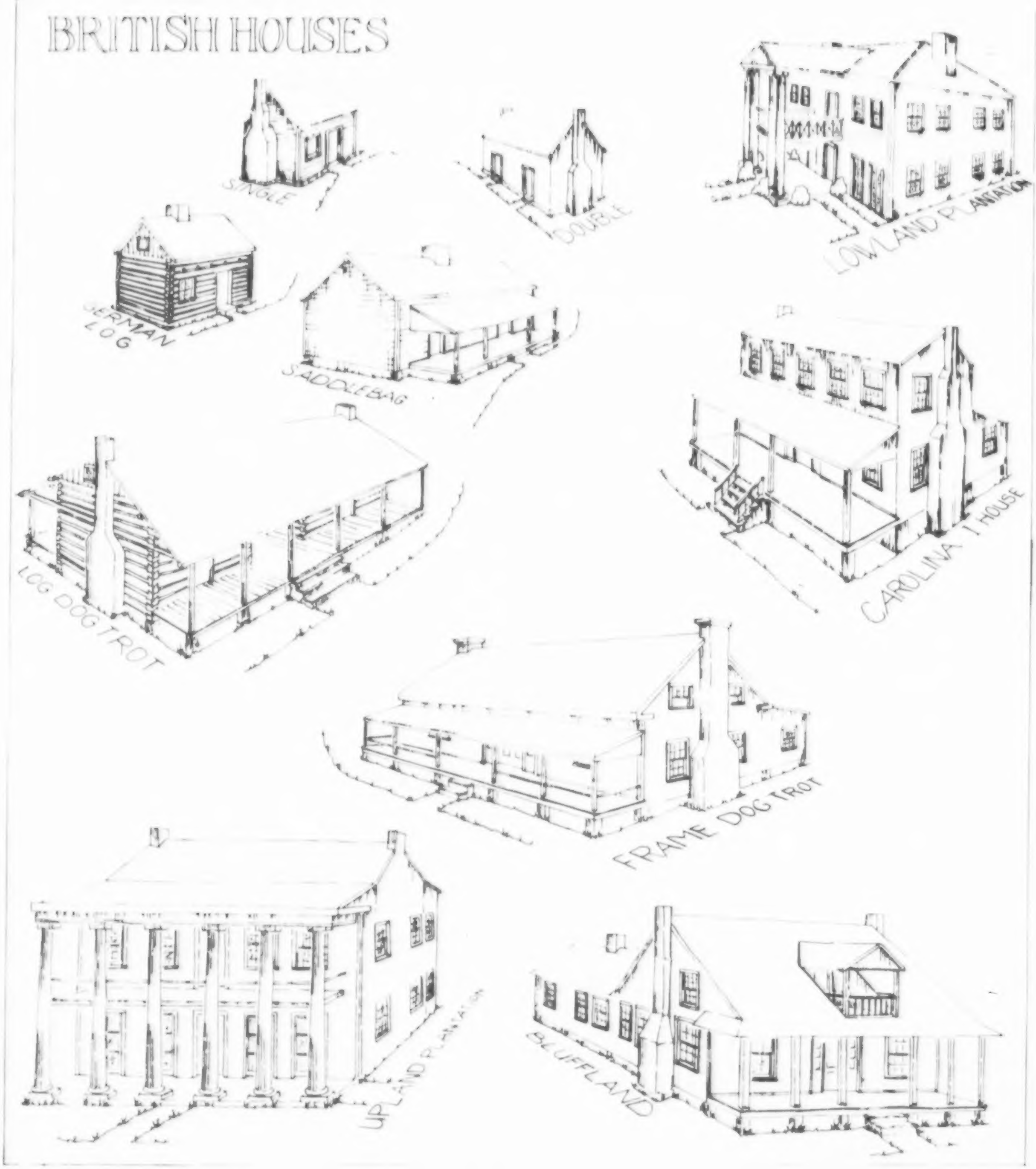
Continental France has such a varied heritage of building traditions as to tempt us to seek all of the antecedents of Louisiana French houses in the mother country. Such a quest faces two difficulties. Only parts of the variety in France arrived in the New World, and French Louisiana has several "mothers": France, Spain, Ireland, Germany, West Africa, and British America.

In the parts of France that supplied settlers for the New World, houses were built of masonry, *poteaux en terre* (palisade), *briquette entre poteaux* (half-timber framing with bricks between the beams) or *bousillage* (half-timber framing with mud between the timbers). All of these modes of construction appeared in Louisiana. (Similar forms of wall construction occurred in most west European lands.) For the first decades of French settlement in Louisiana, houses usually had earthen floors and lacked the raising upon piers or brick basements that dominated later construction. Continental houses might have gabled or hipped roofs with ridges running from side to side. In some regions, the roof might sport dormers just large enough to admit a little light. The roof and walls usually completely embraced the hearth and chimney—unlike British houses, which commonly had their chimneys sited in or against an exterior wall. The houses of most Continental source areas were arranged so as to have the formal entry on one long side, adjacent to the public road.

Various factors led in the New World to simplifying the European variety during and after arrival in the new land. In Canada, particularly in Quebec, students recognize three basic, colonial French house traditions: a gabled-roof Breton house and a gabled-roof and a hipped-roof Norman house. None of these is just like the types of Louisiana, although the houses of both regions share a family resemblance. Similarly, the houses of Acadia (Nova Scotia) bear a resemblance to those of Louisiana, but strictly Acadian houses are nearly unknown in Louisiana.

French houses of the St. Louis area look somewhat more like Louisiana houses. The French houses of the middle Mississippi Valley, built in the early eighteenth century, were often of *poteaux en terre* construction, as in early Louisiana. Many middle Mississippi houses had roofs that had pitch changes several feet from the ridge, the "pavilion" roof that can also be seen in some old Louisiana houses. But most importantly, the French houses around St. Louis and St. Genevieve were often built raised above ground level and with galleries (full-length porches). These two characteristics appear in the French tradition after its arrival in the New World. Raising and galleries most characterize the Caribbean and areas influenced from the Caribbean. The sources of these traits remain unknown, but in both French and British traditions, houses built in areas either trading heavily with or receiving settlers from the Caribbean were quite often raised several feet above the ground and had one or more galleries. These two traits appeared in the American South because of settlement and contacts from the Caribbean.

Houses built under influence from the Caribbean also commonly had several full-length, double-door openings across any facade having a gallery, and some had rather large dormers and an all-lumber construction. These traits, too, appeared in the French architectural tradition after its arrival in the New World. And, finally, each floor was provided with its own separate exterior access: the basement (if any) was entered directly; the main floor, by a stair from the ground; the loft, by a stair beginning on the gallery. Such, then, was the Caribbean model for modest and planter houses: a raised, rectangular house with its hipped or gabled roof, ridge from side to side, having one or more galleries, a galleried facade with several full-length openings, ample dormers, exterior access to each floor, and the whole, except for the basement (where present), built of lumber. These Caribbean houses had appeared in rural


BRITISH HOUSES
SINGLE
DOUBLE
LOWLAND PLANTATION
GERMAN LOG
SADDLEBAG
CAROLINA I HOUSE
LOG DOGTROT
FRAME DOG TROT
UPLAND PLANTATION
BLUFFLAND

Louisiana by at least 1740, first with planters who had immigrated directly from the Caribbean. By the time that Acadians began arriving (1765), the most prestigious form of house was that of the Caribbean planter.

French houses in Louisiana, by long-standing academic usage called "Creole" houses, were almost completely modeled on this Caribbean house. Although other French types were built during the first half of the eighteenth century, the Creole type came to dominate the built landscape. Dirt-floored and *poteaux en terre* houses gradually disappeared in the face of nearly complete acceptance of various versions of the Caribbean model. The Creole type was built in French Louisiana from 1740 to 1940.

Creole houses were both great and small. The greater ones served as plantation houses and commonly had hipped roofs, two to four galleries, several dormers, a brick basement and one or two elaborate stairs leading from the ground to the gallery. They had *briquette entre poteaux* construction and a few internal chimneys. Being richer, planters commonly had houses with well-finished trim adorning the symmetrical facades, all in the fashion of the day; thus, some Creole-planter houses have central hallways that mark the Georgian (or "American") period in French Louisiana. Cheaply navigable streams with broad, fertile flood deposits provided the opportunity for plantation enterprises so that Creole plantation houses occur along the Mississippi, Lafourche, Teche and Red.

Smaller Creole houses appear more widely, along these and lesser streams, from Lake Pontchartrain to Ville Platte, from Marksville to the coast. The smaller Creole house might have been raised upon a brick basement, but most sat upon piers of brick or wood; it had one gallery across the front, two to four openings in the front, a gabled roof, usually without dormers, one or two internal chimneys, and a gallery stair to the loft. Some smaller Creole houses had *briquette entre poteaux* walls, but most of the older ones had *bousillage* walls; still later ones had stud-construction walls. The exterior walls not covered by the gallery were covered by clapboards, while the front wall under the gallery was commonly whitewashed (a practice dating from the use of *bousillage* without clapboards under the gallery).

Both great and small Creole houses seem to have shared some form of a five-room floor plan. The core of the house varied considerably in size but was commonly larger from front to back than from side to side. Two larger rooms (earlier ones of unequal size) occupied the larger front part. Three smaller rooms (of the same size) took up the remaining, rear part of the house, and the middle one of the rear rooms was often a porch. Once the gallery had become an integral part of the Creole house, a simple gable roof generally covered the gallery, two main rooms and the three small rear rooms.

As opportunities occurred for adopting novelties, new forms appeared in French Louisiana. Small, one-room-wide Creole houses (often with British outside chimneys) were built during late settlement on the prairies west and northwest of Opelousas. Creole houses of lumber were widely built after 1890, about the time that balloon framing (light, stud framing) was adopted, along with other novelties, as part of the age of lumbering. Yet, through more than two centuries, until World War II, the built landscape of French Louisiana remained characteristically French Caribbean and distinct from British Louisiana.

There were some two-room houses in French Louisiana; these continuous-pitch, galleried houses have not, however, been separated by scholars from quarters houses and must await further study.

British Houses

No less than France, Britain has a varied heritage of built landscapes, yet again, only a portion of the variety of these house types became colonial types in British-American-built landscapes. Although some experts disagree, British houses seem everywhere in the New World to have been based upon one room ("bay" or "pen") having an oblong, rectangular plan, a gabled roof with its ridge running the long way, a door on each long side, and a fireplace on one short end. Such a single-pen house was built on every frontier of British America. When British Americans built larger houses, they joined two or more of these pens, following regionally characteristic plans.

British settlement in Tidewater Virginia and Carolina soon became predominantly a collection of plantations. Cheap, water-borne transportation, together with fertile alluvial land, provided the opportunities for plantation development on the Atlantic coast as they would in Louisiana, soon leaving these regions overwhelmingly plantation landscapes of "big houses" and quarters. In Louisiana, there was little of an impact by modest, independent settlers of Tidewater heritage.

Tidewater plantation houses, despite the variability possible because of their owner's wealth, were commonly two stories of four pens each, often divided by a Georgian central hall. These houses had galleries on one or both floors, external stairs, and sometimes a brick ground floor that raised the main body of the house above the ground. Brick, half-timber framing with brick nogging, or lumber construction made up the walls. Either gabled or hipped roofs, often pierced by dormers, covered the whole. Besides the Caribbean influence in Tidewater house types, the folk heritage of the Tidewater tradition was blurred by the planters' ability to pay for fashion, and many such houses were decorated with Classical Revival, Greek Revival and Georgian details.

Upland sections of the Atlantic states, the "back country" lying between the Fall Line and the Appalachians from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to Augusta, Georgia, were also settled by British pioneers. These, however, were predominantly Welsh, Devonish, Scots and Scotch-Irish, a heavily Celtic British as opposed to the more Teutonic, Anglo-Norman Englishmen of the Tidewater region. These Celtic British were joined in the back country by Rhineland and other Germans. There resulted a standard set of house types of British pen form, often built in German horizontal, notched-log house as a fitting manner of housing one's family; the log house became one emblem of the Upland South, and the area of log construction is the extent of the Upland South in Louisiana. That region lies north of Lake Charles, Marksville, Baton Rouge and Slidell; that is, the northern two-thirds of the state.

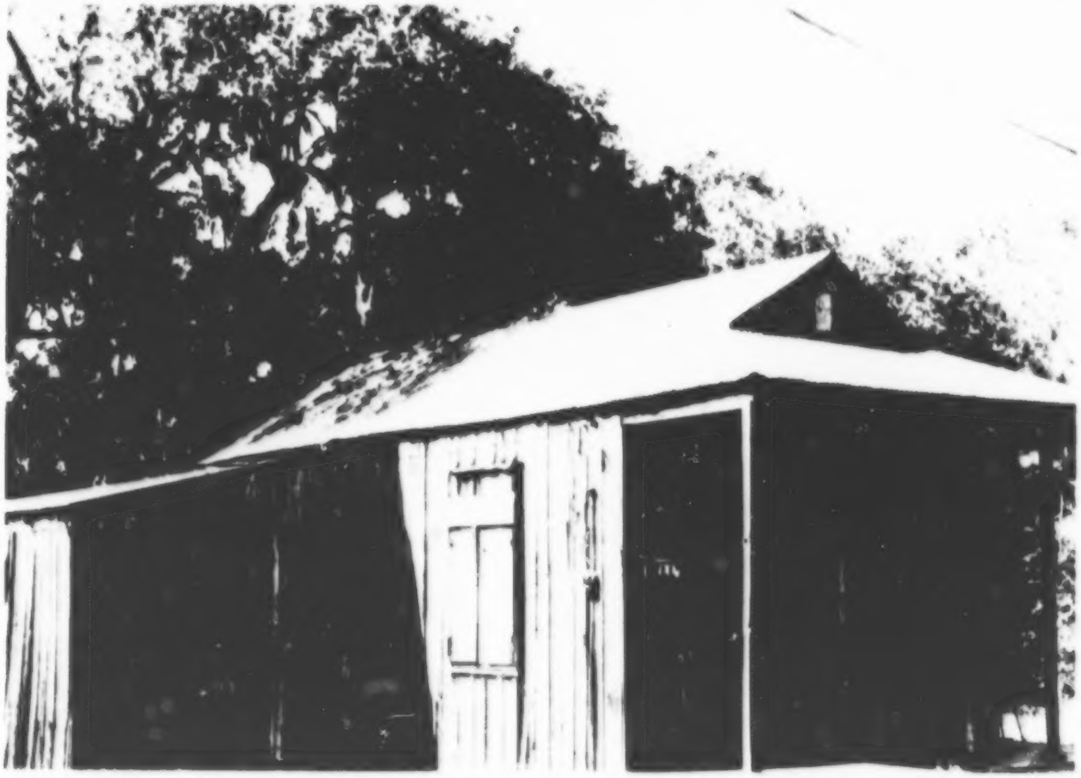
Pens of the Upland South, characteristically 16 to 22 feet across the front by 16 to 20 feet across the end, were combined in three typical patterns. The favorite from 1790 to 1940 in Louisiana was the dogtrot plan: two pens joined by a central hall, a kind of "frontier Georgian." (Its origin lay in part of a rustic copy of the bilateral symmetry of high fashion, rather than in "adpatation" to the hot climate). The dogtrot, of whatever material, commonly had a chimney at each end, rising slightly above the peak of the gable roof. In Louisiana, it was invariably (like all *proper* Upland South houses) raised one to three feet above the ground, on brick, stone or wooden piers. Almost invariably, it had either a gallery or a porch (less than full-length)across the front. Although most of the earliest log dogtrots had large, continuous-pitch roofs resting on cantilevers (front-to-back beams), most built after 1820 had a gabled roof over the main two rooms, plus a pent (tacked-on, single-slope) roof over the gallery and another pent roof over two smaller rooms immediately back of the larger, main rooms. In many log dogtrots, the sleeping loft was gained by a ladder or stair in a corner next to one of the hearths; in others and in most lumber dogtrots, it was reached by a stair in the hall. Most such houses eventually came to have their central passages closed in by a central front door. Houses with enclosed halls are called "central-hall" houses, those with open passages, "dogtrots."

Less common than the dogtrot, the double-pen house involved two pens without an intervening hall. Lacking graceful proportions and being commonly used as slave quarters, this plan gained limited favor. So too, apparently, for the saddlebag plan in which two pens shared a single, central chimney. When either was used as a home of an independent family, a gallery and rear shed rooms and the other features of the dogtrot were added. In an interesting case of "cultural convergence" (similar looks, but different history), a saddle-bag house having a large, continuous-pitch roof, may be mistaken, because of its central chimney, for a Creole house. The two can be separated on the basis of measurements, construction and, most importantly, neighborhood pattern and history.

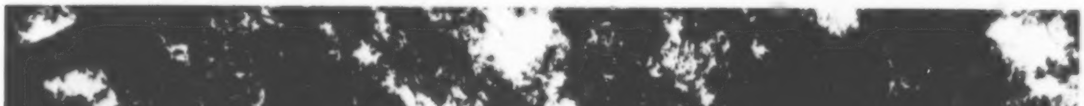
Some early, log, Upland South houses seem to have included kitchen space within the main structure; but they most commonly had a kitchen in an ell to the rear of one side, joined either directly or by a porch extension of the central hall. Many an early kitchen was the first cabin built on the site, the later house being built in front of the kitchen. Fashion soon dictated joining a kitchen-and-dining ell to the rear of the house. Eventually, this and other elements that had historically been added piecemeal came to be seen as a whole composition, and new houses were built accordingly. One such standard combination, the bluffland house, had a squarish front room and a rear room half its size on either side of a central hall; a full-length, integral front gallery; a kitchen-and-dining rear ell; a full, half-story loft; a chimney on each gable end; and a wooden awning ("hood" or "false gallery") around the gallery. The bluffland house flourished between 1890 and 1920, and the model influenced some French builders. The bluffland house was most popular in central and eastern Louisiana. Each such standard combination, many of them quite localized, reflects the occurence of special opportunities for new construction or renovation, usually occasioned by flush times from cotton or lumber money.

Upland South plantation houses were often better finished versions of the dog trot. Others were what has been called an "I-house," a type (or perhaps a collection of types) that includes a central core that is two rooms wide across the front, two rooms tall, and one room deep (two rooms over two rooms). The I-house may or may not have a central hall, end chimneys, front galleries or rear shed rooms, but in the Upland South portions of Louisiana, it usually has all of these. In other words, most Upland South I-houses were two-story dog trots. One distinctive variant, called the "Carolina I-house," has a one-story gallery and one-story rear shed rooms; it is everywhere firm evidence of migration from the middle parts of South Carolina. Yet, except for the Carolina I-house and any log I-house, the I-house cannot be said to have been a distinctive trait of the Upland South; in one form or another, it is the most widespread folk type in British America. I-houses were built in Louisiana from about 1800 until perhaps 1930 in any region where uplanders of plantation background settled, where farmers prospered, or where town dwellers sought to imitate planters.

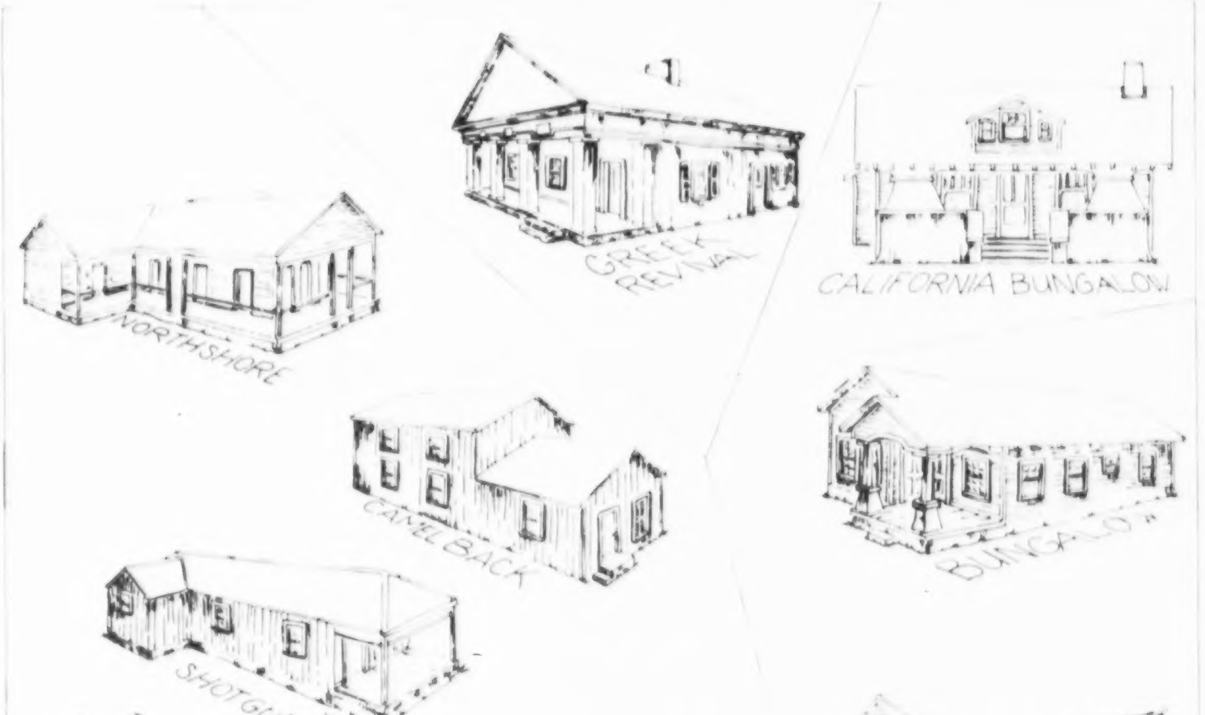
After 1880, new British settlers, with mroe and later German settlers, migrated to Louisiana's southwestern prairies. These new settlers included many who had formerly lived in the Midwest, and their built landscapes were of that region. When promoters for the State and for railroad companies showed that these prairies offered opportunity for grain growing, many Midwestern farmers moved to Louisiana. These prairie farmers also had their characteristic I-house, one



Shotgun house with an attached shed is utilized near Barataria, Jefferson Parish, as a fishing camp. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.



Absolom Autry log dog-trot house, Lincoln Parish. Photograph: Susan Roach-Lankford.


GREEK REVIVAL
CALIFORNIA BUNGALOW
NORTHSHORE
CAMEL BACK
BUNGALOW
SHOTGUNS
DOUBLE SHOTGUN
DUPLEX BUNGALOW
QUARTERS
OYSTERMAN
HOUSEBOAT

Shotguns, left; bungalows, right. Class status increases toward the top. Relationships are tentative. Chimney position is quite variable among these types.

SHOTGUN & BUNGALOW HOUSES

of stern, upright lines, lacking a central hall, gallery (a short stoop, instead), rear shed rooms, and chimneys. Midwesterners also built houses having a four-room, square pyramidal-roofed plan, sometimes of two stories. These Midwestern houses were also built in railroad towns and around some lumbering operations.

Bungalows and Shotguns

Houses in this group probably belong to two separate traditions, but definitive studies have not been done that would allow us confidently to state the difference between or among these traditions. One of the sources of confusion stems from wide use of bungalow and shotgun plans in early tract housing. The two commonly occur in the same neighborhood, built at the same time; even so, some notable difference in distribution provide some guidance.

The bungalow plan that concerns us is a folk type, as opposed to the "California-bungalow" style that was popular during the early twentieth century. The bungalow type embraces a gable-fronted plan that is two rooms wide and three or more rooms long; that is, at least six rooms, arranged two by three. The most striking aspect of the bungalow, as well as the shotgun, is that its gable faces the front, toward the road, quite unlike any of the other traditions. Bungalows were almost always made of lumber, although masonry and log specimens did appear. Most typically, the bungalow was the home of an independent family; free farmers, tradesmen, and even people of substantial means owned bungalows. Yet, in cities, some duplex rental houses were built in the bungalow form. Such duplexes ("double shotguns") commonly have a dividing wall that runs from front to back without doors between the units, whereas the bungalows of independent owners had doors connecting each pair of rooms or even a central hall running between the two rows of rooms. Better bungalows commonly had such extra features as one or two galleries, a back porch, an arbor or garage on one side, one or more fireplaces, or perhaps a narrow gable-roofed section across the front two rooms (giving the bungalow the facade of a dog trot or of California-bungalow style or of both). In any case, the rapidly built towns of 1900 to 1930 were commonly filled with bungalows.

Except for some sections of New Orleans, shotgun houses were almost entirely built as dependent housing; most served as rental dwellings or as quarters for farm labor. A notable exception may give some idea of one of the sources of the shotgun: the one-room-wide, gable-front house common in coastal marshes among fishing and trapping families seems to be the old form of the "camp" (a rough house; now used for weekends). These camps might be one to three rooms long, whereas proper shotguns were at least three rooms long. The other exception, the better houses of shotgun form in some parts of New Orleans, may reflect the joint influence of Greek Revival fashion and a Caribbean, Free-Black folk type. In any case, the narrowness and cheapness of the shotgun plan made it useful on both narrow urban lots and as quarters on plantations.

One New Orleans variant in the shotgun-bungalow group occasionally found in other cities of the state, is the camelback, a shotgun or bungalow with a one or two-room second story. By thus putting bedrooms above the other rooms, the shotgun became slightly more acceptable to middle-class tastes in privacy. Another New Orleans version of the shotgun was built mainly in the summer-resort area around Abita Springs and Mandeville in St. Tammany Parish. This northshore house consists of a row of three rooms crossed at the back by two or three more rooms; galleries usually surrounded all but the rear of this L- or T-shaped plan. Each room commonly has a door giving access to any adjacent gallery; there might well be seven or eight exterior doors on a northshore house. A few scattered, possibly related modifications of shotguns have a vague resemblance to the northshore house.

Quarters

Strictly speaking, few quarters were folk buildings since planters and full-time builders left little decision to the people who would live in the quarters. Although most quarters resemble folk house types, we do not know whether that resemblance reflects the heritage of the planter, the builder or the worker. One common quarters was the shotgun. Another was the double house, which looked like a saddle bag, a double pen or even a small Creole house. On many plantations, quarters were graded according to the rank of the laborer, the largest quarters having the appearance of an independent farmer's home. Many plantations had several forms of quarters at once, thus relieving what would otherwise have been an even duller monotony and providing several models for those leaving plantation labor.

Age of Lumbering

From 1880 to 1920, the age of lumbering, the built landscapes of Louisiana were vastly renovated; this transformation was almost everywhere integrally involved with the boom in lumbering. So extensive was this renovation that most of what is called "old" dates from this period. During the generation before the age of lumbering, very little had been built because the Civil War and Reconstruction had left so many impoverished and without opportunity to build. When Northern lumber interests began to harvest Southern forests, many families gained their first substantial incomes from sales of timber or from wages in the forests and mills. When these families began to build new homes, their new houses were different from their older houses, but commonly recognizable as to type.

Several factors contributed to these new built landscapes. New people arrived in the state, generally from the North and East, carrying the fashions of more prosperous areas. Because many of these newcomers occupied moderately elevated social status, their houses served as models. The duration of the boom in any one community was short so that the period of real novelty would necessarily have been limited. Craftsmen who learned their trades at that time learned to build the fashions of that limited period. Other than the houses of the best class, the homes built by these craftsmen were built for ordinary, largely native people; as such, these houses were rustically stylish versions of the old folk forms. Thus, Creole houses continued to appear in French Louisiana, and dog trots in British parts.

Balloon framing became dominant, augmented after about 1900 by ready availability of wire (round) nails. Standardization of cuts led to a slight reduction of the scale of houses by standardly thinning lumber. Stylishly lower ceilings also diminished the size of the ordinary facade. In some areas, special building techniques, such as rabbetted-wall construction (vertical planks, tightly butted, erected without studs, except at corners, doors, and windows), left a subtle mark on the new houses that nonetheless kept much of their folk forms. At French Settlement, for example, nearly every *bousillage* Creole house was replaced about 1900 by a rabbetted-wall Creole house. In many parts of British north Louisiana, dogtrot and central-hall folk types were reexpressed in this "box" (rabbetted-wall) construction.

During the age of lumbering, much of eastern and central Louisiana had the false gallery (hood, *abat vent*) built on new houses or added to old houses; these wooden awnings shaded the galleries and sometimes the windows of both British and French houses in this area. The hood added the final flourish to a local, Louisiana house type—the bluffland house, a rural, middle-class standard for eastern British Louisiana that also inspired some French houses. By 1920, French and British Louisiana were still distinct in terms of their built landscapes; but the differences had decreased in number and degree. Houses were rarely built of log or *bousillage;* nationally fashionable trim appeared in both regions; national plans, such as the California bungalow, were accepted in both areas; standardization of lumber influenced the scales of both French and British houses; and some folk types, such as the bungalow, became common in all parts of the state.

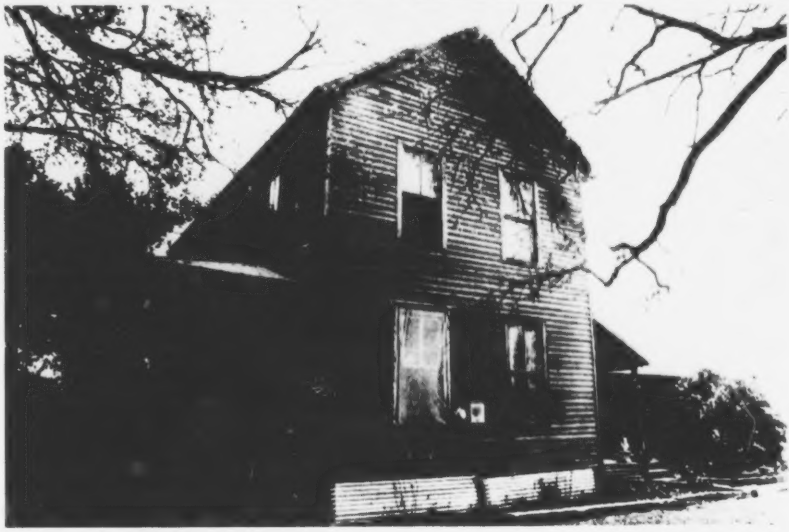
Tract Housing

Mobility leads to cities, and growing cities must be renovated. As points of greatest mobility, cities required new houses, and these, like all else, were built impersonally, commercially and voluminously. As well-being continued to increase, new tracts (euphemistically called "neighborhoods") arose to attract each rising class of wanderers. For the reasons of mobility and of changing fashion, tracts of city houses, if arranged in our minds according to dated fashions, record the various prosperous periods in the history of each city. Said differently, the neighborhoods of a larger town record changing opportunities for casual, mobile people to adopt and occupy architectural fashion.

In most of Louisiana's towns, tract housing, at first lumber versions of local folk types, was most commonly the bungalow and the California bungalow. By tracing the bungalow through the dated subdivisions, we can see how common builders gradually transformed the bungalow into modern tract housing. At first, a number of normal bungalows were built, side by side along one street. In other streets, the bungalow was adorned with California-bungalow trim. Eventually, the entry was moved to one side, perhaps with a small porch covering it. In another instance, a gable-sided facade concealed the front gable of the bungalow. Another builder added built-on garages; another turned the bungalow sideways, making the long side face the street. According to period fashion, roofs differed: gabled, hipped, hip-on-gable, nearly flat, hipped again. Although other forms (such as the "ranch-style" and other pattern-book houses) participated in the development of tract housing, the bungalow went through the whole sequence, eventually becoming unrecognizable as to origin.

Looking Back

Time flies for modern people, and one mark of being modern is to be going out of date. As new tracts of houses were built, even early tract housing comes to be felt to be old and traditional. A house standing since 1887 has endured one-third of the history of European settlement in Louisiana; an "old" house built in 1947, one-ninth. Yet, most houses seen by most people are not more than forty years old. This increasingly rapid out-of-dateness makes it more vivid that built landscapes—old and new—change as opportunities of people change, and such change is really renovation during times of relative affluence. Mobility and wealth increase opportunities for commercial enterprises, and mere differentness becomes a commodity; the result is an increased datedness of subdivisions and a decreasing duration of the period of popularity of each new kind of house.



This 1880's "I" house on the prairies in Lafayette Parish shows the influence of resettling Midwestern farmers. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

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Joe Foster Paddie stands on the porch of the home he moved to after his log house was submerged. Photograph: Don Sepulvado.

SAVING YOUR OWN HOUSE: FOLK CULTURE AND MITIGATION

by H. F. "Pete" Gregory

It is appropriate that this section—concerned as it is with things material, such as traditional crafts, food, houses and boats—should conclude with this essay on the "intangible" human elements involved in all that is cultural. People make artifacts for purposes that range from survival and efficiency to religion and ritual. At a time when there is a great tendency in Louisiana to romanticize the past, there is also a great need to identify, to use and to preserve for future appreciation that which is still valuable and instructive in living traditions. Folklorist Archie Green, who in the final section of this volume writes of federal policy involvement in both destroying and preserving folk culture, has elsewhere commented upon the ironic tendency to obliterate rural folk culture while at the same time enshrining it in glory: "Out of the long process of American urbanization-industrialization there has evolved a joint pattern of rejection as well as sentimentalization of rural mores. We flee the eroded land with its rotting cabin; at the same time we cover it in rose vines of memory." Perhaps equivalent to this process in our state are the pen and ink sketches of the rural landscape, with quaint cabins and plentiful game, so readily available in flea markets and shopping centers. Whatever one thinks of such works as art or even as a way to preserve the past, they do reflect the needs we all have to recall what we have seen and cherished, and to maintain a connection with a sense of place and cultural tradition.

Some very specific strategies that address these needs through public policy—such as those involving state and federal protection of items listed on the National Register of Historic Places—are commented upon in the final section. Unfortunately, the conventional definitions of "cultural resource" currently used in public preservation policies—prehistoric artifacts, historic buildings and sites—are not sufficient to aid in preservation and appreciation of the value of living cultural resources, such as old-time fiddling or the skills of a log-house maker. This is not to say that new public policies for "cultural conservation," which are currently being developed will not aid the survival of traditional culture. Indeed, an alliance of archaeologists, historic preservationists, anthropologists, folklorists and the informed public is needed to articulate policy in this direction. Ultimately, however, it will be people at the local household and community level who will conserve and preserve their own culture.

The idea that people must act both individually and collectively to save their own houses and, by association, all their best traditional cultural creations is the primary thrust of H.F. "Pete" Gregory's poetic, polemic essay. Dr. Gregory is perhaps better qualified than anyone to comment on preservation of living cultural practices and places or, to use the related environmental term, "mitigation," since he has seen the issue from two sides: as a product of folk society and as a professional anthropologist. For nearly twenty years, he has taught students of rural north Louisiana backgrounds like his own to return home to document and better understand the traditions with which they grew up (and were often sent off to school to forget). As a person committed to the continuity of past and present cultural tradition into the future, he is alarmed by wanton destruction of the folk communities in Louisiana, as well as the houses and landscapes in and on which they reside. The loss of the land and water resources as well as the skills to utilize them are particularly telling in the face of slowdowns in the market economies to which people have often shifted and become accustomed in the last generation. At the same time, Gregory recognizes two critical points from the folk community perspective, rather than that of academics or preservationists alone. First, not all that is traditional is good (i.e., feudalistic political systems, provincialism, or backbreaking, inefficient modes of work). Second, people of folk background have a right to improve their lot in life by means of education and modern technology. Still, his point remains that the future must be planned with continuity of the landscapes, skills, values, aesthetics and behaviors—in short the cultural traditions—the past that are worthwhile. To benefit us all in balancing tradition with change, the ideas alluded to in this article—and this entire volume—will have to become part of the conventional wisdom of Louisianians from public officials to people in rural settlements, urban neighborhoods and suburban developments.

SAVING YOUR OWN HOUSE

by H.F. "Pete" Gregory

Long beforethe word *mitigation*—that is, the amelioration of cultural change—came to the fore of environmental preservation language, a tired old Spanish man on Toledo Bend Reservoir in northwest Louisiana, began, as he put it,"saving his own house."

In 1965 the states of Louisiana and Texas agreed to dam the Sabine River, their mutual boundary. The rising waters soon flooded the old Spanish and Indian settlements in northwestern Louisiana. The communities of Las Hormigas, Sulphur Springs and Blue Lake were all displaced. Houses, some a half-century or more old, were left to the rising waters. The house of Joseph Paddie was among them. He had built it himself, with his own ax, froe, and adze. It was all wood, a beautiful *casa de palos* built from "heart pine" logs. With his froe (he knew the tool by its Spanish name, *machete*) he rived the shingles and the boards in it. Even its *cerquita*, or picket fence, was so constructed. The house stood isolated on a little hammock, with a small barn and a smoke house, a *jamonera*.

As the waters rose, the tightly constructed log pen began to float off its hewn foundation blocks. Joe Paddie, regretting the loss of his work, paddled his dugout canoe to his old place, and laboriously towed the "pen house" to the shore to the new lake. A young logger sympathetic to Paddie's efforts hooked his bulldozer to it and pulled it to the old man's new home site.

Once there the old timer set about reassembling the house. A sudden "Norther" glazed the forest, and trees snapped like matches under the ice. The lumber man came by and Joe Paddie asked him for the broken logs. "My daddy told me not to waste anything, to use everything. They were leaving those logs there to rot. They gave them to me." By the time Joe Foster Paddie died, in the late 1970's, he had practically finished reconstructing his own log house. Only a serious stroke had prevented its completion.

In the 1960's federal legislation only protected the archaelogical remains in Toledo Bend and similarly impacted places. Louisiana and Texas had no laws applicable to archaelogical remains not on state or federal lands or outside federal agency projects, much less laws protecting folk culture anywhere. Joe Foster Paddie, drawing on the strength and skills of his culture,had provided his own leadership in preserving folk culture. Even though the people around him failed to recognize the skills and workmanship in his house, or the value of the forest resources being wasted which could have been cycled into such a place, the oldtimers felt strongly that they should "save their house" so they could show the younger people thereabouts what they had been taught: not to waste anything.

In a rapidly expanding world with population pressures impinging on land and water resources, the natural environment of the planet has been severely impacted. Man, with powerful machines, has made more drastic changes in the landscape in recent times than for thousands of previous years. Dams, levees, roads, urban expansion, waste disposal areas, and even recreation areas and parks resulted, in some cases, in the direct destruction of cultural resources.

Archaeologists recognized that the loss of prehistoric remains was constantly accelerating, and that they were faced with the almost total destruction of their research interest, namely archaeological sites. By the middle 1960's they made a concerted effort to arouse public interest in the preservation of sites, especially those in the Lower Mississippi Valley. At a meeting on Avery Island in 1965 archaeologists in Louisiana joined with others to attempt mitigation of agricultural impacts in the Lower Mississippi Valley. At the national level, laws lobbied for by professional and avocational archaeologists alike soon made "cultural resource inventory," "assessment" and "mitigation" standard words in the vocabulary of American preservationists.

With the establishment of the *National Register of Historic Places* criteria for assessing the significance of sites were established. Sites, then, of national and state, or more rarely, local significance were to be protected. The federal legislation was soon extended not only to standing structures like houses and forts, but to cemeteries and archaeological remains. Jabbour and Marshall (1979) of the American Folklife Center have commented on the weakness of these criteria with regard to living folk culture, but they are currently our best tools for protection.

Once a site was declared eligible for inclusion, the projected impact on it had to be mitigated. The states soon all had in place a standing committee and a State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) to oversee nomination of significant sites and mitigation of impacts upon sites. By the 1970's all federally funded projects required a survey, assessment and/or mitigation of impact on cultural resources involved with them.

Cultural anthropologists (ethnologists and ethnographers), geographers, folklorists and sociologists have been, until now, less active than archaeologists and historians in their efforts to "preserve" living groups or cultures. There have been some who were extremely concerned about the impact of industrialized society on folk societies, but active programs to mitigate the rate of change or folk landscape destruction inherent in development were few and far between. Applied anthropology, for a long period seemed destined to facilitate change induced by mass society rather than to help people modify or adapt it to their local cultures. In short, most applied anthropology, from the 1950's on into the 1970's was aimed at assimilating local traditional culture groups into the mainstream of industrial society.

Louisiana, like the rest of America, went through such development in the post-World War II period. Change was seen as inevitable and "for the best." In many ways the coming of surfaced roads and improved communications, schools and medicine certainly was advantageous to the people. Access on the part of folk societies to new sources of culture often slowed down interest in community studies and folkloristic research for over a decade, because the "professionals" thought the people were "lost" and folk culture was now "impure." That decade, from 1940 until 1950, saw broad and often problematic changes in Louisiana. Oil, the "mother's milk" of the state's economy, boomed. Not only was it in demand for the war effort, but it was requisite for the continuance of American technology. Oilfields sprung up everywhere: in the marshes, cypress swamps and rice fields of south Louisiana as well as the uplands of north Louisiana. New people came, too, Texans and Oklahomans, with new accents and lifestyles.

Not since the development of pre-Civil War plantations had the state seen such massive changes. By the 1950's the strong interest in Louisiana culture, so evident in local color writing and folk studies in the 1930's, began to weaken. For example, the ongoing attack on Louisiana French in public schools gathered strength and the socioeconomic transformation shoved rural Louisianians, often unconsciously but sometimes with great trauma, into a new relationship with mass American culture.

During and after the social upheaval of the 1960's and 1970's the "traditional" *modus operandi* was being questioned with regard to development and progress. Committed to the eradication of all kinds of social injustice, change seemed inevitable—the only pathway to freedom and progress. Louisiana was becoming part of the "New South."

Each major socioeconomic step reified "progress" and saw more and more trade-offs with business and industry. New technology appeared everywhere in an instant. The "impact" of those trade-offs has yet to be measured because few students of culture took a "before and after" look at communities or individuals involved.

Some folklorists and anthropologists have suggested (Personal Communication, Nick Spitzer, 1981) that a developing middle-class value set ironically often brought about self-reflection and initial interest in folk cultural preservation. Certainly middle-class affluence did not slow the movement down. On the grassroots level, however, it has yet to develop its full potential because for many "change" is still the route to affluence and participation in the broader culture. The ability to keep one's identity is balanced with whatever industry and business demand of the person. Nostalgia is an old Southern culture trait, and so is hardheaded resistance to change. People have traditionally held on to their roots, long before there were any programmatic "strategies" or money to help with preservation. Still the pressure towards change has intensified through time.

Folk culture persists in part because it is so common, so ubiquitous, that people are almost unaware they possess something of value. At another point it persists because people have felt it important to preserve. They are almost driven by the need for preservation, and in some cases it *is* a struggle for survival. In a tightly structured class system, cultural identity hinges on subtle nuances. The use of certain artifacts, the pronunciation of a word, musical style, body movement, and a myriad of even more subconscious things come into play. As rapid changes take place many people seem suddenly to "fall free" of their cultural background while others cling desperately to these nuances or vestiges of the old order. It is an individual thing, and though social scientists have devoted more and more ink to the balance between tradition and change since the worldwide impetus towards mass technology developed after World War II, it is still a phenomenon that is not always understood.

While the need for socioeconomic change is paramount in much of Louisiana, the urge to maintain traditional behavior has been almost as strong. Gradually, racial and economic boundaries lessened to the point where old comfortable exchanges could begin again and where sociocultural interaction was not threatening to the individuals involved. For example, music, strongly identified as to its ethnicity, neutralized itself in "rockabilly" and "rock" or the highly sanitized modern gospel music of white and black alike. Syncretism, the selective blending of diverse elements, takes away the sting of confrontation. It sweetens the bitter process of assimilation. In short, one can change without total rejection of older more comfortable behaviors.

The process of change is constant in culture, and the futility of the classic material focused "preservationist" approach, when applied to living traditional culture, can be seen everywhere in America. Fake forts, rice mortars sitting in a modern architectural setting, WPA paintings on post office walls—all such things merely make token acknowledgement of traditional culture. While the old man mentioned at the outset felt the urge to save and even restore his former home, he did decline to move back into it. It was a memorial to what and where he had been. It was important enough that he could not just throw it away, but it was not quite as functional as it once had been, either. So the folklorists and ethnographers have to understand cultural context, not just what is still around or how it grew historically from local cultural and environmental interaction, but *how* it continues to survive and how traditional items and behaviors can enrich and inform all of us.

Cultural resource management that includes living cultural behaviors, places and artifacts is burdened with several problems. First, it intervenes in the flow of culture and people must make value judgments about things. Often as not, those value judgments are made on an interpretive, "outsider," basis. Things (houses, barns, roads, artifacts and even swimming holes) have been incorporated in a preservationist sort of way. The tacit assumption here is that the humanist's values prevail: that the past's contributions to the present give security and continuity, and are thus valuable to human development. The older forms are also valuable as a source of inspiration to later generations.

Second, even if people can be convinced that they should preserve certain constellations of cultural behavior, preservationists must come to grips with intolerance and other less revered aspects often found in traditional cultures. How does one decide which are the best and worst elements in a culture let alone go about preserving that which is good?

In the most positive sense, the people who manage cultural resources are faced with a broad mandate to educate people, both in the small, folk communities and in the more cosmopolitan centers, about human diversity and the value of individuals who maintain it. If carried out fully, this could be one of the boldest social experiments of the twentieth century. However, it has yet to really involve the broader society: to climb down from the towers of academe and to have the "folks" themselves participate in preservation and maintenance.

Yet, that is beginning to happen. In Louisiana, a community-based folklife festival is a good example of what takes place. The Natchitoches Folk Festival has the involvement of all sectors of the community: industry, business, academics and local folk of various ethnic and occupational groups. These people have input into planning, design and monitoring the festival production. Folk musicians and craftspeople are actively involved in the design and production. Students and technicians visit the rural and urban homes where traditions flourish to document such people and practices. That ambiance is transmitted, as best it can be, in a public gathering.

Regional meetings, like that produced by the Louisiana Folklife Program of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism and Northwestern State University in 1981 at Ferriday expose local community leaders, craftspeople and musicians to professional folklorists and anthropologists. In such cases, the local traditions are raised to a higher level of consciousness and the means of developing and maintaining them can be discussed directly.[1] Other strategies need creative development. The evolving use of folk artists in the Artists-in-the-Schools Program of the State Division of the Arts is another vehicle for cultural maintenance, through which children learn *local* traditional arts and crafts from local people in an institutional setting. Local folk festivals are blossoming, and some, like the State Fiddling Contest, are beginning to stress folk traditions which cannot be found elsewhere. Local tradition is also increasingly documented and disseminated in records, radio programs and films. Via such media, folk musical forms can be given more public status and become less likely to be replaced by mass culture. All these activities combine to present a stratagem of maintenance carefully monitored both by the participants in the local cultures and by outside, academic "expertise."

Even so, new problems face Louisiana. The once vast Atchafalaya basin is a vanishing natural *and cultural* landscape. All strategies to commercially utilize and-or preserve the basin will alter cultures directly or indirectly tied to it, and most (U.S. Dept. of Interior, letter, 1980) still accede the loss of more wilderness there. Moss gathering and ginning, once a major activity, has disappeared from the basin except at Labadieville. Commercial fishing, crawfishing and boat building are also threatened. Many places peripheral to the basin have made the predictable transition from commercial fishing areas, to commercial camps for sportsmen, to summer home sites for nearby urbanites (Radesinovich,1963). Not only does this modify the local economy, but it displaces the fishing families, and eventually that lifestyle is lost forever.

In order to maintain cultural practices in the basin, comparable to seasonal rounds observed by cultural geographers (Comeaux, 1972;Gregory, 1965), the loss of the wetlands and trees must be avoided. Expanding industries (especially petrochemical plants), which demand more and more land and water, must be better monitored and controlled.

Limited, controlled use can preserve it, but presently commercial fisherfolk, oil developers, corporate farmers, and lumber interests are locked in debate about how to deal with this problem. The 575,000 acres of the basin will silt up in the lower areas (lakes available in the 1930's now support sugar cane and soybeans). The "preservation and folklore communities" (Stipe 1980) have to realize that *they* do *not* make the decisions about cultural maintenance. The cultural resource management concept that has developed out of archaeological and historical scholarship since the establishment of the *National Register of Historic Places* cannot be implemented with living cultures unless some strong efforts are exerted to educate the public, especially the younger people, about the value of cultural diversity. Wildlife and conservation in Louisiana are synonymous in the popular mind. The dilemma facing the commercial fisheries is that without state and federal control they lose the basin, and, likely, *with* such control they lose the basin. They are hardly in a mood to discuss "preservation," but they are in a mood to discuss "maintenance." It is more than a semantic game; to the fisherman it is a way of life. Since they face extinction, just maintaining their culture is tantamount to jousting with powerful foreign countries, the state and federal government, corporate farm and mineral interests, and the conservationists who often preserve the natural environment without the holistic view that sees man on the landscape.

Somehow cultural "managers" and natural preservationists have to incorporate the local people. The several levels of officialdom and industry must also be included in cultural preservation plans. No segment of American life exists in a vacuum. The "folk-urban continuum," a perspective expounded by Robert Redfield nearly two generations ago, has not really taken root in folkloristic involvement in mitigation planning.

The Atchafalaya Basin social network is a fine example. Crawfish leave the docks at Bayou Pierre Part daily, when they are in season, bound for New Orleans. A French-speaking laundryman from New Orleans delivers freshly dry cleaned clothes to that same community. A boatload of ice is delivered from Pierre Part to an isolated fisherman's landing in the swamp. An interaction resulted: the New Orleanian reports the news about fishing to his neighbors and on Saturday they head for their favorite areas—often with several cases of beer and some Pierre Part native in tow. The iceman carries the market news, which he may have heard at lunch, eating turtle stew with the laundry man, to the isolated fisherman.

Planning on urban recreation in the Basin without understanding a vast complex of such relationships and how they work is naive indeed. To "preserve" Pierre Part, one has to "save" the wild wetlands, but also to maintain the urban ties. Pierre Part is necessary to New Orleans' recreationists as well as local fishermen. Unfortunately, this perspective is slow to develop. The problem is comparable to the observation of Jabbour and Marshall that folklorists and preservationists see their interests as mutually exclusive. At some point they *all* have to realize further that the "community of interest" contains the people who bear the cultural tradition. No amount of outside interest, or money, will foster that development unless the people who create and carry the tradition want it (1980:48,49).

In the Delta of northeastern Louisiana bulldozers are knocking down the last cypress stands: the "stuff" of houses, boats, fences and barns—sacred to Louisiana Indians, likely, because of its many uses—the trees are piled and burned. Land leveling and "cleaning" is claiming such wetlands, at the rate of 111,000 acres in eight years. Projections conservatively estimate total change by 1991 into a facsimile of the American Midwestern prairies. No trees, no grass or brush are left. Chemicals retard weeds and palmetto. Great stands of wild river cane and clouds of Spanish moss die because of misplaced herbicides. Dust and chemicals fill the air.

Soybeans, wheat and rice replace cotton and cattle. Tugboats replace the paddle boats of fishermen. Diesel replaces the stern wheelers. Black families find themselves in the squalid tenements of the towns, their churches torn down, their cemeteries plowed under. The older planters yield to multi-row planters and "pole barns" house air-conditioned tractors and combines.

The people come from Missouri and Illinois. The old soft Southern dialect is interspersed with Ozark "you'uns" and "yorn" or crisp midwestern sounds. The old swampers went to the new overseers, corporate farm managers, and asked them if they could kill the squirrels before the land was cleared. They were denied. The hunters began to realize that a major source of outdoor recreation was taken from them. At that point, even the hardest of poachers sought solace in conservation. People now in college ask about "camp boats," "float roads" and how to handle hogs. Adults live who have never seen a flood, chased a deer, or hunted bullfrogs. Old landmarks are going, the people do not know what the antebellum levees, gin stacks, or rice pumps were. Bulldozer operators seldom have taken history or folklore courses.

At the African Queen, a black club in Ferriday, stereo sounds have replaced the blues. At the Primitive African Baptist Church, in the same area, the Easter Rock ceremony no longer happens. It is a new land, with new people. The old cultures linger, but they are being transformed. In an age of videotapes, cassette recorders, and easy photography, so little is being archived, so little being saved. It is so easy now to change the world with technology; it is also relatively easy to "preserve" the dying things with documentary films and recordings. What is *not* easy is keeping the best parts alive. Again, it is clear that all is not lost. The only comfort is to be found in the people. There are enough of the old ideas, values and artifacts to modify the new. The older people still know that the river will rise and that human technology will sooner or later fail, and the Mississippi will reclaim her former channels. When that or a similar natural or economic disaster happens, the old people may become the leaders again and the new people will have to learn.

It is at the local community level that some strategy for cultural maintenance must be plugged in. It has always been that way. Here folklorists can take a lesson or two from historic preservationists and archaeologists. Once involved in the Louisiana Archeological Society, a vehicle for lay participation, one manager of a hundred thousand acre farm in the Delta systematically set about preserving and collecting sites. He even started a parish-wide museum effort. Students of folklife should not rule out such possiblities. The Indians taught the first Europeans, the African slaves learned from both of them and added their own culture. Now comes a new generation, corporate farmers with computerized farms. They, too, must learn from the people who lived on the land before, and now, with them.

One wonders how there will be continuity. No studies exist of the black communities, not a single paper has ever been written on the shanty towns "over the levee" which bulldozers are grinding away for suburban tract houses. There are still vestiges of those cultures left. Preservationists oriented toward the "big house" struggle to save the grand and vernacular houses, but folk houses only now and then. The old people of folk society are left to keep their counsel, to adjust. The *National Register* now contains a clause recommending the folk cultures be protected, but no formal "rules" or "guidelines" have developed to facilitate that mandate.

In northwestern Louisiana strip mining for lignite, a variety of soft coal, is developing. A response to the nation's energy crisis, such activities have spread from east Texas to Louisiana and Arkansas. These operations will literally strip away thousands of acres of woodlands in northern Natchitoches, Sabine, DeSoto, Red River and Bienville parishes. A number of isolated ethnic communities (Cochanda Island, Rambin and Smithport Lake) will be faced with an influx of new people and in fact, have already begun to develop trailer parks and a washateria to accommodate the newcomers. Thousands of acres of woodlands will disappear: the open range cattle industry and wood hogs, once the stand-by for rural north Louisiana, will soon be gone. With that goes hunting the deer, quail, fox and coon that have provided seasonal food and recreation for generations of hill and valley people.

Architecturally the country has all but lost its heritage, but the old stark, shuttered Methodist churches are still there. More rarely a dormered English-style barn appears, or a log house. Folk cemeteries—homemade of concrete and glass, or with hand-carved wooden crosses—will soon be "islands" in the coal strips.

Black families, who have remained in place, and independent, since Reconstruction will have to yield land and access. Louisiana's loss will be California and Illinois' gains. A few families have refused to lease their mineral rights to lignite, hoping to preserve a hundred acres here and there. The mining strips will still alter the drainage, strip the forests and overpopulate the country! Yet, these conservative families may provide a vast resource for mitigation of the destruction of the folk landscapes. National priorities always seem to take precedence over local communities and cultures. Poor whites, blacks, and a few indians, left isolated for generations, find themselves counted by everyone from archaeologists to lease hounds.

Strip mining will displace pulp-wood logging and oil production, yet another set of tools and terms, with the people to use them, will come into the land. Nobody knows how many will be foreign or how many local people will work there. Now, before the full impact starts, folklorists and ethnologists should be doing baseline studies of settlement patterns, material and non-material culture. Local community leaders are trying to make connections to accommodate these changes. Cultural education involving folk tradition could facilitate adjustment in both the community and the industrial spheres.

In spite of these circumstances, up until now only archaeological assessments have been made. Due to the urgency of the situation, the Louisiana State Archaeologist's office has included a standing structure assessment with archaeological fieldwork. A local cultural geographer, Dr. George A. Stokes of Northwestern State University, in Natchitoches, has completed, at his own expense, a complete photographic record of the housing on Chocanda Island and has begun work in adjacent areas. All this work has centered on material culture; nonmaterial culture, from folktale to oral history, has yet to be sampled. It is vastly more complex to document and preserve because of its intangibility, but it is also more basic to the ways of life. It is people, with their beliefs, aesthetics, values and behaviors, that make artifacts.

There are various "agencies" of change on the local level, like the Lignite Institute at Northwestern State University, but most have not attempted the articulation of any cultural research, concentrating instead on geological and physical impact, soils and water quality, etc. Only the Folklife Center and the Williamson Museum at Northwestern have made limited systematic efforts to collect and encourage preservation of nonmaterial culture in the region affected.

Here is the future of Louisiana, a state blessed with untold mineral wealth and a great diversity of folk cultures. Inevitably, development will alter old ways and begin new ones. At no time in the history of regional folklore has such a challenge to measure continuity and change been so outstanding. That the State of Louisiana, through the vehicle of the Office of Cultural Development's, Louisiana Folklife Program, is addressing itself to impact and mitigation strategies is a heartening sign. Perhaps the losses of the past will be lessons for the future. Rather than mourning "lost cultures," we can even hope to watch the development of new, syncretic ones that utilize the best of tradition.

Perhaps, like Foster Paddie, Louisiana can design ways to keep the traditional treasures and enjoy the new things humans can create as well. It is a challenge to folklorists and anthropologists, as well as government officials, teachers, preservationists and the media, to help the people "save their own house."

FOOTNOTES

1. In the time since this article was written numerous regional efforts at cultural preservation have taken place. For example, Louisiana Tech's architecture department is continuing a survey of north Louisiana folk houses. Susan Roach-Lankford at the same university conducted the most thorough field survey to date in north Louisiana and produced the exhibit and booklet *Gifts from the Hills*, (1983). The Alexandria

Laurel Valley Plantation near Thibodaux. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

Museum completed a survey and exhibit on folklife called *Doing It Right and Passing It On* (1981). Currently the Louisiana Folklife Program is concluding its Florida Parishes Folklife Survey.

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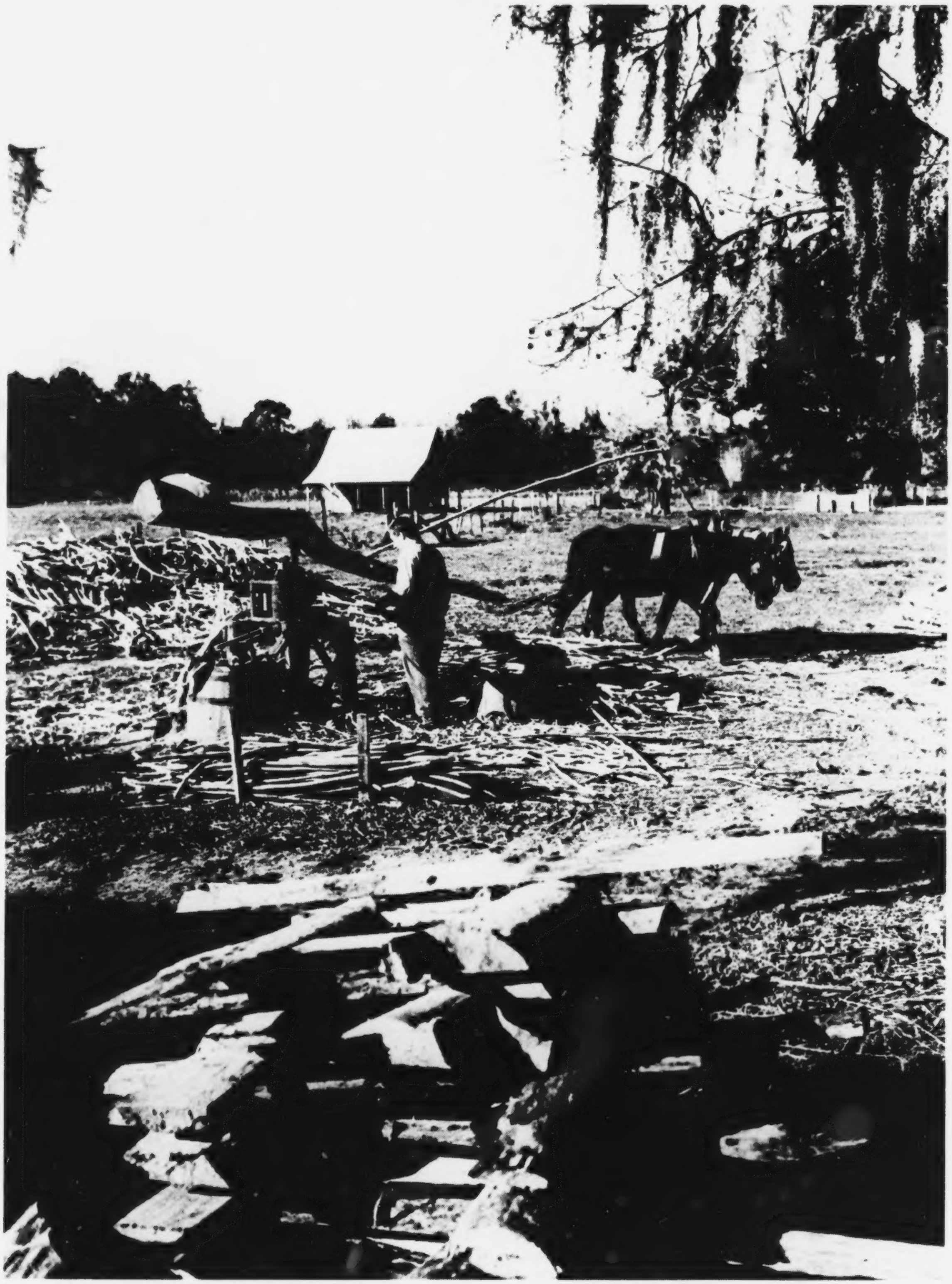

Elemore Morgan Sr.'s documentary photograph of a Washington Parish Cane grinder, 1948.

IV. DOCUMENTING TRADITION:
Louisiana Folklife and Media

This section is devoted to the relationships between traditional culture and documentary media forms. It will be seen that some media, such as the folk music LP of the current day or the film by Les Blank about Cajuns, are conscious attempts to record and present the producer's vision of folk culture to a broader audience. However, early 78-rpm recordings of blues and present-day Cajun music radio shows are, on the other hand, often unwitting but equally important documents of traditional art forms. Efforts to document folk culture today may range from video recording of a complex crafts process for use by a local Indian tribe to preserve their cultural heritage to the recording of an almost extinct music style such as Afro-French jurer singing for research into the roots of rural Creole music. From the most commercial film about Louisiana festivals to the most academic recording of ancient ballads, the documentary media can have a profound impact on the way the public thinks about folk communities and the way folk communities think about themselves.

This section is composed of two survey articles about the use of and impact of the media in relation to Louisiana folk culture. Each overview article is accompanied by a shorter, more specific example of the work of a particular media documenter. Nicholas Spitzer's essay about the role of media in documenting folk culture is primarily devoted to photography, film and video, though he does deal briefly with radio and records. This is followed by photographer Mark Sindler's summary of his work to date documenting Indo-Chinese populations in south Louisiana. Stephen Tucker's essay is a broad historical overview of how Louisiana folk music traditions have evolved over time, specifically in relation to the recording industry and local radio programming. It is followed by the comments of Chris Strachwitz of Arhoolie Records about his extensive experiences in recording and reissuing Louisiana folk music on records.

Readers interested in listings of Louisiana folklife films and video tapes, and Louisiana folk music recordings should consult appendix 3 and 4 respectively.

In the opening essay that follows, frameworks for understanding the relationships between folk cultures and various media are examined. It is seen that the commercial broadcast media may have a tendency to oversimplify folk culture, as when traditional life becomes a quaint "short" for the six o'clock news. However, a well-done TV report can also give important recognition for a folk performer or community. Commercial documentation of folk culture as a news feature is not necessarily bad, and a lengthy documentary film is not automatically good. Rather, there are good and bad ways to do either sort of work. A long work with serious pretentions but poor research or technical qualities can do more harm than good. Ideally any media document of folk culture involves the joining of people with media skills with those who know a culture and how to present it. The result should be a product that meets broadcast or archival standards (depending on the use) and gives an accurate, undamaging picture of a performer or community.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO MEDIA DOCUMENTATION OF LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE

by *Nicholas R. Spitzer*

Media documentation is a key tool in the contemporary preservation and encouragement of folk cultural communities and practices worldwide, and its role in relation to Louisiana folklife is equally important. The joining of media formats with folk cultural documentation and presentation is, however, a major undertaking and not without its attendant difficulties. Folklorist Roger Welsch commented on the problems of uniting media techniques with folk culture documentation after his tenure on the Folk Arts Panel of the National Endowment for the Arts.

> The agony has been that just as there are many filmmakers who assume that there is nothing to being a folklorist, there are many folklorists who assume that making a film involves only pulling a trigger of a camera. The consequences range from 'talking heads' (films that should be audio tapes) to Zoomer's Syndrome—a vertigo that is induced by viewing films in which the cameraman has gone beserk with a zoom lens and constantly moves in and out, never at rest, never at peace. (1982:112)

On the one hand, this problem has been caused by folklorists and anthropologists who viewed media documents only as supplements to their written research data and as material for archives. Thus, such scholars often lacked the understanding of artistic or documentary excellence in film and video. Though anthropologists and folklorists such as Margaret Mead and Alan Lomax,[1] among others, provide important exceptions, as a whole the purely academic approach to documentary media centered on preserving and interpreting traditional arts and cultures as data. Thus, scholars sometimes focus on getting "all" of a performer or process, be it blues singing or basket making, with less regard for how well it would fare before an audience. Similarly those in anthropological photography have used the camera as a "research method," rather than a creative documentary tool (Collier, 1967). This approach has its values; however, a scholar who offers films, sound recordings and photographic series for public viewing must refine the image selection, provide interpretive comments, and generally improve production values. By presenting media-conscious folk documentary works to general audiences, the folklorist-anthropologist as producer therefore takes steps to encourage wider understanding of a folk culture or folk process.

On the other side of the media documentation "problem," media specialists have rarely understood the process or desirability of making folk cultural materials into refined media docuemnts with appeal to the subject community, folklorists-anthropologists and a larger viewing public. Thus, the other part of the folk documentary question lies with those media artists and technicians who are concerned primarily with developing a polished and entertaining product and not the way in which the work relates to the cultural values and realities of a community. As Carl Heider has commented in his useful book *Ethnographic Film*, "A 'come-in-shooting-and-get-out fast' approach and an intuitive-aesthetic appreciation of behavior and people . . . while they may well result in beautiful films . . . must be ethnographically shallow" (1976,6). The modern media, by their very nature, emphasize the quick production of images that tend to distort local meanings. Heider goes on to define "ethnographic film" by first defining "ethnography" as ". . . a way of making a long term observation study on the spot" (ibid.) Thus, an ethnographic film or any other sort of in-depth media document sensitive to folk culture would involve this sort of research base as well as personal rapport between media producer and subjects that arises from the type of research depth and longevity of contact associated with anthropology and folklore fieldworkers. In marked contrast to the ethnographic approach, one Louisiana filmmaker preparing to shoot his first film on Cajuns remarked, "Though I don't know a Cajun family now, I'll go down there on weekends and really get to know them and the culture." On the other hand, in a recent video documentary on New Orleans piano traditions, the producer found that it took two and a half years to really get to know and work with his subjects. The result was a much deeper portrait of the artists, with cultural understanding implicit in the finished product.

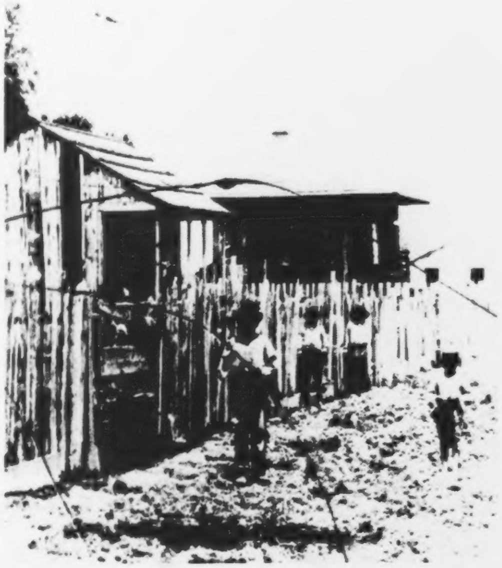
There is a certain inevitability—and, in some cases desirability—that news and public affairs crews will give traditional culture "airtime" in presenting folk speech (Anglo accents, Cajun French), music (blues, gospel, Cajun music) and events (quilting bees, fais-do-do's, river baptisms). Nonetheless, producers of such programming must respect the subjects' right to privacy. People in some communities simply do not want themselves on the broadcast media, nor certain practices documented. When they are willingly portrayed, they deserve some degree of accuracy and thoroughness. On this latter point, Heider advises that ethnographic media should relate ". . . specific observed behavior to cultural norms" (ibid). Thus, when TV news presents the quaint old man by the bayou, they should show his work or lifestyle in a larger community context. Sometimes when a community's traditions have largely changed–e.g. no one plays the fiddle or lives in a log house anymore—the basic image is too often one of saccharine condescension rather than an interest in a particular older person's reliance on the arts or knowledge of an earlier era. One classic example of the failure of media producers to relate behavior to cultural norms is a production called "The Good Times are Killing Me" (1976), in which a video crew portrays Cajun culture through the private realm of obscene jokes told in an intimate (until the microphone and camera showed up) circle of women in a beauty parlor. The program also revealed its insensitivity to and lack of understanding of the larger cultural setting by suggesting that the chaos and wild behavior of Cajun Mardi Gras stood for the society as a whole.

Another principle of ethnographic media is what Heider calls "wholism," the showing of "whole bodies," "whole acts," and "whole people." For example, frame the complete body of someone dancing a buck and wing or show the complete sequence of a house visit in a rural Mardi Gras. Of course, the "talking head" approach to an interview can also be used effectively, or a complete sequence of a Mardi Gras event might require a creative reconstruction of several different sequences. However, the "spirit" of wholeness should be a counter to the tendency in the media to distort time, romanticize meaning, and focus only on the "beautiful."

The ideals, then, of documenting folk culture are to present "whole" people, acts, bodies or events in relation to cultural norms in a truthful way that will appeal to the subjects documented as well as to larger audiences—all the while maintaining professional production values. Meeting such standards, especially in film and video, is only possible if a great deal of time and cooperation are involved. Thus, a creative ethnographic media production usually involves the collaboration of someone very knowledgeable about the folk group or pertinent activities and a media specialist willing to understand the researcher's insight into the subject and capable of translating that into a professional looking and sounding finished product. A film or photo series that seeks straightforwardly to preserve a particular cultural process, such as making a dugout pirogue, might require less in the way of media production values, since it would be primarily for archival use or in a training setting. However, a broad overview film on musical style or a regional culture—intended to educate the outsider and make the locals more conscious of their heritage in a positive way—would require greater sophistication in editing, telling a "story," and holding an audience. Thus, an assessment of audiences from the most traditional local groups to national educational television audiences must be made. Because of the great costs of broadcast media production and the potential impact of such work in enhancing or degrading a cultural group, planning and thought are imperative in order to strike an appropriate balance between the aesthetic demands of the medium and a sensitivity to the cultural values of the subjects.

One of the more interesting perspectives on traditional culture in the media involves the situation in which members of the folk community themselves master the skills of the media form—for example, the Cajun French radio shows of the southwest prairies, the gospel sermons broadcast from a black Baptist church in Baton Rouge, or a hillbilly music radio jamboree in north Louisiana's Caldwell Parish. One anthropologist, Sol Worth, actually provided Navajo Indians with movie cameras to make films on subjects that interested them, ranging from sheep to sacred land. This is an extreme example involving an outside person deliberately giving a technology to a people in order to learn more about how they think. In Louisiana, photographer Mark Sindler carried out a project of more immediate benefit, showing Vietnamese men whom he was photographing how to use a still camera and thus learn a potentially very useful skill. More commonly, people in folk communities use cameras every day to document their kin folk, their joys, and their sorrows. In French Louisiana, for example, photos of weddings and funerals are sometimes placed on a home altar. Women of households, generally charged with inculcating values of home life, are often the picture takers. Thus, a media technology and tradition can interact at a grassroots level to enhance local culture.

Lower Bayou Lafourche. Photograph: Philip Gould.



George Francoise Mugnier called this image "Nigger Lane, Algiers." ca. 1890. Photograph: Louisiana State Museum.

PHOTOGRAPHY

The medium of photography has always been important in researching, understanding and preserving folk culture. The technology is relatively simple and inexpensive, and it has been around for some time. Our society has a long tradition of people photographing people, which adds to the ease of camera acceptance in many field situations.

Some of the earliest significant photography of folk cultures and peoples in Louisiana and elsewhere was done by professional photographers who made family and other portraits for a fee or travelled the countryside to create images to sell to the general public. George F. Mugnier (ca. 1857-1938) was especially adept at the latter, and today we are indebted to him for remarkable photographs of urban New Orleans and rural Louisiana at the turn of the century, including such items of special import to folk culture as dock workers, lumber camps and black folk house types. The full ethnographic importance of Mugnier's work cannot be evaluated until more of his photographs, located in a New York collection, are further examined and disseminated (personal communication, Stephen Duplantier). However, one published collection that utilized glass-plate negatives from the Louisiana State Museum's holdings is a useful beginning (1975).

Another early commercial photographer, recently recognized with the discovery of a large collection of glass negative plates in a barn near Hammond, was A. L. Blush. His photographs of people and places in the vicinity of the northern Florida Parishes were the subject of an excellent exhibit put together in 1982 by Joy Jackson of SLU's Center for Regional Studies, *The Piney Woods People*. Those researching Anglo-American folk music will especially be interested in the print here of a stringband from the Hammond vicinity.

An exhibit similar to this, but focusing on the changing role of women in twentieth-century Louisiana, was assembled by Vaughn Baker at the USL Center for Louisiana Studies in 1980. The photographer, Eli Barnett, was more of a studio-based practitioner than Blush, but the types of *rites de passage* he recorded simply as a matter of business at his Crowley studio are a remarkable document of the people and the era.

Certainly one of the most widely known of the early commercial photographers in Louisiana was Eugene J. Bellocq (1873-1949). His portraits of New Orleans women of the night in Storyville have largely served to define our perceptions of the pre-Twenties era of legalized prostitution in the city (1970). For a complete overview of mid-nineteenth-century photography in New Orleans see *Photography in New Orleans: The Early Years 1864-1865* (Denton and Tucker, 1982).

The only early photographers who could be called "ethnographic" were John R. Swanton and David I. Bushnell. Their remarkable pictures of Louisiana Indians made under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology between 1907-1916 are held at the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archives. These pictures, some quite artfully done, others very staid images, still serve as a baseline for modern interest in the survival of Indian culture in the state (see essays by Gregory and deCaro, this volume). Later, in the thirties, Indian photographs of note were also made by naturalist Caroline Dorman. The prints made by Dorman are now in the archives at NSU's Watson Library.

Another early "crusader with a camera" (Peterson, 1980) was nationally known photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston, who, while photographing New Orleans architecture during the twenties, also made images of people at their everyday activities in the streets. During this period New Orleans businessman, C. L. Franck also made photographs of people at work and play, including his portraits of Italian fruit vendors and Mardi Gras revelers. Examples of the work of both of these photographers can be found in the Historic New Orleans Collection. The largest body of Johnston's original prints are in the Library of Congress.

A major collection of early twentieth century photographs that has yet to be fully assessed is housed in the Louisiana Department of Agriculture. Between 1910 and the mid-Twenties, the U.S. Department of Agriculture carried out agricultural studies in the Delta region of northeast Louisiana. Based at an experiment station in Tallulah, the USDA research focused on the cotton crop. Although a large number of the

Houma Indians in Terrebonne Parish in the late thirties. Photograph: Caroline Dorman Collection, NSU Archives.

project's photographs were made of experiments, crop-dusting equipment and numbered signs, there are also some striking images of black laborers, white crop dusters, folk architecture, farmsteads and country life. Of the nearly 7,000 glass negatives made by the hired photographers, 2,500 have been proof-printed. Not yet located is an associated film made during this period, which documented the entire project and included some footage on the folk culture of the black field hands. Given that northeast Louisiana's folklife has had relatively little attention to date, these negatives and the film (if found) may prove essential to understanding the evolution of folk culture in the Delta region.

Until recently, the most prolific period for documentary photography of folk culture in Louisiana was 1935-1943. During this time a nationwide Depression-era photographic project was undertaken by the U. S. Farm Security Administration (FSA) and, later, the Office of War Information. Often mistakenly called the WPA photographs, this remarkable photo collection project documented life throughout the country, particularly in rural farm and urban industrial settings. In the process, an unparalleled range of American folk culture was recorded by the cameras of many who later became well known as artists and photographers.[2] Among the persons who came to Louisiana as a result of the FSA photo project were Russell Lee, Ben Shahn, Marion Post Wolcott, Dorothea Lange, Jack Delano, John Vachon, Carl Mydans and Arthur Rothstein.

Russell Lee's images included the earliest known photographs of Creole zydeco musicians, as well as people at Cajun dancehalls. He photographed Italian strawberry pickers at work and play near Hammond, sugar cane workers in Iberia Parish, Slavonian fishermen in Plaquemines Parish, urban scenes from New Orleans, and rural people involved in an FSA resettlement project at Transylvania, East Carroll Parish. Lee's south Louisiana photographs have added greatly to the historical understanding of Cajun culture in books, on record LP covers, and in exhibits.

The other major body of photographic work in Louisiana by the FSA was carried out by Marion Post Wolcott, one of the lesser known but very able photographers in the project. In particular, Wolcott photographed Isleno trappers and fishermen from the Delacroix Island community in St. Bernard Parish. Her many sequences of muskrat trapping, skinning, drying, and selling provide a complete documentation of this folk industry and the Spanish culture in the Thirties. Recently, these photographs have aided researchers seeking to rediscover and disseminate the Isleno heritage. Wolcott's work in rural north Louisiana, especially in the Natchitoches and Melrose area, was also significant in portraying Creoles of color, as well as rural blacks and whites. Like Russell Lee, she worked on the Transylvania Project.

Better known nationally than Lee and Wolcott, but playing a lesser role in Louisiana, were Dorothea Lange and Ben Shahn. Lange seems primarily to have made portraits of people in the New Orleans area with some images from north Louisiana, while Shahn made photographs of trappers in Plaquemines Parish.

The complete FSA photograph collection is housed in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress (see Appendix I for a more thorough description of this photographic resource). Images can be ordered at a nominal cost by negative number for use in exhibits and publications. To the present, they are an invaluable tool in folklife research nationwide. For example, for fieldwork in communities where FSA photographers took pictures, individuals and places in the photographs can serve as a starting point for oral history and for discussion of the culture today. These prints, when delivered back to the communities in which they were made, also establish the fieldworker as the positive link between the folk community and their own cultural resources.

In addition to the original prints at the Library of Congress, copy prints can also be located in sizeable numbers in Louisiana at the State Museum, the State Library, the Center for Louisiana Studies (USL) and the Historic New Orleans Collection. Beyond the collected photographs themselves, the style in which they were made—usually a quiet intensity of subject with high contrast—produced a stark image of America in a period of economic decay and social bleakness. This photographic aesthetic and its underlying messages have influenced the style of photo-documenting folk culture to the present.

Also important in this period are photographs made by LSU cultural geographer Lauren Post. Many of his pictures of people, landscapes, musicians, dance halls, work, Mardi Gras, etc., are found in the book *Cajun Sketches from the Prairies of Southwest Louisiana* (1962) (see also F. A. de Caro's article in this volume for more on Post). A lesser-known set of photographers during the late Thirties and early Forties whose work paralleled that of the FSA in Louisiana provided images to accompany the Federal Writers Project books, the *New Orleans City Guide (1938), State Guide (1941)* and *Gumbo Ya-Ya* (1045). A complete study of these persons is yet to be made, but clearly their work, some credited and much anonymous, is very worthwhile to folk cultural documentation and presentation. In this regard, see especially the photos in *Gumbo Ya-Ya* for samples of the work of Victor Harlow, as well as prints from *City Guide* photographer, Erol Barkmeyer.

In 1943, the head of the Farm Security Administration photographic project, Roy Emerson Stryker, joined the staff of Standard Oil of New Jersey to lead a photodocumentary survey of the company's employees and work sites worldwide. Although this tended to restrict the subject matter in comparison to the FSA work he had overseen. the project produced some very striking images of Louisiana oilfield life. There are numerous shots of Baton Rouge. rural communities. and. most of all. people at work in the petrochemical industry and surrounding locales. The full range of images and their utility in documenting Louisiana cultures has yet to be assessed. but the collection. containing 15.000 photographs from Louisiana alone. is kept at the University of Louisville (Lemann. 1983).

Major individual photographers of Louisiana folk culture in the Forties and Fifties were Elemore Morgan and Fonville Winans.

Elemore Morgan (1903-1966) lived in Baton Rouge and travelled throughout the state from 1951 to 1961. making photographs for the early issues of *Forests and People*, published by the Louisiana Forestry Association. He recorded a good deal of folk tradition in the timber industry and the piney woods area of Louisiana. However. his major works. *The Lower Mississippi Valley* (1962) and *The Face of Louisiana* (1969). are more broadly based in their scope than the forestry series. In addition to the requisite plantations and bayou landscapes. they include shots of parish fairs. Chitimacha Indians. split rail fences. goat barbecues. graveyard scrapings and Cajun housewives. Perhaps his most interesting photographic collection from a folklife point of view is found in *All This is Louisiana* (1950). Accompanied by a highly romanticized and very dated text written by Frances Parkison Keyes. the photographs range from an Italian Saint Amico procession in Donaldsonville to black Baptist rituals surrounding the "Wise and Foolish Virgins" in St. Mary Parish. Morgan's photos are also found in cultural geographer Fred Kniffen's book *Louisiana. Its Land and People* (1968). Proof prints of Morgan's photos can be found at the State Library. Elemore Morgan. Jr.. an excellent photographer in his own right (see below). curates and prints from his father's negative files.

Winans. who is still quite active in his Baton Rouge studio. made invaluable prints of Slavonian oystermen at locations now destroyed by hurricanes. and at Filipino-Chinese offshore shrimp-drying platforms. such as Manila Village in Barataria Bay. These also no longer exist. He also made photographs at Angola. documenting work crews in action. Winans' work accompanied books by regional romantic writer Harnett Kane (1944) and most recently got a new viewing in journalist William Faulkner Rushton's book. *The Cajuns* (1979).

It would be wrong to pass over this period of quite literal and powerful documentary photography and not briefly mention Clarence John Laughlin of New Orleans. Laughlin whose work has recently been rediscovered in Louisiana through exhibits at the New Orleans Museum of Art and Tulane, is perhaps best known for his book *Ghosts Along the Mississippi* (1948). Where most documentary photography strives to maintain a certain objectivity—though it is apparent in the social statements of the FSA and other photographers that this need not be a sole consideration or a limitation—laughlin purposefully tries to take the subjective photograph. Using special techniques of superimposition. symbolic posed figures. and reflections, he has attempted to enshrine for posterity an eternal. yet surreal. nineteenth-century Louisiana in his portraits of plantation,s graveyards and New Orleans building facades. In one of his penetrating articles about Laughlin, S. Frederick Starr has noted:

> Laughlin's Louisiana is subjective, not objective. It can be felt, imagined, dreamt, but not touched. It can neither be destroyed by wreckers nor saved by rehabilitation. It is at once more permanent and more fragile than *madiers deboutz* construction or brick-between-posts *columbage*. Its sole reality is in the mind of the beholder. (1980)

Although Laughlin cannot be considered a documenter of Louisiana folklife (given his posed non-folk subjects and his orientation to the landscape of the inner mind), he projects such a strong sense of place that his work cannot be overlooked by those concerned with cultural tradition as a whole in the state.

St. Joseph altar, ca 1941. Photograph: Erol Barkemeyer. (Louisiana State Library, W.P.A.)

It is not possible, or necessarily desirable. to cover all those who have wittingly or unwittingly used a camera to document folk traditions. Our focus here has been upon those who have assembled notable bodies of work in styles compatible with a contemporary interest in cultural awareness about folklife. Perhaps the first photographers to concern themselves strictly with Louisiana folk culture and its preservation through photographs were Smithsonian fieldworkers in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s, Ralph Rinzler and his friend Robert Yellin made field trips to Louisiana for the Newport Folk Festival and later the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife. Yellin took photographs especially of Cajun and Creole musicians such as Dewey Balfa, the Landreneau Brothers, and Bois-Sec Ardoin. He also photographed people butchering hogs, picking cotton, grinding corn and playing the blues.

In 1975, the Smithsonian Folklife Program made a nationwide effort to locate performers for the Bicentennial Festival of American Folklife in the following year. Fieldworkers for this project in Louisiana included the author and Barry Ancelet. Both were asked to work in French Louisiana, and the former made photographs of Cajun and Creole musicians and craftsmen, fishermen and farmers at work and other activities reflective of the cultural traditions of the region. He was also active in 1976 photographing black Creole musicians and zydeco dance halls under a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and, in 1979, in the lower Delta region on behalf of the Jean Lafitte National Park.

Barry Ancelet, who now heads the folklore and folklife program of USL's Center for Louisiana Studies, began working extensively with photographer and painter Elemore Morgan, Jr., at the time of the 1975 Smithsonian field project. Morgan, who is a faculty member of USL, started to document Cajun and Creole musicians as they played far from Louisiana at folk festivals as well as back home on farms, driving school buses, working at sawmills and eating dinner. His style of photography, though not strictly ethnographic, is oriented toward a portraiture that projects interest in the musicians as individual personalities. The culmination of this collaboration of a Cajun folklorist and a photographer is the book, *The Makers of Cajun Music*, published in 1984. Accompanying the photos of the musicians are lengthy quotations about their lives, their music, and the culture as a whole. Those interested in the photographs of Elemore Morgan, Jr., and Sr., may view many of their prints in large format on the walls of the Dupre Library at USL assembled in 1976 for an exhibit called "*Louisiane Bien-Aimee.*"

Other folklorists in the state, such as Susan Roach, working in north Louisiana, and Rosan Jordan of LSU, have used the camera extensively as a documentary tool in carrying art fieldwork with crafts makers. In recent years a cadre of young professional photographers has turned to Louisiana folk culture to produce an artistically and ethnographically impressive body of work. In so doing they have often become as intimately acquainted with the cultural phenomena they are documenting—and in some cases more so—as anthropologists and folklorists. No person better exemplifies the close work with and commitment to a traditional community than Michael P. Smith of New Orleans. Smith, who began intensively photographing the Afro-American/Afro-Caribbean culture of the city in 1968, has used black-and-white prints and color slides to provide a definitive cross-section of activities from Spiritual Church possession trances and faith healing to social club marches, Mardi Gras Indian practice sessions and parades, jazz funerals, and the street life of the black community in general. Smith is a passionate advocate of the cultural richness of black New Orleans in the face of governmental, societal and cultural institutions that are ignorant of or insensitive to traditional community values or creativity. His comments on the nature of his photography, which he views as a community service rather than a personal art, are reflective of his clear sense of purpose.

> My contact with the Spiritual Churches and Black Indians of New Orleans has brought me great inspiration. I found a poetic intelligence and profound cultural depth in the various religious and ethnic celebrations of these people—a complex retention of non-Western human awareness, a powerful and fascinating sensibility as insightful and emotionally fertile as any religious or artistic concept I've encountered. My awakening to the rich cultural expressions and fellowships of the Afro-American community has given my work new direction.
>
> The 1960's and 1970's were pivotal in the development of our nation. Great social, political, and media upheavals have occurred. Young people today rarely communicate in traditional ways, with language and consciousness familiar to the older generations. With these changes taking place, my photography has become more than individual self expression. My work is intended to inspire a broader humanism, to show the richness and complexity of this period in the cultural history of New Orleans, and to further the rediscovery and protection of our invaluable cultural resources—the traditional fellowships which are so fundamental to the vitality of our human environment.
>
> I've learned during these years that the streets of New Orleans are its cultural wetlands. Nearly all of New Orleans music and folklife are connected with and nourished by these unique religious traditions and public cultural celebrations. But great changes are taking place. Without help these things will die out. (n.d.,44-45)

Although Michael Smith does not have specific training as an anthropologist, he has stayed in the "field" for the last fifteen years to work with this complex community. The results are greater cultural depth and breadth of documentary understanding for a particular group through photographs than any other Louisiana photographer has achieved at this time.

Perhaps most like Smith in his ability to capture the pristine moment of a ritual and the complex survival of folk tradition in modern society is Mark Sindler. Sindler, who has a background in anthropology and journalism, has spent several years working and living with Indochinese in New

"A Louisiana Negress." 1937. Photograph: Dorothea Lange. (Farm Security Administration.)

Slavonian Oyster fisherman, Olga, La. 1938. Photograph: Russell Lee. (Farm Security Administration.)

Willie Mae Young and family working on a cornshuck chairseat, Jackson, La. 1980. Photograph: Rosan Jordan.

Street parade with the Scene Boosters and the Tuxedo Brass Band, New Orleans. Photograph: Michael P. Smith.

Filipino family, Manila Village, Barataria, 1939. Photograph: Fonville Winans

Cajun rice farmers near Mamou in a *coup de main*. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

Orleans. His black-and-white photographs reflect the friendship and rapport he established initially with Vietnamese in south Louisiana—especially in the New Orleans East apartment complexes where many reside—and later Laotians, Cambodians and other Indochinese immigrants. To those who assert that to work with Vietnamese culture is to spend time on something that is not truly a part of Louisiana folklife, one must ask what we would give now for equally comprehensive documentation of nineteenth-century immigrant groups such as Italians, Irish, and Germans, not to mention those of the colonial-slavery period. A more in-depth look at Sindler's work is provided in his own words in the short essay that follows this one.

Other practicing photographers who concentrate on folklife are Philip Gould, Don Sepulvado, Debbie Fleming Caffery and Greg Bowman. Gould, with a background in photojournalism, has photographed Cajun traditional culture for a number of years. His book and exhibit with bilingual captions and comments, *Les Cadiens d' Asteur-Today's Cajuns* (1980), is already a regional classic which has been a source of pride to many in French-speaking Louisiana. Don Sepulvado, from a north Louisiana Anglo-Hispanic family and based at Northwestern State University in Natchitoches, has worked quietly for a number of years with anthropologists H. F. Gregory and the Natchitoches Folk Festival. He has widely photographed folk culture in north Louisiana, including black bluesmen, Tunica and Choctaw Indians, Anglo log-cabin dwellers, and Spanish *curenderas*. The latter are from the old Spanish communities in Sabine Parish.

Debbie Fleming Caffrey lives in Franklin, St. Mary Parish, where she has photographed sugar cane laborers for over a decade. Because many of her shots follow individuals over this time, she has been able to compile an intimate record of their work and lives. Some examples of her work are in the Louisiana State Museum collection (personal communication, Mary Louise Tucker).

Greg Bowman, perhaps least known of all to the public (by choice), has made insightful and warm photographs in color and black and white of the Houma Indians, with whom, as a Mennonite Church volunteer and researcher, he worked for federal tribal recognition for several years.

The above commentary on photography and photographers, concerned historically and in the present day with Louisiana folklife, is not meant to be exhaustive. Indeed, there are excellent photographers in Louisiana such as Stephanie Dinkins and C. C. Lockwood who devote only a portion of their work to folk cultural documentation, and many fine images have been made by persons who are simply in the right place at the right time. The ubiquity of the 35-mm single-lens-reflex camera (SLR) has made it possible for people to document and interpret all forms of the life around them. Sometimes this is annoying and an invasion of privacy. When thirty shutters click in mechanical syncopation as the head of a pig is severed at the *Grande boucherie des Cajuns* in St. Martinville, it is amusing to hear an older Cajun wryly remark *"Ca c'est un media event!"* However, the more disturbing image is of a cluster of photographers atop a crumbling brick burial vault in New Orleans trying to get an angle on a jazz funeral. The living standing disrespectfully on the dead to photograph a traditional way of death is far from an ideal situation. Unfortunately it reflects the intrusive quality associated with much photography and the media in general. Folklorist Barry Ancelet recalls that at a recent Mamou Mardi Gras the masked men on horseback felt so harassed at one point that they kicked at and cajoled the would-be ethnographer-photographers (personal communication). Thus, while it is relatively easy in Louisiana to snap away at the many public ritual and festival occasions, the value of such trigger-happy image making is sometimes dubious from the points of view of ethnic as well as folk-cultural documentation and preservation.

The ethics of folklife photography and media documentation in general are not simple. In many cases members of rural folk communities and enclaved urban people are quite honored to have the attention of someone from outside the community. As such, they are willing to be documented. Yet they may not fully understand until it is too late the implications of their picture used in a book, slide show, an exhibit, or on page one of a newspaper. Thus, the folklife photographer needs to be a cultural advocate who carefully selects his images to represent the group well and to portray individuals who will not be affected adversely by the attendant publicity that may result. Clearly the photographer who has spent time with a folk community and made friends is also one more likely to know what is significant culturally and what sort of public image-making might be offensive or inaccurate. This sort of approach contrasts with the "quick and dirty" photojournalism that sometimes is found in even the most prestigious magazines and newspapers in the state or the nation.

Photography is one of the greatest tools that folklife documentors have. Unlike the broadcast media, it produces an artifact that can be handed to the subject. The photograph has the potential to become part of an individual's positive reflection on his culture and traditions. There are many cases where finely taken and printed photographs are placed in positions of honor in the most humble shotgun house of a cane worker or in a fisherman's levee-side mobile home, because the photographer who visited cared enough to provide a print. One special approach fieldworkers and photographers in general can also use is to carry a Polaroid-type camera. This way the photographer can provide an instant image in addition to carrying away a negative which must be refined later into a print. Obviously, for archival

Josie Procell and family, Sabine Parish. Photograph: Don Sepulvado.

and public presentation purposes, the negatives and prints from the more sophisticated process are needed, but to keep the relationship between photographer and "subjects-folk communities-friends" in focus, the instant print can be invaluable.

Finally, for anthropologists, folklorists and other fieldworkers who are not primarily photographers, the camera can still be a great asset in fieldwork for assembling kinship charts or remembering time sequences on crafts processes by way of contact sheets. Cameras are relatively unobtrusive compared to other recording devices and, as pointed out initially, are items of technology that folk communities have come to use themselves. Thus, the fieldworker can aid the folk informant by taking and providing family pictures and other images of significance. In so doing one gains access to a community, learns what and who are significant and how significance is presented visually.

Fortunately, we have a goodly number of photographers in our state who have consciously and unconsciously adhered to some of the principles outlined here. As such we have a strong tradition of photo documentation of folk culture as exemplified in collections assembled at the State Library, the State Museum, The Historic New Orleans Collection, the Jefferson Parish Library and the Morgan City Library, as well as in the archives of UNO, USL, SLU, NSU, Tulane and LSU.

RECORDS AND THE RADIO

It is not necessary here to give extensive coverage to records and radio as documentary media because Stephen Tucker's article later in this section covers these areas. However, because he concentrates largely on the historic evolution of the commercial process of such documentation of folk music, a few comments are in order.

Like photographs, records allow traditional behavior to be recorded and rendered in an artifact form; that is, one can take music and other sounds and put them on a record to create a lasting presence for what would otherwise be ephemeral. This process and the resultant product have profound implications for oral cultures. The most elaborate creations of oral folk cultures are often those that have dimensions of sight and sound, but lack of permanent physical presence found in "high" culture—like a cathedral, a painting, a book, or a symphony hall. The sound recording documenters, in giving material shape to performing traditions of a folk group, play a special role in validating folk culture. The historians who traditionally rely exclusively on documents, the archaeologists who focus only on artifacts, or the students of literature who limit themselves to written texts often consciously or unconsciously subscribe to the notion that the creative processes of cultures in general are less valid as expression than the material products of specific major civilizations. Admittedly these attitudes are not held by all researchers; and there are very important cultural, aesthetic, and philosphical messages encoded into man's material culture products. However, much traditional culture that is performed is still reckoned by the standards of elite and popular material creations as less "good"[3] What an LP of traditional music can do (with a cover photograph, liner notes, text and tune transcriptions) is to provide a documentary artifact on behalf of an oral culture.

Initially national record companies sold folk music back to the folk communities in the Twenties and Thirties because it would sell. In seeking broader markets the companies often altered and eventually ignored the folk traditions to serve their commercial interests. In the last twenty years, however, concerned record companies and cultural documenters have in a small way reversed the mass culture trends by reissuing the finest of the early commercial folk recordings. Even more significant to the cultural "survivors" of today, such companies have also recorded contemporary traditional music in Louisiana from Cajun to Creole and blues to hillbilly. Records, which sold steadily to even poor rural communities at the depth of the Depression, still have great appeal in traditional communities and households as tangible representatives and reproductions of traditional verbal and musical arts.

Like photography, field recording to make records requires a good knowledge of the culture and individual performers to select suitable times, places, and performances to record as well as to work effectively with the musicians. The most sophisticated recording studios and equipment that technology has to offer cannot make up for a nervous performance by an uncomfortable performer recorded by a person unfamiliar with hillbilly fiddle styles, Cajun vocal techniques and miking an accordion. At the same time, the culturally aware fieldworker also has the responsibility of mastering, within reason, the recording technology available. In so doing, he can give the traditional performance its best realization possible from both musical and audio quality standpoints.

Small, lightweight, high-quality cassette machines such as the recent Sony TCD-5-M are becoming increasingly available and less expensive. Thus the revolution in photographic equipment (putting documentary technology, unsophisticated as it may sometimes be in the hands of tradition bearers) should be, paralleled in recorded sound. The thought of a son listening to his father playing accordion on a Walkman is an impressive one. Already many traditional musicians record their own performances on cassette. For example, among Isleno *decima* singers in St. Bernard Parish, the author often has had to listen to an hour's worth of rough cassette tapes made by a singer, before he can request his own recording of songs for purposes of an LP. Like the placing of photographs on a home altar, the selection of tunes or narratives for a personal cassette tape by a traditional musician or storyteller can reveal folk aesthetic choices for a better understanding of tradition. More important, the recording technology gives traditional performers one more way of holding on to and passing on their art to the next generation.

Radio is often allied with records in any discussion of the media that traditionally have had great appeal within folk communities in Louisiana and the United States as a whole. As a broadcast medium, radio, like television, has a certain democracy to it in that it can reach everywhere. Anyone who can buy a radio or TV can have the programming—for better or worse. For better, from a folk cultural point of view, would be programming of traditional music. This began with live radio broadcasts, most often of hillbilly music, in the 1920's. In Louisiana the most famous of these was the old "Louisiana Hayride," which began in 1948 (see the essay by Tucker). Even today many local stations program folk culture on a commercial basic: for example, Cajun music shows are widespread in southwest Louisiana. Anyone interested in these programs should consult the media-oriented cultural tabloid of French Louisiana, *Louisiane*, or turn their AM car radios on when driving in the region.

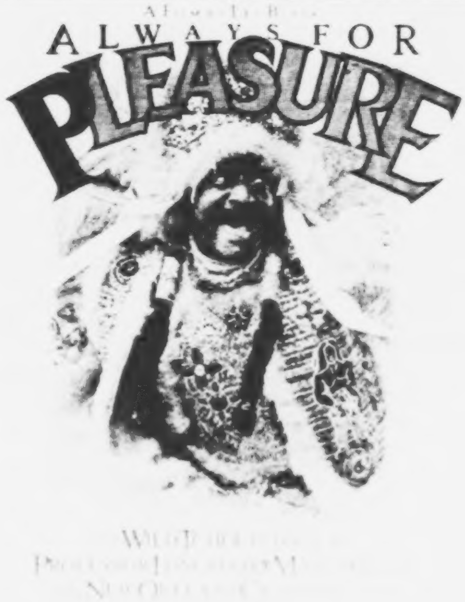
Relative access to radio air time on the part of folk communicates can be quite telling. To continue the example of French Louisiana, the zydeco music of black Creoles was often thought of (by radio managers) as "too black sounding" to be played on the Cajun music shows. At the same time this music was also considered "too French" to be played on black stations featuring soul and gospel and other black popular musics. Yet for the past two years, with a resurgence of Creole identity and their increasing access to the media, there has been a zydeco heard regularly on KEUN-AM in Eunice, Louisiana. KJBC 770 AM in Lafayette is operated by black Creoles, and in addition to playing a good deal of black pop music, it plays zydeco and local rhythm and blues, and provides some news broadcasts in Creole.

In the last decade, noncommercial public radio stations have sprung up around the United States as part of the National Public Radio network (NPR). Sadly, in many places, these stations have been very neglectful of regional music and local traditional culture in their programming. They have often chosen instead to focus exclusively on classical musica nd national news. It is ironic, too, that these public radio stations often play traditional music from the southeastern mountains or the Mississippi Delta (often as played by revivalists rather than authentic performers) sent to them by the national network programmers, rather than accepting the local traditional styles. At some of the Louisiana NPR outlets the first lengthy and in-depth airing of Louisiana French Cajun and Creole music was not done until a program recorded locally by the network, "*Bon Cher Camarade* : Cajun and Creole Music of Southwest Louisiana," was circulated back to Louisiana from National Public Radio headquarters in Washington. Lately, however, there have been encouraging signs of the traditional music and culture of Louisiana returning to the airwaves. For example, KRVS-FM, the NPR station in Lafayette, is increasingly using knowledgeable local announcers to broadcast Cajun music. The excellent radio station WWOZ-FM in New Orleans, devoted to blues, oldtime jazz, and other traditional musics of Louisiana and the Gulf South, began broadcasting in 1980. Until then, no New Orleans station, NPR or commercial, was giving significant broadcast time to the musics that had made the city and the region world-famous.

Use of radio for documenting and disseminating folk culture need not be limited to music programs. For example, Glenn Pitre of Cut Off in Lafourche Parish has used the high quality Nagra tape recorder to make field recordings of French storytellers for distribution to radio stations in south Louisiana. Unfortunately, north Louisiana radio stations, commercial and noncommercial , have not yet been as active in bringing traditional music and stories of the region to listeners. The exception would be some local barn dance jamborees aired live.

Radio technology, like that of the still camera, is relatively simple and inexpensive. Its cultural preservation effect in rebroadcasting traditional music and other aspects of culture is powerful and subtle, not to mention entertaining. It also allows local production and consumption of local culture to a large degree. As such, radio is a medium folk artists and folk culture advocates alike should utilize more often.

Revon Reed's radio show broadcasting live Cajun music from Fred's Lounge in Mamou in 1966. Photograph: Robert Yellin.



Promotional card for *Always for Pleasure*. **Photograph: Flower Films.**

FILM AND VIDEO

If photography, recordings and radio are inexpensive and often controllable by a single producer who is also the camera operator, sound recordist, or announcer, film and video works usually require large budgets, complex technology, and sizeable crews to produce broadcast or archival quality folk cultural documentation. Further, the dissemination of films and video programs on commercial or public television places a special burden on the documenter to determine what such a potentially large and uninitiated audience should see or could understand of folk traditions. There are parallels here to the commercial record industry in the alteration of traditional culture by commercial film and video productions. Louisiana folk culture has been represented in skewed ways in film productions, from the romantic, idyllic *Evangeline* (1929) with Dolores Del Rio (who, by the way, was the model for the statue on the town square in St. Martinville) to the violent, stereo typical *Southern Comfort* (1981), which was a sort of Cajun version of *Deliverance*. Because of the great costs involved as well as the overcentralization of the film and television industrieei i e York and Los Angeles, commercial productions of this type never have had the regional base or cultural understanding of the local record companies and radio stations. Where records and radio have been more likely to play to the local folk audience, film and TV have taken Louisiana culture, often in distorted form, to a vast national audience. Thus, one thinks of the shallow Hollywood version of Louisiana life and culture as portrayed in a James Bond film using New Orleans as a backdrop (*Live and Let Die*, 1973) or a television movie about Cajuns who speak English with fake European French accents and cruise along a Gulf Coast that looks oddly like the southern California shoreline (*Dangerous Voyage*, 1980). This is not to say that all commercial movies about Louisiana are bad. *King Creole* (1958) featuring Elvis Presley, aside from being shot in a dramatic style somewhat like *cinema noir*, showed a good deal of the French Quarter as it was in the Fifties—not overrun with tourists and replete with yelling street vendors plying their trade.

Perhaps the best examples of a commercial film approach to Louisiana folk culture have been the locally produced works of Glen Pitre. Pitre is a Cajun from CutOff with an Ivy League education. Beyond his previously mentioned radio work, he is primarily a filmmaker. His two major films to date, *Yellow Fever* (1979) and *$8.50 a Barrel!* (1980) mingle oral history with reenactments of the events. The first deals with one family's situation in a turn-of-the-century epidemic on Bayou Lafourche. The second is a mixture of interviews and recreation of the 1948 shrimp strikes in the same region. Though Pitre's films have great popularity on lower Bayou Lafourche—since they were made locally, in French, and are acted by natives—they also have dimensions that transcend the filmmaker's interests in providing people with creative filmmaking about their own culture. This is especially true about the technically superior *$8.50*. The film presents two old men on the bayou, each telling about the shrimp strikes—one from the strikers' point of view and one from the strikebreakers' point of view. They disagree as to what happened and why, while their comments are intercut with the acting out of the historical situation by their descendants. Thus, the film is not just a documentary; it also calls upon people to recreate their own history—a history with conflicting interpretations. So this film, ostensibly about Cajun life on Lafourche in the late Thirties, also serves as an example of history as myth. It shows the questionable nature of absolute truth, as two elders tell different versions of it with confidence. In some respects Glen Pitre's films remind one more of the ethnographic fiction work *Louisiana Story* by Robert Flaherty than of cultural documentation. Pitre is candid about his goals: "I don't try to make films to study or document the Cajun lifestyle or culture. I make them to entertain people and make living as a filmmaker . . . making movies about Cajuns for Cajuns has the effect of preserving the culture because it provides a new medium of expression that was not available before" (personal communication). In addition to planning a "Cajun Western" in the near future, Pitre is currently completing a documentary of French Louisiana work traditions called *Travailler*.

The summary of films on Louisiana folk culture other than Pitre's should begin with further mention of the work of the late Robert

Flaherty, the filmmaker best known for his epic works *Nanook of the North*(1922) and *Man of Aran* (1934). As Karl Heider has noted, "He tried to function in a world of commercial film, but his films were too ethnographic for that, and his ethnography was too naive and self-invented to give him access to academia"(1976, 21). Robert Flaherty concluded his career with the sparkling photography, scored lyrical renditions of Cajun folk music, and "happy-ever-after" ending of *Louisiana Story* (1948). The film is still a classic and should be seen by all Louisianaians. Like Longfellow's *Evangeline*, it had (and has) great appeal to Cajun audiences, who flocked to the Abbeville premier of the film in Louisiana (see photo at the front of this section). While *Louisiana Story*'s style has stood up well, its content is less durable. The impact of the oil industry on Cajun society for good and ill is obviously more complex than the plot of *Louisiana Story* The plot can be summarized as follows: Cajuns live happily in the swamp, hunting and fishing; oil company barge comes and creates havoc by drilling and causing explosions; after disrupting paradise, oil company's exploration appears doomed to failure; Cajun boy resorts to traditional magic to reverse the fortunes of the high technology; oil is successfully pumped and the well is capped; the company leaves and the Cajun family lives happily ever after on the oil lease dividends.

After *Louisiana Story* and the allied work, *Pirogue Maker*, a documentary of the boat craft tradition, there was not much of note made in film or video for some time on Louisiana traditional culture. The film/video listings provided later in this volume give summaries of all the items that could be located for this guide. Among these, and many others not listed, are a number of travelogue-type films that basically show New Orleanians and Cajuns partying at Mardi Gras and at south Louisiana festivals. Most of these lack depth of cultural understanding or do not look at traditional folk culture. Tulane-educated filmmaker Les Blank began to reverse this trend in the late Sixties with his romantic but affectionate portraits of Cajun and Creole life in southwest Louisiana such as *Spend It All* (1970), *Drywood* (1973), and *Hot Pepper* (1973). Blank's films have been criticized by Cajun folklorist Barry Ancelet as "shallow" and part of a filmmaking style,

> ...done by young Americans who seemed to be seeking a sort of "paradise lost" and thought to have found it in French-Louisiana. (1978,886)

However, these films remain useful and entertaining documents of great French folk musicians, some of them now departed. Further, his film about New Orleans parade, food, and ritual traditions, *Always for Pleasure* (1978), is more successful than the earlier Cajun films as a folk cultural document. This is perhaps because Blank had lived in New Orleans and participated in the culture to a much greater degree than was possible for him in rural Cajun country. One problem uninitiated viewers have with Blank's works is that the films often focus on traditional performances, but usually lack explanatory titles, intepretive narration, or study guides.

Reacting to some degree to Les Blank's film style was Stephen Duplantier, a New Orleans filmmaker whose initial major works were about food. His films *Gumbo: The Mysteries of Cajun and Creole Cooking* (1978) and *Vivre Pour Manger* (1980), a French version of *Gumbo*, have been quite popular with locals. Probably because these films share some of Blank's romanticism rather than their usually stronger cultural understanding, they have met with a mixed reaction from outside critics. Duplantier, who has also made short films about Cajun musicians D. L. Menard and Don Montoucet, has recently completed *Zydeco*, a film in video about rural Creole music and culture, in association with the author.

Some of the best films on French Louisiana have been made by French-speaking filmmakers from Canada and France, though some non-Americans are also guilty of oversimplifying Cajun life into utopian *joie de vivre* stereotypes. That is definitely not the case with the four half-hour films made for Radio Canada by filmmaker Andre Gladu of Montreal, as part of a larger series of twenty-seven programs on the music of French North America. Entitled *Le Son des Cajuns* (1976), Gladu's Louisiana films deal sequentially with music and bar life, work activities and love of the land, Creole music and the reawakening of interest in French traditions, all in the context of the culture of south Louisiana. Another filmmaker, Jean Pierre Bruneau of France, made *Dedans Le Sud De La Louisiana* (1973), an entertaining performance catalogue of well-and-lesser-known Cajun and Creole musicians.

"'It is the song of Acadie!' she cried." A scene from *Evangeline*. Photograph: United Artists.

Perhaps the most ambitious folk cultural documentary works in the last few years have been done in video. Video offers some special advantages over film for folklife documentation. For one thing, it is less expensive to shoot; thus one can reshoot scenes more readily. This is a great advantage where natural behavior is involved and there is a high ratio of footage needed to get a good take. Video also has simpler sound synchronization in the field setting. Most importantly it offers a "live" look that is excellent, especially for archival documentation of a crafts process. This "look" also promotes a kind of "you are there" feeling for the viewer. Some, however, associate this sort of impression with soap operas and sitcoms and assert that the "elegance" of film is more appropriate to cultural documentation. The biggest disadvantage of video is that high-quality editing equipment is hard to come by and very expensive in Louisiana. Film editing can be done at less expense and more equipment is generally available in Louisiana; film processing, though, is high. Video tape has the additional disadvantage of archival deterioration at a faster rate than film, though video discs can solve this problem if properly maintained. Many of the technical difficulties of each medium are being resolved and advantages can shift in either direction depending upon one's orientation and needs. The overall fact remains that film and video are expensive and require crews of several technicians. Most problematic for ethnographic documentation, such media can be quite intrusive in their need for special lighting and cumbersome equipment as well as in their impact on normal behavior due to the mass media connotations of their products.

From recent Louisiana videographers, there has been good work by Stephenson Palfi, Eddie Kurtz and Andrew Kolker on *This Cat Can Play Anything* (1978) a documentary about jazz banjo player Emmanual Sayles, and Palfi's own more ambitious work on Professor Longhair, Tuts Washington, and Allen Toussaint, *Piano Players Rarely Ever Play Together* (1982). Particularly in the latter work, Palfi has effectively interwoven documentation with entertainment and education. *Piano Players* is therefore an interesting combination of commercial sophistication and ethnographic reality (Spitzer, 1982).

Louis Alvarez and Andrew Kolker are also New Orleans-based videographers, and, like Palfi, they are not from New Orleans. As indicated above, some of Kolker's work was with Palfi. All three were part of the new New Orleans Video Access Center (NOVAC), which was something of a breeding ground for cultural documentors working in video during the Seventies. Alvarez and Kolker's major initial collaboration under the aegis of The Center for New American Media in New Orleans was the acclaimed *Ends of the Earth* (1982), a one-hour-plus (depending on the version) work about the political and cultural forces that have shaped Plaquemines Parish. To those interested in folk culture, the best footage here is undoubtedly that which deals with the Slavonian oystermen seen playing *bocce* which makes the viewer wish for a full work on this group. Alvarez and Kolker have also collaborated on a humorous short (seven-minute) work called alternately *A New Orleans Lexicon* and *Yea You Rite*, which focuses on the pronunciation and syntax of certain key words and phrases found in the unique dialect of the Crescent City. This video work, which will be expanded to a full thirty minutes, utilizes the philological commentary of folklorist George Reinecke to good effect. From a folklife documentation point of view, Alvarez and Kolker's most significant work is a thirty-minute video program about Isleno traditional culture in St. Bernard Parish entitled *Mosquitos and High Water (La Mosca Y el Agua Alta)*, released in 1983.

Commercial television as a medium for folk culture has already been mentioned in large part at the outset. The high points are those programs that provide entertainment and edification for folk audiences interested in their own traditional culture. Perhaps the most widely known of such programs is the Cajun French show *Passe Partout* on KLFY-TV in Lafayette. Founded in 1955 with about 90 percent use of the French language and a devotion to music, news and weather in French, the program is currently about 40 percent in French (Bouillion, 1980). There have been a number of other shows on Lafayette television over the years such as "Aldus Roger and the Lafayette Playboys," "Marine" (with Happy Fats LeBlance), "Jambalaya", and the newest entry, "Laissez les Bon Temps Rouler" on KADN-TV. All are in a sense live documentaries of Cajun music in south Louisiana and an entertaining stimulus to continuation of the music tradition. Other commercial television programming in the state has at times included gospel music, old-time country, and traditional jazz. The addition of cable programming has made wider channel selection possible and, particularly in New Orleans, promises to open more opportunities for folk programming.

Public television should be leading the way in stimulating documentation of and interest in folklife in the state. While Louisiana Public Broadcasting has at one time or another broadcast most of the better film and video works mentioned here, it has not as yet provided constant comprehensive coverage of the state's traditional culture resources in the manner of Mississippi Educational TV and other state networks. Some important programs have been produced by and aired on public television in Louisiana, especially WYES, Channel 12, in New Orleans. Independent of the state system, WYES has done important folklife documentation shows such as *The Baratarians* and *Praise in His Name*. On the WLPB network the most ambitious attempt at folk cultural programs was *Louisiana Alive* which aired in 1980 and 1981 and featured shows on Baton Rouge Blues, Creole storytellers and Cajun musicians, among others.[4] Through its Lafayette affiliate. WLPB also does some French talk-show programming. However, it is important to note that programming in French, especially with an orientation toward European French culture, does not necessarily document, present, or encourage Louisiana French folklife or language. To the degree that such programs on public television or commercial outlets feature Cajun folk artists, cooks or community leaders, they are useful in cultural preservation.

The need for public television in Louisiana to have production crews working with individuals that are sensitive and knowledgeable about the cultures of the state cannot be overemphasized. Our cultures are too important and, in some cases, too fragile in their maintenance of tradition or self-image to have programming about them done poorly. In this regard, programming that is trite, patronizing, stereotypical, boring or poorly researched is really worse than that which has a high content and interpretive quality but is not technically perfect.

This brings us back to the classic trade-off of the qualities of production versus content. Ideally a balance should be struck between the art of media form and the depth of folklife content. The uninformed folklife documentary is better left unmade for the damage it can do. It is hoped that the information here and elsewhere in this guide will further the cause of aesthetically pleasing, ethnographically correct and socially sensitive media documentation of folk culture in Louisiana.

Louis Alvarez and Andrew Kolker document alligator skinning, Plaquemines Parish.

FOOTNOTES

1. At this writing Alan Lomax is currently working on a series of six films about traditional culture in the United States. As part of this effort he has filmed New Orleans Afro-American community parades and rituals as well as Cajun and Creole music for one or more films in the series.

2. The W.P.A. or Work Projects Administration did include a Federal Arts Project which put local writers to work documenting history, art, folklife, etc. in the states. One product of this effort was the American Guide Series. This series contains many fine photographs (see for example the *Louisiana: A Guide to the State*, 1941). F. A. deCaro's article on the history of folklife research in the state mentions the W.P.A. writers.

3. This is not to say that one cannot or should not document folk artifacts by way of camera, that artifact study and preservation are not important when dealing with folk culture.

4. Since this writing, WLPB has produced significant programs on the Louisiana Hayride and Baton Rouge Blues.

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THE VIETNAMESE DOCUMENTARY PROJECT

by Mark Sindler

In June 1978, I went to live in Versailles, a community of over three thousand Vietnamese in New Orleans East. With undergraduate training in anthropology and several years' experience in fieldwork combining still photography with particpant observation, I was impelled to Versailles by the opportunity to document an immigrant group in the throes of acculturation. Above all, I wanted to record traditional ways which might be lost as the Vietnamese adjusted to life in the United States.

My first priority when I arrived was to explain my purpose and methods. Because the community was predominantly Catholic, it seemed best to work through the attending Vietnamese priest, who could introduce me formally to his congregation. He declined, however, suggesting that I meet people on my own first. Consequently, I had to explain my work individually, a cumbersome task often made especially difficult by language barriers.

I regularly attended community events and strolled about the settlement, hoping that people would grow accustomed to me and to my camera, which I carried constantly. Although the Vietnamese treated me courteously, they rebuffed my attempts at photography, averting their faces or walking off quickly as I raised the camera to my eye. This was due partly to shyness, partly to fear and suspicion, as rumors spread that I was a government spy or yet another newspaper reporter looking for dirt that would fuel prejudice against the Vietnamese. Even those with whom I spoke directly had difficulty understanding what I was doing and why I was doing it. To recent immigrants grappling with a new language, strange customs, and the pursuit of basic necessities, the idea of documenting their lifestyle for future generations seemed esoteric and incomprehensible.

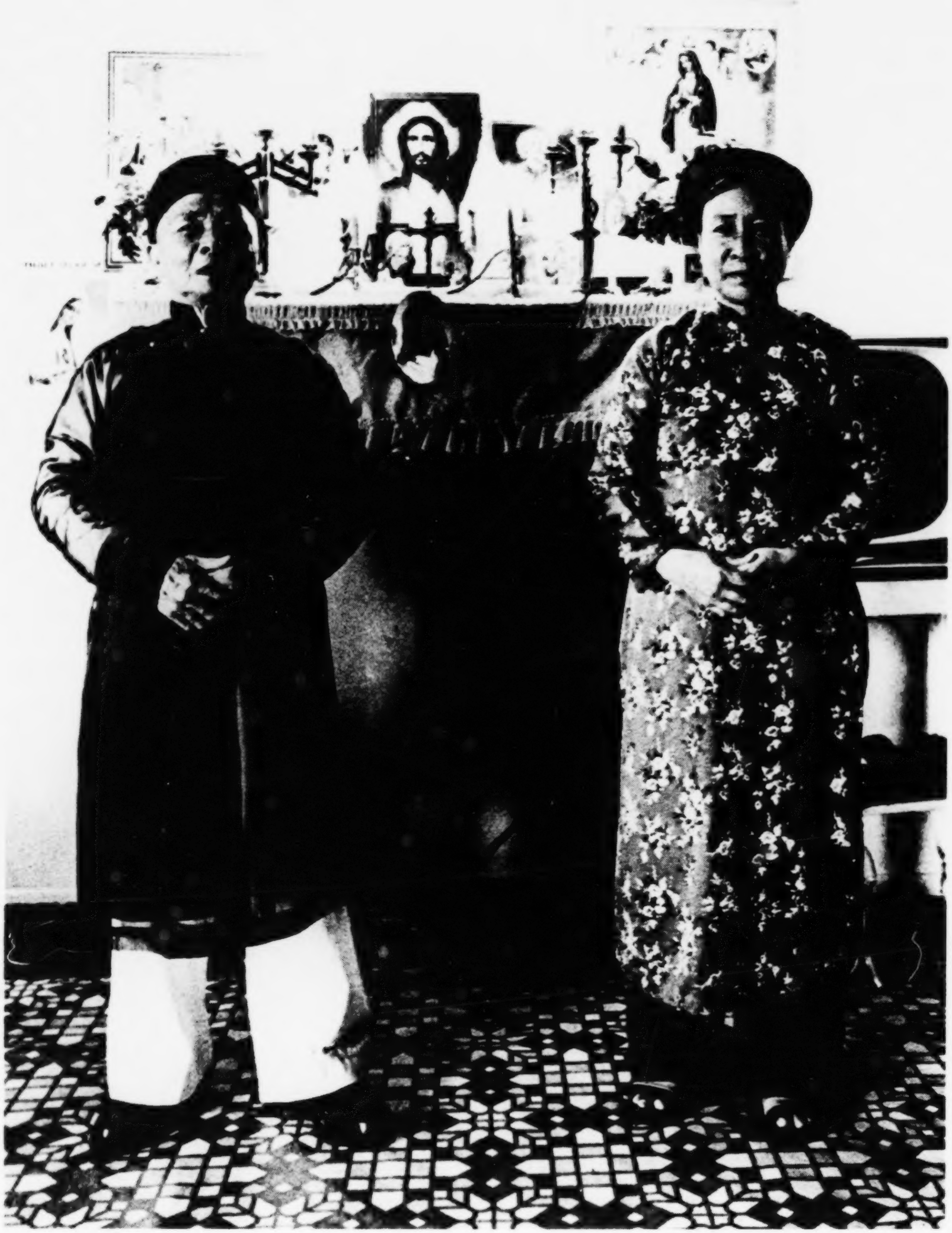
Gradually, things improved. A few individuals took the initiative in befriending me and then introduced me to their family and peers. My neighbors, an elderly couple, began to invite me regularly for meals at their home, and as word spread that I had been "adopted," that I ate Vietnamese food with a passion as well as with chopsticks, other people became friendly. Sensing this growing acceptance, the priest agreed to present me to the community officially.

As the Vietnamese got to know me better and grew more used to my presence, they allowed me greater access to their lives photographically. Still, I had to be cautious, always calculating the possible repercussions of my actions. Sometimes that meant the painful decision not to make an otherwise superb photograph because the subject was taboo, or not to move about in search of the best vantage point because doing so would have been intrusive. I concentrated on harmless areas first and worked slowly toward sensitive ones like fishing. As understanding of the project deepened, the Vietnamese collaborated with me as interpreters, informants, and consultants. But I was still hampered by being able to work only part-time in the community, and that is why I turned to grant funding.

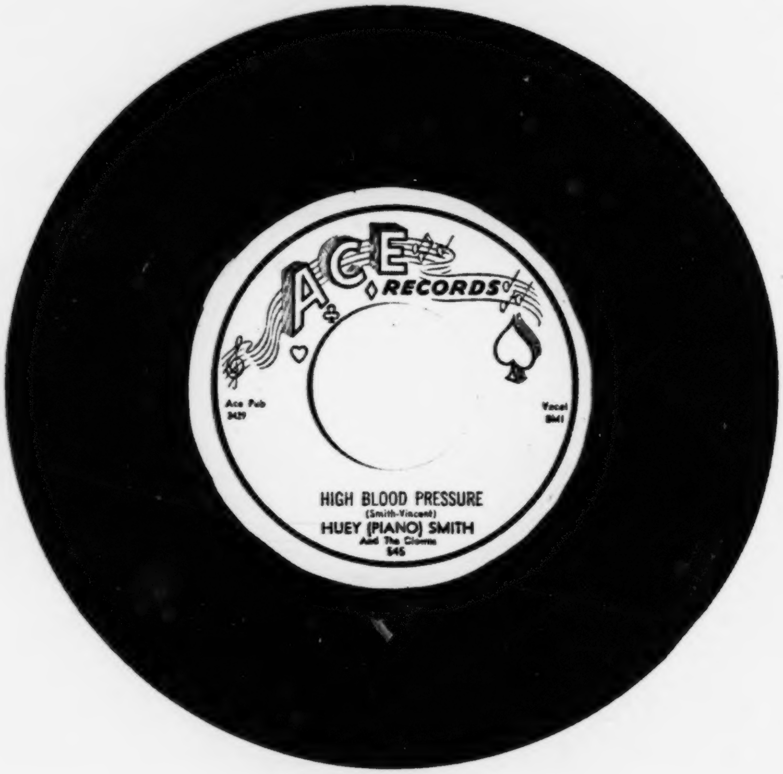
In mid-1980, I received one-year funding from the Folk Arts Program of the Louisiana Division of the Arts-State Arts Council. This enabled me not only to work more intensively in Versailles, but also to begin exploring other settlements linked to it by ties of kinship and friendship. Because my activities in Versailles were already known to residents of these other communities, I had little difficulty establishing rapport. December 1980 marked a watershed in the project, as the Vietnamese staged a successful intercommunity effort to raise matching funds for this state grant.

Developing the friendship and cultural understanding that are the foundation of penetrating photodocumentation has been a slow process with the Vietnamese. But the qualitative difference in the results has not been the only reward for the time and energy I have invested. The relationships I have formed are long-lasting, and there has been a special pleasure in watching my friends' lives evolve, in sharing in the celebration of joyful moments. That is why I will continue to photograph in these Vietnamese communities, returning over the years to document change.

The final product of the initial documentation period is an exhibition and bilingual catalogue for local and regional consumption. My hope is that such an exhibition will help Louisianians to understand Vietnamese customs, values and strategies of adjustment to life here. Thereafter, the exhibition materials would be safeguarded in the archives of local museums, where future generations can learn about how the refugees lived during the first decade of resettlement.



Vietnamese couple with home altar in Versailles, Orleans Parish. Photograph: Mark Sindler.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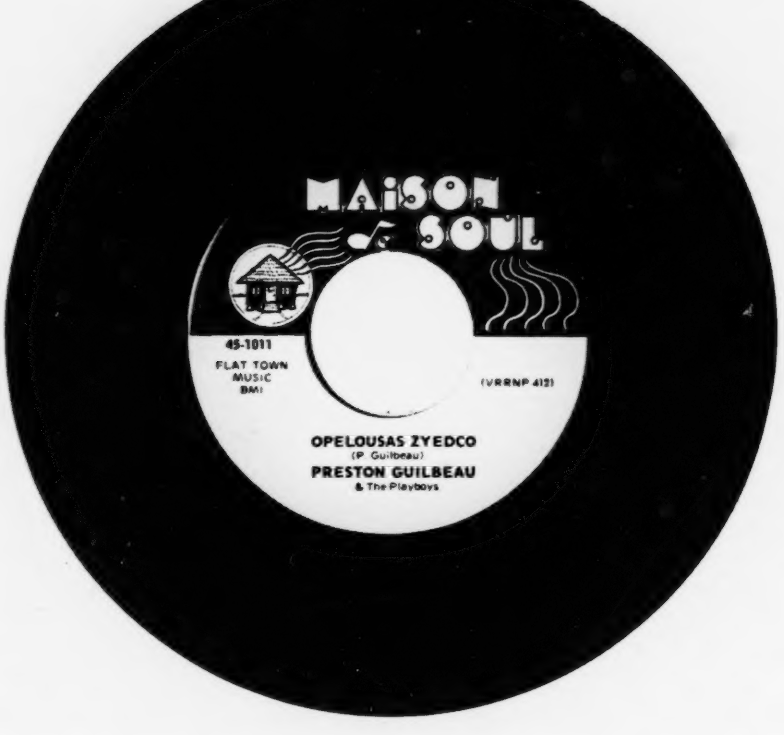
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LOUISIANA FOLK AND REGIONAL POPULAR MUSIC TRADITIONS ON RECORDS AND THE RADIO:

An Historical Overview with Suggestions for Future Research

by Stephen R. Tucker

Perhaps more than any other folk art form in the state, Louisiana's music traditions are world renowned. . There are two reasons for this. The first is that Louisiana has such a great diversity of musical forms arising from its varied peoples and cultures that the musical blending here is like nowhere else in the United States. For example, traditional New Orleans jazz has its roots in the mingling of Afro-American style, Caribbean rhythms and European instrumentation and melodic ideas. Creole zydeco music joins Caribbean rhythms with Acadian tunes and Afro-American blues. The rockabilly music of the Louisiana Delta region represents the overlay of rhythm and blues and hillbilly music. Less well known may be traditions of Anglo ballad singers, Isleno decima singers, and Italian festival music, among others. Even a music found elsewhere in the United States, such as gospel, takes on a special significance and style in New Orleans' spiritual churches or when sung in a black French testifying tradition called jurer music. Finally, there is the increasingly popular Cajun music, which has its roots in France and Acadia, as well as Louisiana. Thus, it mingles French Medieval sounds with blues, hillbilly music, jazz and rock music among other forms.

The second reason for the widespread dissemination of an interest in Louisiana folk and popular music, and the focus of this article, is the fact that the recording industry and broadcast media have made this music available to a wider audience in increasingly sophisticated ways since the initial recording of country blues and Cajun 78s in the twenties and the first broadcast of Louisiana "hillbilly" music on the radio during the same decade. Indeed, the producers of these early folk media have sometimes been called "unwitting folklorists." That is, they had the effect of documenting the folk tradition they recorded and disseminated. However, because their goal was to sell the folk music back to the people, they also made aesthetic decisions that would influence who played what for whom. In so doing, their impact on changing music styles and people's perceptions of their culture then and later on, was enormous. So it happened that French bands often tried to sound like Anglo stringbands, Creole zydeco musicians tried to sound Cajun and rural blacks tried to sound urban. One need only to hear "The Ballad of Jed Clampett" played today as a French two-step by a rural Creole musician to become eternally aware of the impact of the media on folk traditions even today.

Although the record and broadcast media often overwhelm local music traditions, such as singing ballads and playing fiddle in favor of disco music or Nashville country, there is also a positive side. For one thing, much Louisiana popular music, like that of Jerry Lee Lewis, Fats Domino or the Neville Brothers, retains its regional identity. For another, the media—be they records, newspapers, television, films or radio—have a special way of validating and encouraging a cultural activity that can be enlisted to actively promote the root folk traditions. Thus, a strong French music record market exists in Louisiana today which has influenced and been influenced by the revival and interest in French culture in general. A parallel revival now seems to be underway with Louisiana blues and hillbilly music. New Orleans jazz has always fared pretty well, although it took a push from small, largely European, record companies in the fifties and sixties to preserve and promote what traditional performers and styles still existed. An increasing array of folklorists and interested media people are creating radio shows records, TV programs and the like that honor the folk music traditions, and, by association, the cultures of Louisiana. Such additional "airtime" for traditional culture and music encourages local communities to celebrate and experience their own music traditions, while sharing them with the world.

Much still needs to be done to document the traditions we do have and encourage their continuance. This task is not easy. As a folk-popular music historian, Stephen R. Tucker cannot rely heavily on the written record in his research, as do conventional historians. Thus, the bibliography of this article is filled with special kinds of documents such as oral histories, taped interviews, field recordings, music song sheets, promotional handbills and record jacket liner notes. Stephen Tucker is a graduate student at Tulane University working on his dissertation on the history of country music in Louisiana. He has already completed a definitive study on the Louisiana Hayride and has edited two LPs of country music for the Smithsonian. His article summarizes the historical materials and people involved in the recorded Louisiana folk music traditions and suggests future work needed to encourage the understanding, appreciation and preservation of these traditions.

Jazz musicians at Preservation Hall, New Orleans. Photograph: Al Godoy. (Louisiana Office of Tourism.)

The genesis and subsequent evolution of the commercial exploitation of the folk music traditions of the American South is by now a familiar story.[1] Detailed examinations of various ethnic groups, sub-genres and geographic entities continue to emanate from the pens of journalists, folklorists, literary scholars, anthropologists, musicologists, discographers, sociologists, historians and others.[2] That large gaps continue to exist in documentary recordings as well as in descriptive and analytic literature is undeniable. Many areas of research concerning the musical traditions of Louisiana can illuminate, extend and deepen larger ongoing scholarly endeavors. Louisiana has, along with Texas, a musical heritage as rich and dynamic as any of the United States.

The modern commercialization process began with radio. Whether or not the earliest radio station in the state, WWL of New Orleans, was the first to employ folk-style musicians has not been determined. What seems most likely is that the second station to broadcast, KWKH of Shreveport, became the first to be publicly identified as a dependable medium for folk music, specifically the style known as "hillbilly."[3] KWKH began its broadcasting life as WGAQ in July, 1922. The earliest evidence of the scheduled programming of folk music comes from a newspaper reference listing the forthcoming performance of the Old Fiddlers Club of North Louisiana on Friday evening, March 14, 1925 (*Shreveport Times* , March 8, 1925). What then of the intervening two-and-one-half years? A diligent search of station records and newspaper files might well uncover earlier information.

Valuable work of a general nature has been done on KWKH and its flamboyant owner, W. K. Henderson, perhaps the key nonperforming figure in the early commercial period (Pusateri, 1976, 1980). Still,there is a great deal to be learned about programming practices and decisions, audience and community attitudes, advertising ploys, and, especially, the identities, backgrounds, styles and repertoires of the musicians themselves. As an example of this approach, one might view Tony Russell's study of one of the most popular early groups, the Taylor-Griggs Louisiana Melody Makers, as a model of initial research. Through interviews with the sole surviving member of the group and the subsequent publication of a brief article, Russell has done much to identify and document some important participants in the commercialization process (Russell, 1977).

The brief radio and recording career of the Taylor-Griggs ensemble was quite typical of most hillbilly performers during the early commercial period. Originally consisting of six members of the Robert C. Grigg family from the remote north Louisiana community of Bear Creek and a fiddling attorney from the small town of Arcadia, Foster R. Taylor, the group gained professional experience through countless appearances in their home area, at house parties, school plays, civic banquets, and the like. Thus they were seasoned entertainers by the time they were hired by W. K. Henderson to appear on KWKH during the summer of 1928. Though they clearly were heirs of the southern Anglo-Celtic folk music tradition, like almost any contemporary stringband of the 1920's,they also enjoyed playing songs from Tin Pan Alley. For their inaugural appearance on KWKH, they performed Democratic presidential candidate Al Smith's campaign song, "The Sidewalks of New York."

An even more popular hillbilly act employed by Henderson during the early years of KWKH went by the name of the Lone Star Cowboys. Led by a pair of brothers from East Texas named Bob and Joe Shelton, the group generated a loyal following throughout the Mid-South region. Subsequent incarnations as the Sunshine Boys and as simply the Shelton Brothers brought them and KWKH a measure of popular acclaim unmatched in Louisiana and neighboring states.[4] Along with the Sheltons, numerous other well-known hillbilly artists peppered KWKH programming. Around 1928, a brother trio from the Macon, Georgia, area, the Newman Brothers, began a six-year tenure as featured entertainers (Tribe, 1978: 9). Still another popular brother act was the Rice Brothers, brought to Shreveport from Atlanta by Bob and Joe Shelton in 1934 (Shelton interview).

Probably the most representative artist of the early commercial period was Jimmie Davis. Steeped in rural Protestant culture, but enamored of the blues style, Davis began his musical career as a street singer in Alexandria in 1927. By 1929, like the Taylor-Griggs group and the Shelton Brothers, he had gravitated to W. K. Henderson's station, the first crucial step in a career that would last for over half a century and culminate in election to the Louisiana governorship in 1944 and 1960, and enshrinement in the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1973 (Davis interview, 1979; Bellcase, 1975).

The late New Orleans blues and boogie pianist Henry Roeland Byrd, aka, Professor Longhair. Photograph: D. Eric Bookhardt.

KWKH was temporarily matched as a forum for hillbilly music by WWL of New Orleans. Chiefly as a result of the work of business historian C. Joseph Pusateri, we can learn a great deal about the commercial use of folk music on the state's other radio giant. It is difficult to point to any date or artist as marking the beginnings of country music on WWL, but Pusateri has noted that programming from the period 1924-1928 was characterized by "decorum" rather than "popular appeal" (Pusateri, 1980: 57). By the early 1930's however, country acts dominated the station's broadcasts. In 1934, for example, WWL featured comedian-musician Lew Childre; Childre's partner, Wiley Walker; Jerry Behrens, a yodeling guitarist in the mold of country music idol Jimmie Rodgers; the Four Crazy Hickory Nuts; J.E. Mauny and his Caroline Ramblers; the Country Breakdowns; the Fiddling Bees; Smiling Henry Berman's Village Barn; and the Pickard Family, one of the most traveled singing groups in country music history (Pusateri, 1980: 126-127). From 1933 to 1934, the Shelton Brothers (now minus Leon Chappelear) and virtuoso fiddler Curley Fox also appeared regularly on the station (Shelton interview).

WWL's tenure as a haven for hillbilly talent was actually quite brief. WWL was owned by Loyola University, an institution whose authorities had long winced at the station's growing reputation as the "ache and pain station of the nation." Attainment of network status in 1935 undoubtedly encouraged the gradual removal of almost every hillbilly musician from the air. By 1938, seventy-five percent of evening and fifty percent of daytime programming was network-based (Pusateri, 1980:125, 174-176, 189-195).

Despite Pusateri's groundbreaking study, the full story of the New Orleans station's contribution as a purveyor of country music is untold. A figure such as Jerry Behrens, about whom almost nothing is known, deserves to be rescued from historical anonymity, if only as an example of the tendency of solo stars to emerge in the wake of Jimmie Rodgers after 1927. Behrens may well be alive today; should an enterprising researcher discover his whereabouts and interview him, many of the existing gaps in the documentary record would begin to close. And what of even more obscure entertainers like the Fiddling Bees? What were their names? Where did they originate? How did they gain airtime on WWL and what became of them? What tunes did they perform? The industrious scholar will search for patterns and configurations which give order and shape to the large and complex problem of the commercialization of folk culture. Finally, it is a great irony indeed that radio, clearly the most important medium in the early commercial period, should be the most difficult to document. The fact that many pioneer artists and executives are still around, even if unlocated, is encouraging to those interested in learning more about a crucial era in the development of American regional and national culture.

Recordings have long been the most common resource for studying folk music and its commercial outgrowths. And it is accurate to add that blues recordings have attracted more attention than those in parallel musical traditions such as country and Cajun. Recordings allow the assignment of chronological and historical landmarks with a high degree of certainty. The discographical labors of English record collectors has been particularly valuable in this regard.[5]

When was the first commercial recording made in Louisiana and what was it? In his book, *Country: The Biggest Music in America* (1977), journalist Nick Tosches offered a tantalizing clue to early recording activity in the state. Tosches cited a catalogue put out by the Louisiana Phonograph Company of New Orleans in 1892.[6] After identifying "two groups of recordings by a man named Louis Vasnier," Tosches speculated that the company may have produced "some real country, blues, and jazz records" almost three decades before the flowering of commercial recording in the 1920's (Tosches, 1977: 245-246). Certainly any further evidence of the activities of the Louisiana Phonograph Company would be most welcome.

Within two years of the inaugural radio broadcast in Louisiana, the first commercial recording unit traveled to New Orleans. It was there in March, 1924, that the Okeh Record Company recorded several blues and gospel performers. The first person to cut a record in the state seems to have been a female vocalist named Lela Bolden. Accompanied by Armond J. Piron on violin and Steve Lewis on piano, Bolden cut two sides, "Southern Woman Blues" and "Seawall Special Blues." Thereafter, record companies in search of folk music of all kinds—gospel, blues, hillbilly, Cajun—made New Orleans a semi-regular stopping place for field units. From 1924 to 1936, New Orleans was the site of thirteen field sessions, ranking it third in terms of gospel and blues activity, behind Atlanta and Dallas. In addition many hillbilly and Cajun sessions took place in the Crescent City, producing at least two landmark recordings.[7]

While this is not the place for a definitive examination of records made in Louisiana, it is possible to survey the topic, with emphasis on especially significant artists and sessions.

The Okeh Company returned to New Orleans in January, 1925, where two blues duets by Billy and Mary Mack were recorded. In April, 1926, a Columbia unit cut several gospel performers, including one of the most popular artists of the prewar years, J.M. Gates. Victor held its first New Orleans session in the early spring of 1927, followed by another Columbia field unit a few weeks later. A year later Columbia returned to the city. Then, near the end of 1928, Brunswick entered the field with the recording of four acts, including Bo Chatman. Chatman was an excellent blues performer from Mississippi who often fronted a string band named the Mississippi Sheiks. Chatman, who also recorded under the name of Bo Carter, was the most prolific musician to record in New Orleans, cutting more tunes over a longer time span than any other individual or group.

Recording activity resumed in February, 1929, when Brunswick's Vocalion subsidiary cut numbers by a blues singer and a gospel ensemble. Near the end of 1929, Vocalion returned to record four additional sides of gospel music. About a month later, both Columbia and its recently acquired subsidiary, Okeh, sent field units to the Crescent City, with Okeh again recording J. M. Gates.

Columbia and Okeh sessions of 1929 were the last commercial field recordings held in New Orleans for over five years. The only other field trip elsewhere in Louisiana from late 1929 to early 1935 took place in February, 1930, in Shreveport. There the Mississippi Sheiks made eight records for the Okeh label, including their classic version of "Sitting On Top of the World," a song that not only became a blues standard, but entered the hillbilly tradition as well.

The obvious explanation for the long hiatus in recording activity in the state was the onset of the Great Depression. Scarcely had record companies begun to compete with radio as a medium of musical expression when the national economic collapse threatened the destruction of the industry. Particular damage was done to ethnic music of all kinds, since it was assumed that such styes had an automatically narrow appeal. A few statistics will highlight the devastating impact of the Depression on the record business. In 1929, record companies made 1,250 hillbilly recordings and released 800; by 1931, the respective totals were down to 975 and 575; by 1934, 825 and 375. Corresponding figures for race recordings (jazz, blues, and gospel) were: 1929, 800 and 500; 1931, 1575 and 400; 1934, 375 and 225 (Cohen, 1980: 128-129). Clearly the cutback in actual numbers recorded reflected an almost complete termination of field recordings. As the Depression deepened, fewer and fewer excursions into the hinterlands were financially feasible. Those few artists whose commercial potential allowed them the luxury of continued recording activity were forced to go to the companies. Only Atlanta, Dallas and San Antonio were visited more than once by recording companies from 1931 to 1934.

The ramifications of such radically revised policies may be briefly summarized. First, the record industry necessarily became more centralized, and competition was minimized. Second, since only established acts continued to record, new talents, perhaps even some very great performers, were denied the opportunity to be permanently documented. Third, and by extension, certain styles and substyles, each dependent upon a specialized audience, vanished from company logbooks. That is why fewer hillbilly artists were recorded than popular ones, fewer race than hillbilly and fewer ethnic than race. Most telling of all regarding the folk heritage of Louisiana was the absolute dearth of Cajun recordings made during this time.

Cajun musicians had never been recorded in substantial numbers even before hard times further limited their access to recording studios. The first Cajun recording was *Allons a Lafayette* by accordionist Joe Falcon, cut for Columbia in New Orleans on April 27, 1928 (Russell, letter; Strachwitz, 1970; Post, 1970). Leo Soileau, an innovative fiddler, followed Falcon by three months, cutting four sides for Victor in Atlanta. Soileau was the leading Cajun musician of his generation, certainly the most talented to record during the first wave of commercialization. He was also the most prolific and widely traveled. During the summer and fall of 1929, he recorded for Paramount in Richmond, Indiana, for Victor in Memphis, and for Vocalion in New Orleans (Malone, field notes, 1974; Russell, 1977-1978).

New Orleans was also the likely site of the first recording of black French musicians. According to Tony Russell, the honor should go to Douglas Bellar and Kirby Riley, who first recorded for Vocalion in the Crescent City in early October, 1929 (Russell, 1978). The next black French artist to record was accordionist Amedee Ardoin, who cut his earliest sides for Brunswick in 1930, accompanied by a Cajun fiddler named Dennis McGee. Ardoin was by all accounts the greatest of the pioneer black French-speaking artists. He later made records for Bluebird, Decca and Melotone before his death in a Pineville mental asylum in the 1940's (Daigle; Wickham; Strachwitz, liner notes, 1970).

Ardoin's partner, Dennis McGee of Eunice, has had the longest career of any Cajun musician; he still performs on occasion, well into his eighth decade. McGee's fiddle style has always reflected the nineteenth-century folk roots of Cajun music. Other Cajun pioneer recording artists, about whom much is yet to be learned, included Cleoma Breaux Falcon, Joseph's first wife; the Breaux Brothers (Cleoma's brothers, Amedee, Clifford and Ophy); the Segura Brothers; and Roy Gonzales, who was a Cajun Jimmie Rodgers imitator (Russell, 1977-1978; Wickham; Strachwitz, liner notes, 1970 and 1973).

Cajun artists had just begun to record when the Depression intervened. Following the Brunswick sessions of November, 1930, no Cajun records were made for almost four years (Russell, 1977-1978). And even as the Depression waned, more traditional Cajun performers continued to be shunned in favor of those such as the Dixie Ramblers and Darbone's Hackberry Ramblers, who had adopted a more mainstream hillbilly string band sound or, later, the new jazz-influenced approach called western swing.

Through the lean years of the early 1930's, only one Louisiana native, Jimmie Davis, regularly recorded. Not even Davis, however, made records in his home state. Davis participated in sessions for Victor in Memphis in May, 1930; in Charlotte in May, 1931; in Dallas in February, 1932; in Camden, New Jersey (Victor headquarters) in November, 1932; for Victor's Bluebird subsidiary in Chicago in August, 1933 and September, 1934. For the Chicago sessions, Davis was backed by Bob and Joe Shelton and Leon Chappelear (Russell, Davis discography).

Davis's recording schedule was quite exceptional due in part to the fact that he popularized many folk styles from gospel and blues to hillbilly, and also because of his non-folk crooning style as a solo entertainer. By contrast, even popular hillbilly radio performers like the Taylor-Griggs group found themselves bereft of recording opportunities. They had managed to gain an audition with head Victor scout and producer Ralph Peer during the same summer in which they first appeared on KWKH. The Peer audition led to their first recording session for Victor in Memphis in September, 1928. A year later they again journeyed to Memphis to cut several tunes, but with a new, more polished lineup. Before the group's recording career could fully begin, however, economic exigencies forced them to disband late in 1929 (Russell, 1977).

After 1934 there was a gradual resumption in recording activity for all but traditional-sounding Cajun musicians. In January 1935, Bluebird made the first field trip to New Orleans since 1929. Bo Carter and the Mississippi Sheiks headed the coterie of blues performers who participated in the sessions, but it was the hillbilly and country artists that made the most significant recordings in the city prior to World War II. Three acts who made the trip to New Orleans to record under the direction of Victor's Eli Oberstein came from Nashville, where they were regularly featured on the Grand Ole Opry—fiddler Arthur Smith, brothers Alton and Rabon Delmore, and banjoist-comedian Uncle Dave Macon. The most memorable single cut was Arthur Smith's modern version of "Listen to the Mockingbird," the nineteenth-century chestnut which was given new life and destined to influence an entire generation of country fiddlers. Accompanying Smith were the Delmore Brothers, who also cut several numbers on their own, including "Brown's Ferry Blues, Part 2," "Alabama Lullaby," "I Know I'll Be Happy in Heaven," and "The Fugitive's Lament." The final artist to record was probably the best known of all, the Grand Ole Opry's first solo star, Uncle Dave Macon. Macon cut six tunes, each of which suggested key elements in the southern folk music tradition: "Over the Mountain," "When the Harvest Days Are Over," "One More River to Cross," "Just One Way to the Pearly Gates," "I'll Tickle Nancy," and "I'll Keep My Skillet Good and Greasy" (Delmore, 1977: 95, 99-103, 180; Wolfe, 1970).

The year 1936 had its significant moments of recording history as well. Both Bluebird and Decca made field trips to New Orleans. The Decca field sessions were historic for the simple reason that they were the only ones held by the company before World War II. The Bluebird sessions produced a recording of major proportions in "Wondering" by the Riverside Ramblers.

The Riverside Ramblers were a group of Cajun musicians who did not record in an identifiable Cajun style. Their approach was heavily influenced by the dominant sound of their region and generation, an eclectic amalgam of hillbilly string band music, blues, jazz and pop called western swing. The Riverside Ramblers were, with a slightly expanded lineup, best known by the name Hackberry Ramblers. Along with Leo Soileau and his Three Aces, the Rayne-Bo Ramblers, and Beethoven Miller's Merrymakers (all of whom recorded for Bluebird), the Hackberry-Riverside Ramblers were in the vanguard of south Louisiana musicians who favored the newer sounds over traditional songs with accordion accompaniment and French lyrics. Thus it was that the Riverside Ramblers (Luderin Darbone, Lennis Sonier and Joe Werner) whose first records were made in New Orleans in September, 1935 (under the name of the Hackberry Ramblers), came to record the decidedly pop-sounding "Wondering" in 1936 (Darbone interview; Strachwitz liner notes, 1973; Spitzer, 1976:5).

Western swing highlighted the Decca sessions of 1936. From March 3-5, one of the most talented aggregations ever to record in the style, Milton Brown and his Musical Brownies, cut almost fifty sides, including such classics as "Hesitation Blues," "Stay on the Right Side Sister," and "Baby Keep Stealin'" (Russell, liner notes, 1980a). What made the sessions even more significant was the fact that they were the last for the pioneer western swing band leader Milton Brown. Just over a month after Brown and his group left New Orleans, he was killed in an automobile accident in Texas.

Some of the most creative western swing artists concentrated their careers in Texas and Louisiana, particularly the southern border area bounded by Houston on the west and Lafayette on the east. Ted Daffan was born in Louisiana, reared in Texas, and went on to become an influential steel guitarist, bandleader and songwriter (best remembered for his honky-tonk standard, "Born to Lose"). Fiddlers Cliff Bruner and Link Davis were highly regarded performers from the Beaumont-Port Arthur area. Hank Penny, a fine guitarist, singer and comedian, and progressive steel guitarist Noel Boggs both had a brief tenure at WWL in New Orleans. Jimmie Davis also readily adopted the pervasive western swing style, recording with the Musical Brownies in 1937 and employing several talented sidemen, including pianist Moon Mullican, Cajun fiddler Doc Guidry, steel guitarist Charles Mitchell, guitarist Jimmie Thomasson, and vocalist-songwriter Buddy Jones (Bruner interview; Spitzer, 1976:5-8; Russell, liner notes, 1980b). The entire question of the relationship between New Orleans-based Dixieland jazz and the subsequent development of western swing has never been adequately explained.[8]

Blues and gospel artists had also resumed recording activity in New Orleans by the mid-1930's, though not with the same frequency as before. In August, 1935, Victor recorded three bluesmen in the Crescent City: Monkey Joe, Harry Carter and an outstanding pianist, Little Brother Montgomery. Montgomery was an exemplar of indigenous piano blues style that had been forged in the sawmills and levee camps along the Mississippi River (Zur Heide, 1970; Shaw, 1978 27-35). In February, 1936, the company returned to record Bo Carter. The Decca sessions of 1936 yielded, in addition to cuts by Milton Brown's Musical Brownies, recordings by blues singer Walter Vinson (yet another of the Mississippi Sheiks) and several Cajun acts. Then in October, 1936, Victor made the last commercial field recordings in Louisiana, cutting numbers by a large variety of artists: the Chatmon Brothers, Mississippi Matilda, Sonny Boy Nelson, Robert Hill, Bo Carter, Tommy Griffin, Annie Turner, Little Brother Montgomery, Creole George Geusnon, and Walter Jacobs.

Field recordings of Louisiana folk musicians did not cease with the withdrawal of the record companies. Substantial documentation had been undertaken by the Library of Congress beginning in July, 1933. Field workers John, Ruby and Alan Lomax traveled extensively throughout Louisiana in search of blues, gospel and Cajun musicians. Again, with the aid of Godrich and Dixon, a chronological outline of the Lomaxes' work may be sketched.

John and Alan Lomax made the first of their many field trips to Louisiana in 1933. One of their first stops was the state penitentiary in Angola on July 16. There they discovered a wealth of material and a number of interesting singers whom they hastened to document. Among the inmates to record were Rudolf Thomson (five sides), Ernest Rogers (one side), Jimmy Otis (one side), Roy McDaniels (three sides), and most importantly, a twelve-string guitarist named Huddie Ledbetter, better known as Leadbelly. Leadbelly was an incomparable discovery; in time he became the best-known black folk musician in the country. His repertoire, documented in a series of recordings for the Library of Congress and a succession of folk-oriented labels such as Biograph and Folkways, projected an amalgam of Louisiana's folk music heritage to a national audience. The Lomaxes were quite taken with Leadbelly from the beginning; the initial Angola sessions consisted of eight numbers, including "The Western Cowboy," "Frankie and Albert," "Honey, Take a Whiff On Me," and an early version of his most famous song, "Goodnight Irene."

From Angola, the Lomaxes traveled to New Orleans where in late August, they recorded a vocalist named Sullivan Rock. In July, 1934, they returned to Louisiana, recording blues singers and songsters in New Iberia, Amelia, Lafayette, Lloyd and Baton Rouge; gospel artists and Afro-French *jurer* singers on Avery Island, near False River, and in Lafayette and Lake Arthur; and a black church service on a plantation outside Baton Rouge. Another visit to Angola resulted in thirteen more tunes by Leadbelly (many of which were repeated from the previous year's sessions). In September, following a pardon from Governor O.K. Allen, Leadbelly cut one song in Shreveport and served as an accompanist for other musicians during field trips to Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Gould, and Tucker, Arkansas.[9]

A brief excursion to New Orleans in 1937 resulted in one session at the Lafont Catholic Old Folks Home; two years later a more extensive tour was made. The 1939 sessions, held in Knight and Merryville, yielded fourteen recordings, all either gospel songs or sermons. In September and October 1940, the last Library of Congress field trips took place. These sessions were, next to the Leadbelly sessions of 1933 and 1934, the most fruitful of any held in Louisiana. In September, gospel singers were documented in Merryville, and in Baton Rouge, bluesman Burley Mayberry cut one number. A month later, John and Ruby Lomax headed for the Shreveport area where they struck a rich vein of folk music. In Oil City they found and recorded Noah Moore, one of Leadbelly's cousins, and his Uncle Bob Ledbetter, who furnished his version of "Irene" (Oliver, brochure notes, 1978; Russell, 1970: 81-85).

The Lomaxes had come to Oil City from Shreveport proper where they had recorded Oscar Woods, a singer and guitarist, and Kid West and Joe Harris, a mandolin-guitar duo. Woods, Harris and West were well-known street singers in the Shreveport area, performing on corners, in front of theatres and inside what Woods characterized as "little hop joints" (Oliver, brochure notes). Shreveport and vicinity had long been a region alive with music, especially that of the folk variety. Oscar Woods had in fact been recorded before. He had backed Jimmie Davis on some early recordings, cut some solo numbers under the pseudonym of "The Lone Wolf" for Decca in New Orleans in 1936, and at the behest of Davis, fronted a band called the Wampus Cats at sessions for Vocalion in San Antonio in 1937 and Dallas in 1938 Russell, 1970:81-85).[10] West and Harris were older musicians but novices at recording. Like Leadbelly they reflected the nineteenth-century background in both style and repertoire.

Among the many folk performers documented by the Lomaxes were Louisiana French musicians. Less is known about this aspect of their field work, but the same tours which yielded examples from the Afro-American tradition also uncovered Cajun and Creole French-speaking artists (Alan Lomax, liner notes). The most productive sessions may have been those that were held during the summer of 1934. In New Iberia, members of the Hoffpauir family were recorded. In Crowley and Delcambre, respectively, fiddlers Wayne Perry and Eddie Segura played several dance tunes. At Angola, Odgel Carrier, a black accordionist, also performed a dance number. (See also the article by F.A. de Caro and the Library of Congress Archive of Folksong Listings in this volume for information on the Lomaxes' work in Louisiana).

Radio, of course, provided most of the commercial opportunities for aspiring folk musicians throughout (and well after) the prewar period. Hillbilly music undoubtedly dominated programming among folk-derived styles as stations proliferated in all sections of the state. Unfortunately, the history of radio in Louisiana, with the major exceptions of Pusateri's work and Lillian Jones Hall's 1959 dissertation, remains unwritten. When did radio first appear in places like Alexandria, Monroe, Crowley, Lake Charles, Lafayette, New Iberia and Natchitoches, each of which has produced significant artists? When and where did black artists begin to perform, and in what manner? How was music advertised and programmed? These and related questions must be addressed in order to understand the implications for commercialization of indigenous folk styles. We do know that KWKH continued to be a stronghold of country music with regular appearances by old favorites like the Shelton Brothers and the Rice Brothers and newer acts like Harmie Smith and a popular gospel quartet, the Blackwood Brothers (Hall, 1959: 100-130; Logan Interview). Other radio stations in the state which were likely places to hear hillbilly and or Cajun music before World War II were KALB (Alexandria), WWL (New Orleans), WNOE (New Orleans, KSIG (Crowley), KPLC (Lake Charles), KVOL (Lafayette), KMLB (Monroe) and WJBO (Baton Rouge).

At least one important survey of radio audiences in Louisiana appeared during World War II. Based upon census figures, opinion polls and other data from 1940, LSU scholar Edgar Schuler produced a detailed examination of the listening habits and preferences of thousands of Louisianians. Many of his findings shed light upon the status of folk music in the state. In 1940, approximately 53.3 per cent of the state's general population had radios. 72.6 per cent of urbanites, 52.5 per cent of rural non-farm and 27.3 per cent of farm residents had radios. As to types of music, "hillbilly and rural" was included under the broader category of "Popular and Folk Music." Hillbilly was listed as the first preference for 2.4 per cent of Schuler's respondents; secondly, 3.3 per cent; third by 2.2 per cent; and fourth by 2.6 per cent. For "Popular and Folk Music" in general, however, the figures were somewhat higher: first - 16.3 per cent; second, 17 per cent; third, 17.9 per cent; fourth, 17 per cent. In terms of all types of programming, "Popular and Folk Music" ranked as fourth choice behind "Entertainment," "Drama," and "News." When broken down even further, hillbilly music ranked twelfth. The most popular radio stations in the state were WWL, WSMB (New Orleans), WDSU (New Orleans) and KWKH. In the North Louisiana region, KWKH ranked first, followed by KTBS and KRMD (all located in Shreveport). Thus, on the eve of World War II, Schuler's survey indicated that audiences were only mildly interested in folk music and almost completely disinterested in country music. Even a cursory reading of the results of the study, however, reveals a clear bias in favor of educated, urban listeners. There was no attempt to classify listeners by income or any other index of class or status. Nor were black audiences clearly delineated. Still, the LSU study provides a rare look into radio audiences in Louisiana near the end of the early commercial period.

World War II was a watershed in the commercialization of American folk music, as it was in many ways for the society as a whole. Among the most important postwar developments were the rise of Top 40 radio and the overwhelming dominance of rock'n'roll (later, rock) music; the synthesis of musical styles, of which rock'n'roll was a culmination of sorts; the emergence of television as a competitive medium to both records and radio; the immediate decentralization of the recording industry which helped spawn a bewildering number of new companies, many of which catered to specialized audiences; and the thoroughgoing re-examination of America's traditional cultures, especially those of ethnic origins, by entrepreneurs, scholars and audiences.

The most dramatic general development in the postwar years was the emergence of local independent record companies which catered to specialized audiences. Thus, within the framework of the society marked by increasing centralization and standardization in industry, government, transportation and communication, there arose across the country a series of new companies, each locally owned and operated and each directed at a discrete market. In Louisiana, such companies drew upon possibly the richest and most variegated pool of musical talent in the nation. Even when the Louisiana independents had no more complex a design than uncovering the latest rock'n'roll teen idol in the mold of Elvis Presley, certainly with the national mass market in clear view, they managed to tap an incredible wellspring of creativity. The companies were above all extensions of the personalities and tastes of their owners, enterpreneurs who often served as producers, agents, managers, engineers, distributors, salesmen, publicists, and in some cases, even songwriters and sidemen. From the late 1940's to the present, men like Bill Quinn of Houston, Huey P. Meaux of Winnie, Texas, George Khoury and Carol Rachou of Lafayette, Stan Lewis of Shreveport, Cosimo Matassa of New Orleans, Floyd Soileau of Ville Platte, and, in terms of longevity and sheer output, especially Jay D. Miller of Crowley and Eddie Shuler of Lake

Charles were responsible for the most extensive commercial documentation of folk music traditions within a single geographic area in the entire country. The subject deserves more attention than it can be given here; for present purposes only, the activities of Shuler and Miller will be touched upon.

Eddie Shuler formed Goldband Records in Lake Charles in 1949, having moved to the city seven years earlier. From 1942-1945, Shuler had served as vocalist and guitarist with the Hackberry Ramblers. In 1945, he formed his own group, the All-Star Reveliers, and also went to work as a disc jockey and announcer for KPLC radio. It was in the latter capacity that Shuler met a young Cajun accordionist from Church Point named Iry Lejeune (Leadbitter and Shuler, 1969: 7-9; Shuler interview; Turner, 1977).

LeJeune was a musician of incredibly raw power, whose style of playing harked back to the pioneer generation of Amedee Ardoin, probably his chief influence. LeJeune was destined to lead a revival of interest in the traditional Cajun sound, especially accordion music (Leadbitter, 1974: 21; Daigle, 1972: 86). His earliest recordings were issued on the Houston-based Opera label in 1948. It was as a Goldband artist, however, with songs like "Love Bridge Waltz" and "Lake Charles Special," that LeJeune achieved his greatest popularity. Only his death in a roadside accident in 1954, prevented him from becoming even more widely known. As it was, the "Cajun Hank Williams," as he is sometimes called, left an enduring legacy; he had helped reclaim prestige for Cajun culture and encourage a reawakening of interest in the accordion which continues to the present (Leadbitter, 1974: 21; Turner, 1977: Shuler interview).

By 1952, due in large part to the success of Iry Lejeune, Shuler built his first recording studio. Besides Lejeune, he released country records by his own group, the All-Star Reveliers, and then, in 1953, began to branch out into the rhythm and blues market with black artist James Freeman's "Big Leg Mama." Soon thereafter he recorded Boozoo Chavis, who specialized in an exotic-sounding style of music called *zodico* or zydeco (Leadbitter and Shuler, 1969: 12-18). Zydeco was an indigenous south Louisiana sound, described by one writer as in part consisting of a mingling of "Acadian or Afro-American blues tunes placed in an Afro-Caribbean rhythmic framework" (Spitzer, 1979: 3). It is perhaps best understood as bearing a similar (though slightly closer) relationship to rhythm and blues as modern Cajun music does to the mainstream country sound. In any event, zydeco, as heard in songs like Boozoo Chavis's 1954 hit on Goldband, "Paper in My Shoe," reflects the cultural syncretisms often found in Louisiana folk music.

From the folk style rhythm and blues and zydeco it was only a short step to popular, regional rock'n'roll, and Eddie Shuler eagerly recruited an outstanding lineup of black and white singers who performed in the style forged by Elvis Presley: Gene Terry, Larry Hart, Guitar Jr., Jay Nelson, Billy Earl, Sticks Herman, Al Ferrier (Leadbitter and Shuler, 1968: 21). Probably the best of the lot was Ferrier, a native of the Natchitoches area. Ferrier was and is an exceedingly powerful vocalist whose career never quite matched his talent. He has recently recorded for the European label, Sonet Records.

Still it was Cajun music on which Shuler built his reputation. Artists like Leroy Broussard, Sidney Brown, Hobo Bertrand, Aldus Roger, Lionel Cormier, Luderin Darbone and Lennis Sonnier have provided the bulk of Goldband's sales over the years, in spite of forays into country music,[12] rhythm and blues, and rock'n'roll.

J. D. Miller began his recording activities in Crowley in 1946 as an outgrowth of his work as an electrical contractor and appliance store owner. Recognizing the unsatiated postwar demand for Cajun music, Miller soon moved to meet the demands of the local record-buying public. Over the course of better than two decades, he would gain notice as a discoverer and producer of rhythm and blues artists, but his first clients were Cajun and hillbilly performers (Leadbitter, 1968: 6-8). The third artist to record for Miller was a young singer from the Mamou vicinity, Jimmie C. Newman. With Newman came substantial local success, and due at least in part to Miller's Nashville connections with the huge Acuff-Rose publishing company and their subsidiary, Hickory Records, eventual national acceptance followed (Bastin, liner notes, 1981a).

Another possibly more significant figure who first recorded for Miller in 1947 was Al Terry (born Alison Theriot) of Kaplan. Like Newman, Terry had grown up in a small, predominantly French-speaking community. Through access to the recordings of early country music pioneers like Vernon Dalhart and Jimmie Rodgers and the films of Gene Autry, both developed an affinity for musical styles that had little direct connection with Cajun traditions (Terry interview; Bastin, liner notes, 1981a).

In the early 1950's, Miller followed his successes with Newman and Terry by recording a group from Jennings called the Continental Playboys. Led by three brothers, Pee Wee, Doug and Rusty Kershaw, the group favored an eclectic repertoire featuring Cajun, hillbilly and rockabilly tunes. Miller recorded the brothers in several styles, but he eventually settled on a rockabilly approach for Rusty and Doug, who continued their careers after Pee Wee retired from music. Regardless of the prevailing style, the Kershaw brothers generated quite a following in south Louisiana and ultimately in Nashville and the nation at large. Their combined skills marked them as dynamic and original interpreters of Louisiana's folk music traditions (Kershaw interview, Kershaw, 1971: 18-27; Bastin, liner notes, 1981b).

Miller entered the rhythm and blues field in 1954 with a release by Otis Hicks ("Lightnin' Slim"). Thereafter, a stream of rhythm and blues talent flowed through Miller's studio. "Lightnin' Slim" was followed in turn by Leslie Johnson ("Lazy Lester"), Lonesome Sundown, Slim Harpo and a superb pianist from Houston, Katie Webster. By the late 1950's, Miller was also producing an astounding array of rock'n'rollers: Terry Clement, Johnny Jano, Al Ferrier, Pee Wee Trahan, Dale Houston, Erwin Babin, Arnold Broussard, Warren Storm, J. P. Richardson (the "Big Bopper"). Over the course of approximately two decades, Miller recorded and released music on a number of labels—Fais Do Do, Feature, Kay, Spot, Action, Zynn, Kajun Classics, Kajun Rocket, Ringo, Tribute, French Hits—in the process documenting the sounds of Louisiana more fully than any individual (Leadbitter, 1968: 7-67: Miller interview). Finally, Miller has also gained notoriety as a producer and distributor of mail-order racist records on the Rebel and other labels; even this side of folk-derived music failed to escape his attention.

Each of the other independent producers—Lewis, Rachou, Meaux, Soileau, Matassa—could easily serve as subjects of extended study. Most remain active in the record business, continuing to document, in a commercial fashion, music from Louisiana. Floyd Soileau, in particular, operates a highly successful mail order and retail business in Ville Platte. His Swallow label (and its subsidiaries such as Jin and Maison de Soul) tends to dominate the south Louisiana market (O'Neal, 1973; Patoski, 1978 and 1979; Bernard, 1980; "Cash Register Rings for Record Company," 1974; Broven, 1978; Soileau letter).

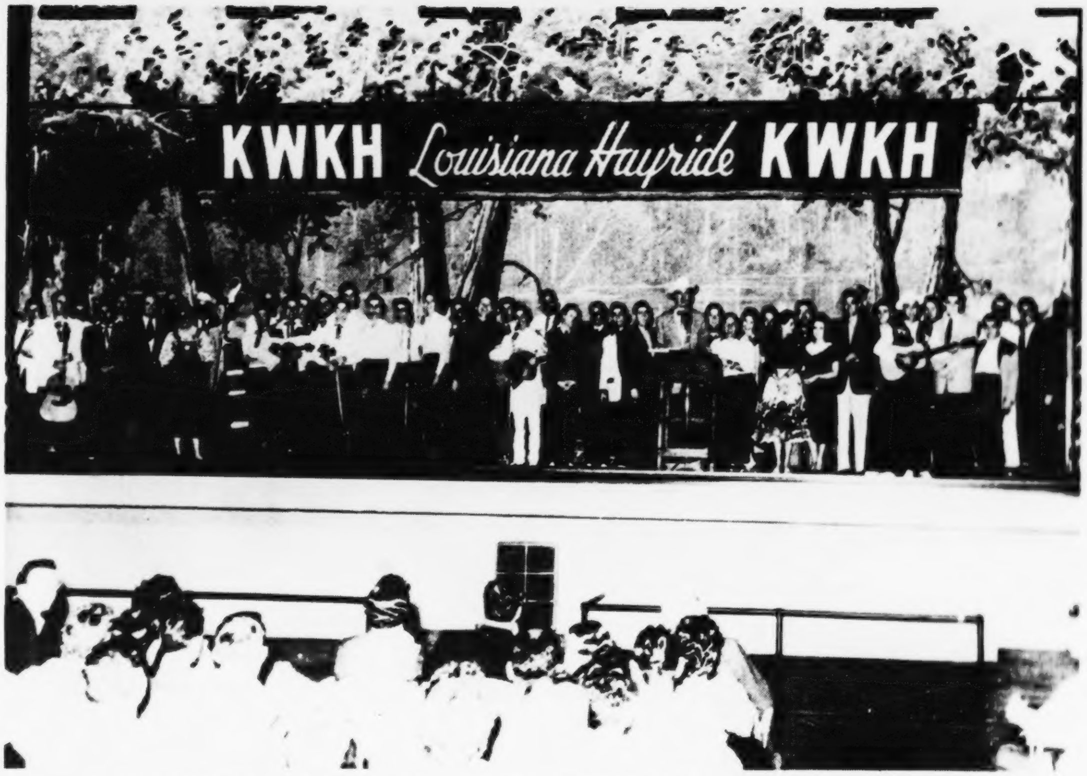
The most important out of the state company to make extensive use of Louisiana talent, especially Cajun musicians, was California-based Arhoolie Records (see essay this section). Begun in the early 1960's by Chris Strachwitz, Arhoolie has featured some of the best performers of the past and present, including Joe Falcon, the Hackberry Ramblers and Clifton Chenier. The traditional music of the British Florida Parishes is represented in the Arhoolie catalogue by a group called the Louisiana Honeydrippers. Strachwitz has also produced a definitive historical anthology series of Cajun music on 78's (seven volumes as of 1984).

Following the essentially non-commercial, academic course marked out by the Lomaxes in the 1930's was an LSU folklorist named Harry Oster. Oster did extensive field work throughout the state during the 1950's as well as founding the Louisiana Folklore Society. Through a spate of publications and record albums, Oster did more than any academician of his day to preserve, display and interpret the folk music heritage of Louisiana (see essay this volume by F. A. de Caro).

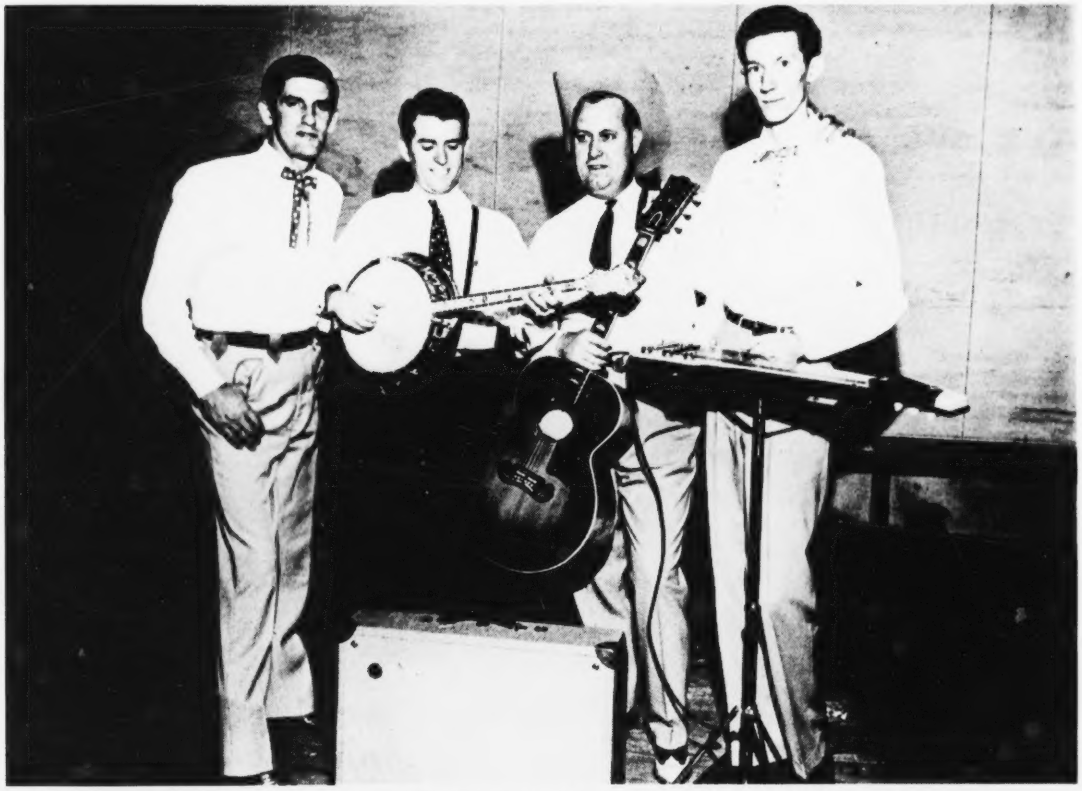
The performers most active in the presentation and preservation of traditional Cajun culture in Louisiana were the Balfa Brothers from Basile. Originally semi-professional musicians who played the south Louisiana dance circuit in the 1940's, the group, led by fiddler Dewey Balfa, became highly visible folk performers as a result of an appearance at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival and subsequent work with various cultural agencies like the Smithsonian Institution. It was the Balfas, in fact, who persuaded Floyd Soileau to establish his Cajun music-oriented Swallow label (Ancelet, 1981; Soileau letter). Following the tragic 1979 death of his brothers, Will and Rodney, Dewey Balfa has continued to crusade for traditional Cajun folk culture.

In radio one postwar development overshadowed all others—the establishment of a KWKH radio and stage show known as the Louisiana Hayride. Begun in 1948, the Hayride in its heyday could claim a roster of talent second to none, including the more publicized Grand Ole Opry. Not surprisingly, the artists who gave the show its reputation as the "Cradle of the Stars" represented almost the entire spectrum of Anglo-American folk song style and its modern derivatives. Among the dozens of important performers associated at one time or another with the Shreveport program were Hank Williams, its first great star; the Bailes Brothers, exemplars of the religious song tradition; Kitty Wells, the original "Queen of Country Music"; Charlie Monroe, brother of bluegrass patriarch Bill Monroe; comedian Cousin Wilbur, an heir to the minstrel and medicine show traditions; possibly the preeminent brother duo in country music history, the Blue Sky Boys; blind singer-composer Leon Payne; smooth-voiced crooner Jim Reeves; singing cowgirl Patsy Montana; yodeler Slim Whitman; hillbilly boogie virtuosos, the Maddox Brothers and Rose; Red Sovine, who became best known for his recordings of truck-driving songs; honky-tonk stylist George Jones; Johnny Horton, the master of the saga song; and, of course, Elvis Presley. Among Louisiana natives who made their breakthrough on the Hayride were Clyde Baum, Margie Singleton, Werley Fairburn, Claude King, Merle Kilgore, David Houston, Floyd Cramer, James Burton, Jerry Kennedy, Faron Young, Buddy Attaway, Jimmie C. Newman and Webb Pierce. Certainly a key element in the show's success was the professional staff headed by producer-announcer Horace Logan and aided by top announcers like Ray Bartlett and Frank Page, who actually put the Hayride together. For approximately ten years, from 1948 to 1958, the Louisiana Hayride was a focal point for country music enthusiasts and performers in the Southwest and across the nation. Not the least of the program's legacies was its role as a showcase for rockabilly performers, beginning with Elvis (Tucker, 1977; Logan interview).

The rockabilly phenomenon represented much more than a threat to other musical styles; it was a synthesis of various traditions, most importantly rhythm and blues and country music. Elvis was a true catalyst for the new sound; his stint on the


KWKH Louisiana Hayride KWKH

Entire cast, Louisiana Hayride ca. 1955. Photograph: Louisiana State Archives.



Jack Hunt and the Rhythm Ranch Hands on the Louisiana Hayride, 1954.

Louisiana Hayride helped focus attention on Shreveport and the rest of Louisiana. The state rested in the center of the mid-South region which, with its imaginary boundaries at Lubbock, Texas on the west and Jackson, Tennessee on the east (the homes of Buddy Holly and Carl Perkins, respectively), also formed the heartland of rockabilly music. Included within the area were the hometowns of most of the artists who gave shape to the controversial style. Louisiana alone contributed such key figures in the movement as Dale Hawkins (Shreveport), Jimmy Clanton (Baton Rouge), Bobby Charles (Abbeville), Roy "Boogie Boy Perkins" Suarez (Lafayette), and Jerry Lee Lewis and Mickey Gilley (Ferriday). Hayride alumni who either flirted with or wholly embraced rock'n'roll included Merle Kilgore, George Jones, Sonny James, Faron Young, Bob Luman and Tommy Sands. As mentioned previously, the studios of Miller and Shuler produced some of the most dynamic performers in the field: Al Ferrier, Terry Clement, Johnny Jano, Rusty and Doug Kershaw, J. P. Richardson. Three latter-day artists who clearly showed direct rockabilly influence were Johnny Rivers of Baton Rouge, Tony Joe White of Oak Grove and Joe Stampley of Springhill. James Burton went from the Louisiana Hayride to Los Angeles where he played lead guitar in turn for Ricky Nelson, Elvis Presley and Merle Haggard. Another Louisiana native to gain a measure of success in Los Angeles was Opelousas native Gib Guilbeau, who figured in the creation of country-rock during the late 1960's.

Of all the Louisiana natives to emerge in the wake of Elvis Presley, the most renowned talent was Jerry Lee Lewis. Lewis's individualistic piano style (derived in part from great Louisiana boogie and blues pianists like Little Brother Montgomery, who once lived in Ferriday, and country pianists Merrill Moore and Moon Mullican, and catalyzed by a constant exposure and immersion in pentecostal religion), his visceral personality, his unsurpassed repertoire, all marked him as a unique artist and synthesizer of folk tradition. If one characteristic of the great musicians from Louisiana (Leadbelly, Jimmie Davis, Professor Longhair, Fats Domino, Doug Kershaw) stands out, it is an eclectic temperament which feeds upon the various folk musical traditions found in the state, which in turn produces an intensely personal performance style. Certainly Jerry Lee Lewis epitomizes such a process.

If any one Louisiana city or community can legitimately claim to have been involved in the creation of rock'n'roll, it was, of course, New Orleans. The New Orleans story has been detailed by at least one writer, John Broven, who traced the recorded contributions of most of the city's great rhythm and blues and rock'n'roll artists, a list that would have to include Professor Longhair (Henry Roeland Byrd), Roy Brown, Dave Bartholomew, Fats Domino, Lloyd Price, Clarence "Frogman" Henry, Little Richard, Lee Dorsey, Jessie Hill, Frankie Ford, Tommy Ridgely, Ernie K-Doe (Kador), Allen Toussaint, Mac Rebennack (Dr. John) and the Neville Brothers. Certainly the city's role as a center for rhythm and blues and rock'n'roll compares favorably to its more popular perceived status as the birthplace of jazz.

Louisiana's folk heritage as a source of musical activity has generated more attention in recent years than at any previous time. Commercial in-state record companies and labels like Goldband, Jin, Swallow, La Louisiane, Paula and Caillier, along with other national and international labels such as Arhoolie, and, especially, Flyright and Sonet, are quite active in issuing and reissuing a myriad of recordings which feature almost every style which has developed in the state within the last six decades. Country music, of course, has become a national mania, and Louisiana has remained fertile ground, producing such recent stars as Mickey Gilley and Joe Stampley. Cajun music is more popular than ever. It would be accurate to say that more Cajun music is available on records than at any time in the past. Harry Oster's groundbreaking work of the 1950's has been carried on by collectors, field workers and producers like Chris Strachwitz, Samuel Charters, Gerard Dole and Nicholas Spitzer. The Louisiana Folklife Society in cooperation with the State Folklife Program has recently produced three initial albums illustrative of the blues and hillbilly traditions.

In radio, the picture is much the same. A growing proportion of programming is being devoted to the exploration of traditional music. According to a recent survey, French-language programs, most presenting music, can be heard in sixteen Louisiana cities, amounting to approximately one hundred hours of airtime per week (Grame, 1980). Of special note are the remote broadcasts of Revon Reed's programs from Mamou over Eunice's station KEUN. College and public broadcasting stations are some of the most reliable sources for broadcasting folk music. One of the latest to enter the field is WWOZ-FM of New Orleans, with regular programs which explore in remarkable detail various indigenous styles and substyles. Among country music programs, the Louisiana Hayride stands out. The show is presently syndicated to thirteen radio stations throughout the region.

In sum, the opportunities for experiencing the state's rich musical heritage through the media of recordings and radio are quite numerous, even to an unprecedented degree. One need not pine in antiquarian angst for the good old tunes played in the good old ways. The traditions live on, entwining one with the other in unpredictable ways, creating new sounds, but with powerful echoes from the past.

Stringband musicians near Hammond, La. ca. 1910 photo by A.L. Blush. Photograph: Center for Regional Studies.

FOOTNOTES

1. There will be not attempt made int he ensuing discussion to fully define such terms as "folk," "popular," "pre-commercial" or "commercial." It is hoped that their meanings will become clear as various contexts within the essay emerge. One should note that the terms "media documentation" and "commercial exploitation" will be used synonymoualy.

2. The best introduction to the literature of Southern folk music and its commercial extensions is found in Malone, 1979: 164-190.

3. Most of the following narrative and analysis focuses on the commercial country music tradition. The terms "hillbilly" and "country" will be used interchangeably.

4. The Shelton Brothers appeared regularly on numerous other radio stations including WSB, Atlanta; WWL, New Orleans; and, WFAA, Dallas. For a necessarily superficial review of their complex careers, see my forthcoming essay on the history of country music in Louisiana.

5. Unless otherwise noted, the following discussion of blues recordings made in Louisiana is taken from Godrich and Dixon, 1969 and 1970.

6. Tosches does not indicate the location of the catalogue. He misidentifies the address of the company as "128 Cravier Street." The correct address, according to *Soards' New Orleans City Directory, 1892*, was 218 Gravier Street. This directory also identifies the company's officers.

7. There is no equivalent discographical study of country or Cajun music to the works of Godrich and Dixon. Tony Russell is currently working on a comprehensive discography of country music before World War II, of which some preliminary sections have been produced, notably relating to Jimmie Davis and the Shelton Brothers. There are literally dozens of discographies concerning specific artists scattered throughout the literature. Richard K. Spottswood has begun a major discographical study of ethnic recordings from 1895 to 1942.

8. Townsend, 1976; Tosches, 1977; and, Malone, 1980 have all discussed the problem.

9. Leadbelly continued his association with the Lomaxes for several years and made numerous subsequent field trips with them.

10. Jimmie Davis was the central figure on the Shreveport folk music scene at least until his election as governor in 1944. He was, after Jimmie Rodgers, the first country artist to record with black musicians. Besides Woods, Davis was often backed by an excellent guitarist named Ed Shaffer.

11. Among the performers who have recorded on Goldband at various times are Dolly Parton, Freddy Fender and Mickey Gilley.

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Perhaps no other record company has exhibited the interest and commitment to Louisiana folk music that has been shown by Arhoolie Records. For over twenty years Chris Strachwitz, founder of California-based Arhoolie Records, has recorded and reissued blues, jazz, zydeco, hillbilly and Cajun music from Louisiana. Unlike many record companies from outside the state that have recorded here, his products can be found on the record racks at general stores in small towns as well as in the well-stocked specialty stores. Getting these records back to the folk community is an important factor in encouraging people to preserve their own culture.

In addition to heavily promoting the genre of Creole zydeco music through Clifton Chenier recordings and anthology issues, Arhoolie has reissued many classic 78 r p m recordings of Cajun music on its Old Timey label. Indeed, "Louisiana Cajun Music, Vols. 1-7" should be in every library in this state and required listening for all who would learn about or try to revitalize Cajun culture. The same can be said for many of Arhoolie's reissues of the Folklyric recordings, which were originally made by Dr. Harry Oster as he traveled the state in the late Fifties and early Sixties. To these we owe part of the recorded legacy of the late blues singer Robert Pete Williams as well as the intense, beautiful strains of the Louisiana Honeydrippers, a hillbilly-style stringband from the Florida Parishes.

There is no doubt that other record labels have made their impact on Louisiana folk music. We are especially indebted to the work of Floyd Soileau at Swallow and Maison de Soul Records in Ville Platte as well as Sam Charters, who has long recorded Cajun, blues and zydeco for the European label, Sonet. In addition, the work of Eddie Schuler with Goldband Records of Lake Charles and J.D. Miller with Blues Unlimited of Crowley was and is essential. Exceptional Cajun and zydeco records have also been made by Rounder Records of Massachusetts. However, no company catalog has the depth and diversity found in that of Arhoolie. Those interested in the catalog of this company and others may consult the listings provided in Appendix 4 on records, manufacturers, and distributors that offer Louisiana traditional music

Here Chris Strachwitz, a post-World War II immigrant to the United States, describes a few highlights of his love affair with Louisiana music. The next time you hear from him, he may be in your town looking for undiscovered jewels of Louisiana folk music.

RECORDING LOUISIANA FOLK MUSIC FOR ARHOOLIE RECORDS

by Chris Strachwitz

ARHOOLIE
RECORDS
ARHOOLIE FOLKLYRIC
BLUES CLASSICS
OLD TIMEY
DOWN HOME MUSIC SINCE 1960

Louisiana music to my ears meant New Orleans jazz ever since I first heard the sound track to the film *New Orleans*, which I saw with a friend in high school. The music I heard during an afternoon in a movie theater in Carpinteria, Ca. set off a spark which led to my eventually devoting my life to the documenting of America's rich and varied musical heritage. New Orleans musicians were well represented on the first records I bought even though they were hard to find in the late 1940's—Bunk Johnson and George Lewis had an album out on RCA which contained four 78 rpm discs—and I wore them out in a matter of weeks. Kid Ory had an album on Columbia, and then a few years later Bill Russell's magnificent American Music 78's came out, by Kid Shots, Bunk, Lewis, etc., but they were even harder to find and more expensive! I was almost knocked out of my seat when I first heard the George Lewis band in person at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles. I knew I was in paradise with such sounds and they drew me back night after night when the band played at the Beverly Cavern. I almost flunked out of college as a result of nightly excursions to Hollywood from Pomona since they were not linked by any freeway at that time. So I can well remember the day I finally set foot on the streets of the city—which to my ears was filled with heavenly music! It was on a warm day in May of 1956. I had just been discharged from the U.S. Army at Fort Chaffey, Arkansas and, being that close to "the land of dreams," I caught a Greyhound to the Crescent City before returning to the West Coast. I spent several days and nights just soaking in the music of Billie and De De Pierce, George Lewis, Papa Celestin's band, and several others, but I had no idea that I would return many times, nor did I have any inkling that I would also discover many other forms of regional Louisiana music which would draw me back like a magnet year after year!

In 1960, I returned to Louisiana for the first time with the hopes of making recordings to be issued on the label I was about to start: Arhoolie Records. I was primarily interested in blues at that time but soon had my first encounter with yet another remarkable Louisiana musical tradition: Cajun music. I asked the attendant at a filling station in Lafayette if I might hear this kind of music someplace. It was a weeknight and he told me that those dances usually took place only on weekends but I might try a bar at Four Corners. I found the bar but there was no live music. However, a very pretty girl was the bartender and I got up my nerve to ask her if she knew any place where I might hear Cajun music. She broke out laughing and told me how she and her boyfriend went out partying a couple of weeks ago and stumbled into this dance hall out on the road to Breaux Bridge where they had a great time. She told me I couldn't miss the place—a big old white building almost to Breaux Bridge on the north side of the road. I finished my drink and thanked her and headed out in the direction of Breaux Bridge. It was a Wednesday night and sure enough there was this neat old dance hall. As I pulled into the gravel parking lot, I could hear what was to me a strange but haunting music. As I walked in there were all these people dancing around—going in a big circle—as the music ground out from the bandstand with an accordion, fiddle, steel guitar, drums, guitar and maybe a bass. All I remember is that they were playing one of my favorite country tunes, "It Wasn't God Who Made Honky-Tonk Angels," but they sang it mostly in Cajun French—then they would switch to English. They played on and on—I think it was the band of Aldus Roger—and they got me hooked on Cajun music! It's been a great addiction and has made my life more interesting by getting me acquainted with people and lifestyles I had never known before.

I never recorded much New Orleans jazz because I felt that the best was passing quickly and had faded away by the time I really got going as a record label. Another reason was that many other companies had and were doing extensive recordings of this music and finally there was the problem with the musicians union. You had to pay for any session you wanted to hold even though you had no guarantee that the results would be useable. I never had enough money to risk such a chance especially in light of the fact that most of the musicians were well past their prime. But I did record the New Orleans Ragtime Orchestra with the help of its leader, Lars Edegran, and I have acquired the rights to several other albums by Kid Thomas, Billie & DeDe Pierce, and an anthology of bands which played the various "Kitty Halls," predecessors to the highly successful Preservation Hall.

However, over the years I have recorded a good deal of Cajun music and blues in Louisiana and I will never forget the first recording sessions I did with Cajuns. My friend Bob Pinson, who is now working for the Country Music Foundation Library in Nashville, once played me some 78's by a group called the Hackberry Ramblers. I was totally captivated by the fiddler and the singer. So naturally when I came through Lake Charles, it was only a short detour to Hackberry. I pulled up at the nearest cafe and asked the proprietress if she had ever heard of a Cajun band called the Hackberry Ramblers, since I assumed they were from Hackberry and must be famous there. She replied yes, indeed that was Luderin Darbone's group and I could find him on Darbone Street in Lake Charles. "Just go back the same way you just came," she told me, "and you can't miss it!" Well, there I met Luderin Darbone, a nice quiet-spoken man who worked as an accountant. He told me that the band gets together from time to time and he'd be glad to get them rounded up and make some tapes for me. I soon learned that Luderin did not sing much and that the wonderful singer from the 78's was Lennis Sonnier and he was still with them. The next day to my delight they all gathered at Eddie Shuler's Gold Band studios and we recorded several tunes. However, I was not too keen about the sound we got and I felt I could do much better with the group if I simply used my own machine at their house. I got them all to agree to another meeting the following day, a Sunday, at

Luderin's house. There I hung my single Capps condensor mike from the ceiling and bunched the group around the mike with Luderin in the center right under it, since his instrument had the least volume Lennis stood back a bit because his piercing vocal in true Cajun fashion came through with a bang! The rest sort of stood in a circle and the result is still one of my favorite albums (Arhoolie 5003), even though several takes were ruined when my cheap Japanese Roberts tape recorder picked up offshore radio signals—and this was in the pre-C B days! The record, like many of my documents, never achieved great sales but did result in the Hackberry Ramblers getting invited to appear at the Berkeley Folk Festival and I think the members of the band enjoyed having this remembrance of a little of their music made available to people all over. The money, little as it was, seemed to have been appreciated as well. I recall Luderin telling me with pride that every brick in his house was put there with his music, a hobby which had given him much pleasure and joy over the years and which contributed to the building of his home.

Some people ask me why I go around recording music which is of limited appeal. That got me to thinking, why indeed do I record the people I do? One reason is that I personally find the music very satisfying; or I am moved by the intensity and sincerity of the performers; or I find that the material is of historic interest and musically very moving. I guess I feel that if the music gives me great joy and pleasure, perhaps a recording of it will spread this joy to others around the globe who are not able to travel and meet the people I encounter on my journeys. But I also feel that in many cases it is a good thing to document and promote traditions which are generally neglected and overlooked in favor of the more "popular" or commercial music. I think most of the musics I have documented are continuations of very strong traditions, ever-changing, but vital and important to the local audience even though many of them consider their traditions ordinary and take them for granted. I feel that sharing these traditions is a great experience and can benefit us all. Those who give their music might meet new friends and experiences in their travels, while those of us who receive it will have a new experience with different ways of life and music. It's a mutual learning experience and is there really anything more rewarding in this life than sharing human experiences?

Some artists I meet expect or hope for great financial rewards from making a record. Others, however, are more realistic and look at it as an experience which may lead to sharing their music with other people inside and outside their community. This brings me to my role as a merchant—something I never thought about until I was deeply involved. Record companies have been doing what I am doing since the late 1920's when regional music was recorded and then sold back to the people from whom it was taken. I have found my market to be an international one—people around the world who enjoy and like America's varied and vital regional musics. I have had a hard time selling the records back to the people who sold it to me! In Louisiana I was lucky to run into an artist who was already well liked and who was to become very popular over the years that I have recorded him. His name is Clifton Chenier. I met him through Lightning Hopkins, who told me one night in Houston that we ought to go out and hear his cousin (on his wife's side) in French Town. I had heard the name before and was familiar with Clifton's records on Specialty and Checker, but at that time I was rather more interested in pure country blues and recall going along, but with little enthusiasm, since I remembered the records as being more in the rhythm and blues vein. However, when we got to the little beer joint, what I heard quickly brought on a rush! Here was this man with an accordion singing his head off in French, accompanied only by a drummer, while a few couples shuffled across the small dance floor. I had never heard the blues done like this. Mixed with that addictive Cajun sound! The next day we went to Gold Star studios and recorded a few sides. The first 45 I issued did not sell much, but then I went back the next year and recorded a full LP with Clifton. During that session, he did this haunting blues in French. Bill Quinn, the studio's owner, stood behind me and whispered to me, "Chris, put that one on a 45, that will sell here." As soon as the song was finished Clifton came rushing from the studio into the control room and said he had to call his wife. He dialed and told us please to play that one back. As the tape wound back he told his wife on the phone, "Baby, listen to this one!" And we all did. I couldn't understand what he was telling me when I asked for the title. Clifton repeated it, but I still had no idea how to spell it. So I suggested that we call it "Louisiana Blues" and that was it! It became quite a seller along the Gulf Coast and finally got me several distributors who wanted to sell this record. Floyd's Flat Town Music in Ville Platte only wanted the Clifton records, but later also ordered some of the other Cajun albums and has been my best distributor in Louisiana ever since. In New Orleans, All South Distributors and Preservation Hall helped me sell some of the New Orleans jazz items, but generally there was little interest in the older blues or other forms on the part of Louisiana record shops.

Perhaps some of you who read this short article will help me in my task of recording Louisiana music by letting me know who some interesting musicians are by sending me a cassette to hear. Most of all, I am interested in buying or borrowing 78 rpm records from the late Twenties and early Thirties, especially those of Cajun music, which I feel should be reissued. I do try my best to locate and pay royalties to all the old artists or their relatives for records which I use. In this and in field recording efforts I hope to return to Louisiana annually for many years to come to continue to document the wonderful music traditions.

Cajun musicians (L—R) Allie Young, Dewey Balfa, Dick Richard and Rodney Balfa at the Library of Congress, 1977. Photograph: Carl Fleischaur

V. FOLKLIFE AND PUBLIC POLICY

In a sense this entire book is devoted to the public policies that will encourage the documentation, preservation and presentation of traditional cultures and communities in Louisiana. This section addresses specifically what the United States federal and Louisiana state governments have, for better or worse, done and are doing in relation to folk culture. Currently there are three federal agencies with a specific mandate to work and encourage traditional culture in the United States. These are the Office of Folklife Programs at the Smithsonian Institution, the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress, and the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. In terms of programming, technical assistance and funding, all of these groups have had major impacts in Louisiana in recent times. The Smithsonian has been deeply involved in encouraging the preservation and presentation of Cajun culture. The American Folklife Center has loaned recording equipment to Louisiana folklorists and made various site visits. The Folk Arts Program at NEA has provided funding to create the Folk Arts and now Folklife Program in the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, as well as many other projects. In adition, such agencies as the National Park Service, the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, National Public Radio and the American Indian Arts and Crafts Board have all had major impacts on the folk cultures and folk landscapes of Louisiana or otherwise have resources that are immensely important to future preservation activities. For a complete cataloguing of the federal agencies in relation to Louisiana folklife see the listings of "Regional, National and Federal Resources" in Appendix 1.

In the essay that follows, Dr. Archie Green does not dwell on the specifics of the federal imprint on Louisiana tradition; rather, he provides a larger historical and philosophical framework for understanding the role of the federal government and public policy in folk culture in general. Dr. Green points to the potential of public policy in encouraging rather than discouraging, protecting rather than destroying, and documenting rather than ignoring the folk cultures, communities and traditions that form the base for the diverse American nation.

Archie Green is a well-known folklorist and social historian who has written and lectured for many years on topics such as folk music, folk regions, country music, cowboy culture and occupational traditions. As comfortable in the waterfront union hall as the Ivy League classroom, Dr. Green, known to most as "Archie," has served as secretary in the Shipwrights Local 1149 in his native San Francisco as well as on the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Texas and the University of Illinois. A 1939 graduate of the University of California, he received his Ph.D. in folklore from the University of Pennsylvania in 1968. He lobbied for nearly a decade in Washington for passage of the American Folklife Preservation Act, which created the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress in 1976. His book, Only a Miner (1972) is a landmark work that merged labor history with the study of old-time country music.

In 1979, Dr. Green was the keynote speaker at the first Louisiana Folk Arts Conference. The great interest shown in his presentation by those who attended the conference required that his remarks be printed for wider distribution. The essay that follows is derived from the 1979 address.

PUBLIC SECTOR ATTENTION TO FOLKLORE IN THE UNITED STATES

by Archie Green

A personal note: In May, 1979, while serving as a Woodrow Wilson Center fellow at the Smithsonian Institution, I delivered the keynote address to the Louisiana Folk Arts Conference in Baton Rouge. Subsequently, I helped prepare for the first Natchitoches Folk Festival (1980) and enjoyed the event itself. Most recently, I attended a planning session for the Country Music Museum at Rebel State Commemorative Area (1982). These several meetings, as well as research in the Tulane University Jazz Archive during its formative years, have helped me, an outsider, comment on cultural concerns within Louisiana. My remarks below, based largely on the Baton Rouge talk, are screened through experience of the past three years. Outlining this paper while in Washington, and readying it for publication at home in San Francisco, may signal the continental sweep and time scale within which public-sector folk policy should be understood.

We date the first formally named state folklore program to Pennsylvania in 1969; we date the first usage of the term "folk" in the title of a federal agency in 1928, when the Library of Congress established the Archive of American Folk Song. However, publicly-funded response to folk society and culture goes back well before 1969 and 1928—back to the very formation of colonial governments in the New World. Here, I shall comment on the early framing ideas, positive and negative, which have marked public attention to folklore and folklife in the United States.

When European explorers and settlers reached America, they named its native people "Indians." Soon, these same Europeans carried African slaves to the Caribbean Islands, Brazil, Virginia, Louisiana. No evidence exists to suggest that planter, tax collector or journalist identified either Africans or Indians by the qualifier "folk." Early designations such as "savage" and "slave," "redskin" and "negro" sufficed.

The word "folk," stretching back for countless centuries to Norse speech, and known wherever English prevailed, held two general meanings for colonial Americans: 1) All the people who constituted a nation; 2) Some of the people who resided within a nation. Essentially, "folk" referred originally to those who inhabited a small community, hunted within or tilled a discrete land area and knew a common tongue. Today, this old usage best equates with "tribe," "clan" or "enclave." For long periods, "folk" implied a shared culture, a wholesome interaction, and, at times, a mystical bonding spirit. To this day, a few enthusiasts identify the American folk as Carl Sandburg declaimed *The People, Yes*—carriers of democratic virtue, holders of sovereign power, repositors of hoary wisdom.

By Chaucer's time, a secondary meaning for "folk" had emerged in Britain. The consciousness that Celts, Romans, Angles and Saxons stormed the island in waves and subjugated its natives led to the application of "folk" to people submerged, set apart or vanquished. A tribal remnant might cling to its linguistic or aesthetic standards, but at the price of accepting subordination within larger society. Hence, England's populace at the time employed "folk" variously to designate their total citizenry in all its might, as well as unwholesome, troublesome "lumps" within the body politic. Such semantic elasticity stretches "folk" from lord to serf, strong to weak, and center to margin.

Louisiana residents are well aware of their abundant traditional life, and that such treasures relate somehow to the population's diversity—French-English, black-white, north-south, Catholic-Protestant, rich-poor, bayou-hill. Hence, individuals who choose voluntarily to teach folklore in the state's schools, to stage festivals, or to otherwise preserve the people's idiom must be sensitive to the reality that the Louisianian dwells in multiple rooms, each built for a task. This dweller, then, is many-handed: cotton-picker, muskrat-trapper, hymn-singer, rug-weaver, basket-maker, faith-healer, herb-seller, stump-speaker, oil-driller, stone-carver, gumbo-stirrer, native-healer, dance-fiddler.

Folklore's living custodians in the United States are those who, at work and play, at worship and celebration, continue old tasks or extend ancient techniques to new tasks. In this sense, American folklore, today, not only ties past to present, but also includes elements conveyed from all portions of the earth. Europeans, Asians and Africans debarked variously at Plymouth Rock, Puget Sound and New Orleans to build churches in the Bay Colony, skid timber to Seattle's mills and raise levees along the Mississippi. President Jefferson pondered Indian language before he sent Lewis and Clark west to explore the Louisiana Purchase. Mark Twain took his name from an occupational expression common to inland boatmen. Huddie (Leadbelly) Ledbetter carried Louisiana blues east to Washington and Manhattan. Country star Willie Nelson often closes concerts with "Goodnight, Irene," making Leadbelly's Caddo Lake sounds and style available to world audiences.

I stress the conceptualization of an American *folk* (central, singular) as well as American *folks* (peripheral, plural). Further, a chronological chain links these dual sets and leads to the consideration of the customs of drummers long gone from Congo Square as well as to Leadbelly's near-universal songs. The major organization which accepts the role of studying both lore and its creators-carriers is the American Folklore Society, chartered in 1888. For nearly a century it has based members within the academy, but recently, a number of public-sector folklorists have moved from campus to statehouse. Some Louisiana writers and teachers collected or taught folklore for a century, but the state's folklife program dates to 1978. Despite this recent beginning, the program, like those in sister states, holds roots deep in governmental practice over centuries of national growth.

We can anticipate, before too long, a history of the folkloric concern found within the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities and the states. We might well begin by asking who first coined the phrase "public-sector folklore" and the circumstance of need for this usage. Here, I can but sketch something of the reach by early federal agents to the paradigmatic term "folk."

Following the Revolutionary War, citizens in the United States tussled with appropriate labels for themselves. Obviously, identities such as "Vermonter" or "Georgian" could not serve the entire nation. In the search for a unifying name, no one suggested "United Statesian"; a few suggested "Columbian." Overcoming rival terms, "American" emerged, although it belonged properly to all the residents of two continents. (We do well to remind ourselves that a Bolivian tin miner and a Mexican *corrido* singer are both Americans.) From the beginning, dominant groups in the United States—largely from Britain, mainly Protestant and almost entirely speakers of English—appropriated for themselves the name "American" and later the trappings of Americanism.

New Amsterdam Dutch, Delaware Swedes and Carolina Huguenots found it relatively easy to absorb majoritarian manners. This task proved less easy for Irish Catholics and Pennsylvania Germans. Ironically, assimilation was most formidable for Huron, Houma, Pawnee, Papagayo—Native Americans all. The total acculturative process, stretching from stockade building at Jamestown to the arrival of Haitian boat people in New Orleans, has been jaggedly uneven. Metaphorically, the melting pot produces stainless steel as well as slag. Some individuals have found the transition to national life facile; others, difficult. Many have stumbled over hurdles of language, class, region, religion or gender. In short, some Americans have lived as shining exemplars—red, white and blue—while others have reflected only the dull, drab tones of the slag heap.

In our new country's formative years, political barriers thwarted some foreign-born in their desire to assimilate. President John Adams and his Federalist allies, fearing democratic Republicans, turned early to repressive legislation. The Alien and Sedition Laws placed outside the American pale freethinkers influenced by French radical doctrine. This early definition of externally-based subversion functioned within a polity which by its national charter already excluding slaves and savages.

From the beginning, then, the word "folk" tended to gather pejorative overtones. A member of a folk group might be judged stupid or, worse, un-American. We still feel troubled in determining whether or not the Passagaquoddy brave, the Kerry-born priest, the Cajun hardhat or the Chicago welfare mother are integral to the Platonic majority. Yet "folk" had also to serve across the political spectrum in identifying the common man. We have long sought an all-purpose tag for model citizens: "man-in-the-street," "forgotten man," "silent majority" and, most recently, "Mr. and Mrs. Joe Sixpack" (William Safire, *New York Times*, October 25, 1982).

As the United States moved from Atlantic seaboard to Pacific strand and beyond, three dominant federal strategies emerged to handle physical-social mobility: 1) to assist in conquest of the trans-Allegheny West, and the subordination of its native people; 2) to assist the shift from agriculture to industry; 3) to assist the climb up the ladder for those who could accommodate to American hyperbole. Such geographic, economic and institutional movement, whether horizontal or vertical, was not always synchronized. To revert to the dual formulation for "folk," the government helped some citizens shed their rural or alien identities. These people composed the great society—confident, progressive, indivisible. Meanwhile, the same government kept others locked into rural and alien patterns. These people, held "back" and "down," composed little societies—ambivalent, conservative, fractured.

The noun "mainstream" in reference to civic life is recent, but it is nevertheless valuable. Literally, brackish pools and reedy shallows border clear-running streams. Accordingly, some Americans, like Huck Finn, float comfortably with the current, while others are stranded in backwaters. We can begin to comprehend the fate of our folk societies by asking how those prime dwellers, who named rivers from the Roanoke to the Klamath, were categorized early as wreckage outside the mainstream.

When Englishmen first reached Virginia's coves, they were few, and the Indians they encountered were many. From the state, the British Colonial Office regulated intercourse between guest and host to provide needed food, shelter and survival skills for newcomers. However, when rule interfered with European expansion, colonists resorted to arms, decimating whole tribes. By the Revolutionary War's end, seaboard natives had been subjugated or driven beyond the Appalachian Divide.

In 1775, the Continental Congress asserted control over Indian affairs, naming three district commissioners as administrators. A decade later, Congress placed responsibility for these matters in the War Department—not a positive sign for future harmony between the young government and sovereign tribes. Secretary of War John Calhoun in 1824 appointed Thomas McKenney head of the Office of Indian Affairs, and during 1849 Congress transferred it to the Department of the Interior. Wherever natives lived, McKenney and his successors employed agents, some of whom were exploitive, others of whom were considerate. Some perceived their wards as barbaric; others penetrated common stereotypes to sense deep value within Indian life. Hence agents of "the great white father" became the first public officials to define the relationship between Washington's power and indigenous folk societies.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, an Indian agent, served among the Algonquian tribes in the Lake Superior region. He was an ethnologist before the terms "anthropologist" or "folklorist" described professional study of native people. Because I view him as a pioneer public-sector folklorist, I note his achievements in detail.

Born in upstate New York in 1793, Schoolcraft learned the glassmaking trade and studied geology. His first book, *A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri* (1819), included descriptions of practical engineering, travel, fossil wonders, relics, and antiquities. From Missouri, he turned north to explore the Mississippi headwaters. While at Lake Superior in government service during 1823, he married a Chippewa-Ojibwa woman. Beyond regular duties, Schoolcraft collected Indian narratives, many of which he rewrote in popular form.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow based his epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) on myths and allegories found in Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches* (1839). The poem no longer exerts great force upon modern readers. Academic folklorists today criticize Schoolcraft for tampering with oral material. Nevertheless, I honor him as a federal agent sensitive to native gifts. Schoolcraft literally was pulled to Indian life by its expressivity. He respected its style and gave his talents to preserve and present the culture, then seen by many of his peers as crude or evil.

From 1847 until death in 1864, Schoolcraft lived in Washington, his base for travel and study. Under Congressional authorization, he edited *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States (1851-1857)* in six folio-sized parts. Congress appropriated the munificent sum of $30,000 to publish each volume. We no longer use these tomes as a scientific treatise, but value them as classics in Americana and revel in their illustrations by Seth Eastman.

While Longfellow's poem was fresh in the public mind, Schoolcraft prepared *The Myth of Hiawatha . . .* (1856), using its preface to reveal something of his own guiding purpose. Noting the lack of attention to native life when *Algic Researches* had first appeared, he wrote:

> It was still supposed (in 1839) that the Indian was, at all times and in all places, "a stoic of the woods," always statuesque, always formal, always passionless, always on stilts, always speaking in metaphors, a cold embodiment of bravery, endurance, and savage heroism.

Schoolcraft wished to correct this record, to see humans where others saw mannequins. We lack a modern biography of the ethnologist which frames his research within the ideas of his era, or which attempts to penetrate his relationship to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Did tension ever surface between bureaucratic duty, scientific role and literary ambition? How did Schoolcraft manage the dialectical exchange between War Department rules and his personal drives to explicate Indianness?

Over the years, critics of federal policy have used the acronym "rat" to describe programs of physical *relocation* of tribes, *allocation* of their land to whites, and termination of *treaties* or programs which upheld Indian tradition. Schoolcraft, serving within the structure of the War Department, could not deflect its major line. The institution adhered to forceful strategies for eroding Indian power, but Schoolcraft acted out his affection for the substance and spirit of tribal life. In free time, alongside bureaucratic duties, he studied Algonquian language and literature. Although he saw himself mainly as a documentarian, he was aware of then-current advances in German scholarship. Schoolcraft became a pioneer folklorist, bending federal time to address questions central to the totemic identity of native people.

This paper's compass is too brief to describe the uneven federal role in veering between limited support to Indian mores and a type of cultural genocide against natives—language destruction, denial of religious freedom, failure to deal with personal disintegration within broken communities. Nor can I begin to touch all the precious countermoves to negative policy by officials attracted to native survival. Two names suffice: John Wesley Powell, the Colorado River explorer, established the Bureau of American Ethnology (1879) to collect native languages and artifacts; John Collier, appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as the New Deal Commissioner of Indian Affairs, remains controversial in the eyes of historians. Called a mystic and a meddler, he nevertheless restored to many Indians a measure of control over their own lands and lives.

In the centuries between Jamestown and the Civil War, a band of religious abolitionists and agnostic libertarians joined in a national debate with slaveholders over the morality of human bondage. The literature on slavery is extensive and subject to constant revision as we look back at the past with fresh insight. Within one crevice in the historical record, I focus only upon Lucy McKim, who, briefly under federal auspices, caught the power and the glory in Afro-American song.

At the war's inception in 1861 between North and South, the first area taken by the Union Navy was the "isolated" Carolina-Georgia Sea Islands. In the few years from the battle at Fort Sumter to President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the black islanders lived neither as fully free citizens nor as Confederate chattels. Technically called "contrabands," they stepped to freedom within the Port Royal Experiment. They continued to raise cotton and other crops on former plantations, while a number of spirited teachers from Philadelphia and Boston enlisted in a War Department project to provide them relief and education.

Lucy McKim, at age nineteen, accompanied her father James, a prominent abolitionist, to the Sea Islands in June 1862. There she heard church music unlike anything she had experienced in northern churches or conservatories. Spirituals with English texts were cast in strange African modes. To her eternal credit, she did not reject the musical excitement. Drawn to praise-meeting "shouts," she notated the strong rhythm and off-beat pulse of the exotic music. She shared her finds with two Yankee teachers, William Francis Allen and Charles Pickard Ware, and they edited *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867). Sadly, she died in 1877, far too young to measure the substantial growth in Afro-American folklore studies to which she had contributed.

Today, we identify Miss McKim as a pioneer ethnomusicologist, but to understand her role fully we must account for her abolitionist sentiment. She affirmed the souls of black folks. Contrary to the views of the slavocracy, black people were not barbarians. The gift to create a song in praise of the Lord seemed to young Lucy to be ample evidence of the contrabands' humanity. In short, she animated ethnography with a deep belief in the virtue of the Sea Island folk. This commitment fueled her work in listening, transcribing and editing sacred song, and it also helped her overcome prevailing notions of black marginality. Above all, Lucy McKim presented in full seriousness to those who would listen a marvelous aspect of Afro-American tradition which continues to reverberate in America.

I need not review the folkloric achievements after the Civil War within Negro colleges to which the Freedmen's Bureau staff, northern philanthropists and southern idealists contributed. Nor need I laud the collector-writers, from Joel Chandler Harris and George Washington Cable to Zora Neale Hurston and Langston Hughes, who made black folk traditions widely known beyond their wellsprings. Attention here to a single figure complements the work of those within the academy and the public sector. Lucy McKim, never fully situated in either of these domains, lived figuratively between a classical musical conservatory and the loamy cottonfields of the Sea Islands. Folklorists must strive always to occupy the liminal space betwixt the academy and the field.

Americans use the symbol of the melting pot mainly to describe the crucible's product. However, workers at foundry, forge or furnace know something of the great variety in their raw material—coal, coke, limestone, metal-bearing ore. Similarly, folklorists know the diversity of our citizenry's origin. We need always to restate the stubborn fact that aborigines greeted Columbus in 1492, and that African slaves did not travel voluntarily to these shores. Hence, we reserve the term "immigrant" (and more recently "ethnic") for those who came freely from the world's edges seeking life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. No matter how many Ellis Island photographs we see of "faceless" immigrants in "outlandish" garb, we can be certain that most of them envisioned America as a golden land, a New Jerusalem.

No single unit like the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Freedmen's Bureau held constant jurisdiction over immigrants. Instead, several federal agencies parcelled out functions such as issuing passports, quanrantining vessels, teaching citizenship classes or conveying "greenhorns" to mine and mill. Many of these responsibilities now center in the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice. Looking back at the Service's (and predecessors') history, one does not find a singular administrator especially tuned to folk culture.

Essentially, the service staff has guarded entry gates, opening and closing them in response to Congressional mandate. In turn, national legislators have balanced between the need, at times, for strong backs in an expanding agricultural or industrial section, and diminished need in periods of depression or recession. Of course, the debate over immigration has been more complex than that of labor supply. Nativists view foreigners—"hunky," "wop," "kike," "gook"—as polluted persons. Liberals view the United States as a haven for the wretched of the earth. Accordingly, we have veered between welcoming and hostile postures towards those for whom Liberty's torch beckoned.

Until this point, I have defined the public sector largely in reference to federal action, beginning with cultural curiosity and exploration by individual agents. Here, I depart to name a pair of outside critics of national immigration policy and practice: Jane Addams and Horace Kallen.

Miss Addams, a Chicago social worker and feminist, dedicated herself to aiding the city's industrial underclass. Sensitive to conflict between immigrant children and parents, and conscious of trauma in too-rapid Americanization, she established Hull-House (1889) to ease the adjustment of foreigners to urban life. In essence, she helped them demystify bewildering experience in tenement and factory. To encourage children to honor their parents' Old World wisdom, Miss Addams established a Labor Museum at Hull-House. This museum was but a craft room where folks from Baltic ports and Balkan villages could spin or weave as they had back home. To complement work with play, she also encouraged parents, in village dress, to teach folksong and folk dance to their children. Remarkably, by many decades, Jane Addams anticipated practices now routine at the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife, or the Festival de la Musique Acadienne at Lafayette.

Horace Kallen, the son of poor Jewish immigrants in Boston, attended Harvard, studying with George Santayana, William James and Wendell Barrett. In a lifetime of teaching philosophy, Kallen slowly formulated a concept of cultural pluralism which stressed the interaction of expressive practice and ideological force, as well as the sharing of frozen power. He rejected notions of Americanism as monolithic or immutable. Addams, at Hull-House, and Kallen, in journal articles and books, hammered away at governmental immigration policies which saw newcomers only as raw ore. Patriots, fearful of the foreign-born, assailed Addams, Kallen and their compassionate colleagues. Despite wide difference in personal origin between the social worker and the philosopher, both, from great society platforms, supported "aliens" in America's many little societies. We do not see the names Addams or Kallen entered in folklore textbooks, yet they helped shape crucial policies which guide contemporary public-sector folk programs.

In moving from an account of collecting experience by an Indian agent at Lake Superior and a musician among Sea Islanders, to a social worker presenting folk crafts in an urban settlement house and a scholar shaping the conceptual tool of cultural pluralism, I have attempted to widen the notion of public-sector folklore from that of documentation alone to the analysis of governmental policy. Previously, I had asserted a chain from Congo Square performance to Willie Nelson's use of a Leadbelly song. Also, I assert a chain from Schoolcraft's redaction of Indian tales to Kallen's vision of America as a patchwork quilt.

As the American Folklore Society prepares for its century mark (1988), some members turn back to the lives of early teacher-builders. We do know much about achievements of Francis James Child, Franz Boas, and their peers. In time, we shall examine parallel roles of public-sector ethnographers and folklorists such as John Wesley Powell, Robert Winslow Gordon, John Lomax and Ben Botkin.

In this commentary, I have focused on dual usages of the term "folk" and on the expansion of folkloric tasks by attention to diversity within the body politic. Nearly half of the states today have ongoing folk programs similar to those in Louisiana. State folklorists, who view themselves primarily as working with living tradition bearers, at times seem uncomfortable when reminded of our discipline's antiquarian roots. Hence, I close with a few remarks on responsibility in recapturing America's past—old skills, old beliefs, old styles.

The verb "capture" reveals that one battles to keep a stream out of culverts, to deflect a highway around a shrine or to insure a local ballad's vitality against network-broadcast power. Conservationists and preservationists together continue to save redwood trees, snail darters, antebellum mansions and frontier forts. The zeal to guard such living forms and man-made structures is not, by definition, reactionary; nor is the effort to drain swamp and develop hillside, by definition, progressive. Our shibboleth "You Can't Stop Progress," engrained in consciousness, does not explain *why* gingerbread houses must be demolished in favor of franchised eateries, nor *why* nesting birds must give way to nested autos in shopping-mall parking lots.

Human beings constantly make decisions about technological change within the framework of social organization and ethical code. Such decisions are articulated either gracefully or awkwardly, for progress rolls both like a phaeton and a juggernaut. Essentially, to assert control over change, mechanically justified, we must strive always to bend or contain its direction. Two new words, which serve to modify the effects of progress, are "impact" and "mitigate." Folklorists recognize that television drama flattens oral narrative as bulldozers alter (impact) earth contours. We liken our championship of vernacular expression to the call for reclamation (mitigation) of scarred hillsides. Fortunately, as public-sector servants have dealt with the deep meaning of Indian tales, black spirituals, Anglo ballads and immigrant-ethnic rituals, they have become aware of coworkers from the National Park Service to the Audubon Society, the Potomac to the Atchafalaya.

When John Muir and Gifford Pinchot pulled together a diverse band of conservationists, some in the Sierra Club and others in the United States Forest Service, the two leaders knew of internal conflict within their legion. In contemporary rhetoric, Muir dedicated himself to untrammeled wilderness and no-growth politics. Pinchot, by contrast, accepted commercial access to forest land and multiple use of resources. Despite such differences, they joined in efforts to storm bastions of political power occupied by timber barons and their hirelings.

Muir and Pinchot, in respective strategies, dealt with land speculators who believed passionately or cynically in individual rights to natural wealth. In the sense that early conservationists fought for national parks and forests as the people's heritage, these activists composed an oppositional force to private land development. Muir's mission became greater than that of cherishing a Sequoia grove, for he had to find the largest rationale which shored up inherent rights of all Americans to their public domain. In addition, he had to generate enthusiasm for programs which ran counter to entrenched power or judicial precedent. Like John Muir before her, Rachel Carson, in the 1960s, served as a torchbearer turning conservationists into "ecologists" and "environmentalists."

Preservationists in the United States could not save Rhine castles or hallowed cathedrals; instead, they rallied around buildings and battlefields marking nationhood—Independence Hall, Mount Vernon, Gettysburg. President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Antiquities Act in 1906 to facilitate designation of certain sites as national monuments. Thus he moved preservation beyond the umbrella of patriotism to that of pre-Columbian native ruins, and, eventually, to neglected slave cabins and urban industrial shops.

This progression—geographic, social architectural—from George Washington's estate to Lowell's textile mills demonstrated the accommodation of antiquarian impulses to the ever-shifting present. Folklorists now help preservationists by attention to the materials fashioned and valued by muleskinner, linthead or roustabout. As we explicate the connective network which links handmade object to social setting, we develop sophisticated partnerships with students in sister arenas.

The American Folklife Preservation Act became law in 1976, placing formally the tasks of cultural documentarians under the rubric "preservation." Our own usage of this term is older than our formal discipline. Songs and stories seem organically to *preserve* themselves by entering tradition; meanwhile, collectors *preserved* these forms in archive, anthology, disc or film. An early preservationist, Ann Pamela Cunningham, in her long and successful campaign to save Mount Vernon, raised funds for its purchase (1859). I see her "cause" as similar to that of Lucy McKim and Jane Addams. From my perspective, all three balanced the tension between treasured pasts and the compelling institutional constraints which bounded their daily spheres.

The inner ties between natural conservation, historical preservation and academic folklore are just beginning to be understood as we experiment in public-sector programs. We have yet to expose all the bonds which place biological, artifactual and expressive forms in conjunction with each other. Do such forms cohere? Why? Folklorists who search willingly for similarities with colleagues help shape a sane vision for America's future. Indians sensed sacred power in myths of land and sky, fire and water. Can we not do the same?

I have found it particularly useful, while moving from classroom to legislative lobby, to reflect upon past successes by writers of fiction, who often provided the energizing symbols for civic discourse. Washington Irving localized published German folk tales to the Hudson River landscape. After Sleepy Hollow, Irving turned east and west to grand themes—across the Atlantic to the legends of Spain's Alhambra, west to the Rockies for the adventures of Captain Bonneville and to the Columbia's mouth for the exploits of entrepreneur John Jacob Astor.

I have been instructed, also, by James Fenimore Cooper. Following Walter Scott's lead in dealing with Scotland's traditions, Cooper helped turn a coonskin-capped, leatherstockinged woodsman, who resembled Daniel Boone, into an American demigod. Essayists and novelists, shaping a new national literature, accepted westward expansion as an inevitable march and frontier pioneers as cosmic drummers. Clearly, Irving and Cooper, although conservative politically, idealized restless progress. In present reading of their books, we can accept Boone and Bonneville as figures of national destiny, but what do we make of Rip Van Winkle and Natty Bumppo? Because these authors used folkloric motifs and gave us an imaginative sense of disparate traditions, we can employ their stories, if we wish, to deflect present-day expansionist urges or to retard flames under the melting pot.

Public-sector folklorists, whether at Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution or in Baton Rouge and sister offices in other states address civic questions far beyond compiling documentary handbooks, curating museum displays or editing ethnographic films. Such agents of government, in their chores, qualify constantly the terms "folk," "folklore" and "folklife." They treat our key naming signs as shifting chips in a kaleidoscope, thereby reducing some of the ambivalence built into the usage "folk." They wrestle with complex policies for tracing regional configurations and for translating "cultural pluralism" from polemical phrase to public practice. Finally, they join hands with conservationists and preservationists endlessly to recapture America's past, to reshape useful traditions into pragmatic present and promising future.

Bayou La Comb Choctaw prepare to demonstrate Snake Dance for photographer, David I. Bushnell. 1909.

FOLKLIFE AND PUBLIC POLICY IN LOUISIANA

A number of state agencies and programs have an impact on the folklife of Louisiana. However, a fully articulated policy and program calling for the documentation and preservation of folk cultural resources in the state is not yet a reality. Although government activity on behalf of folk culture in Louisiana is now being initiated, primarily within the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism (CRT) and its Louisiana Folklife Program, there are other agencies outside CRT that require further research to assess their often informal policies toward folk communities and traditions.

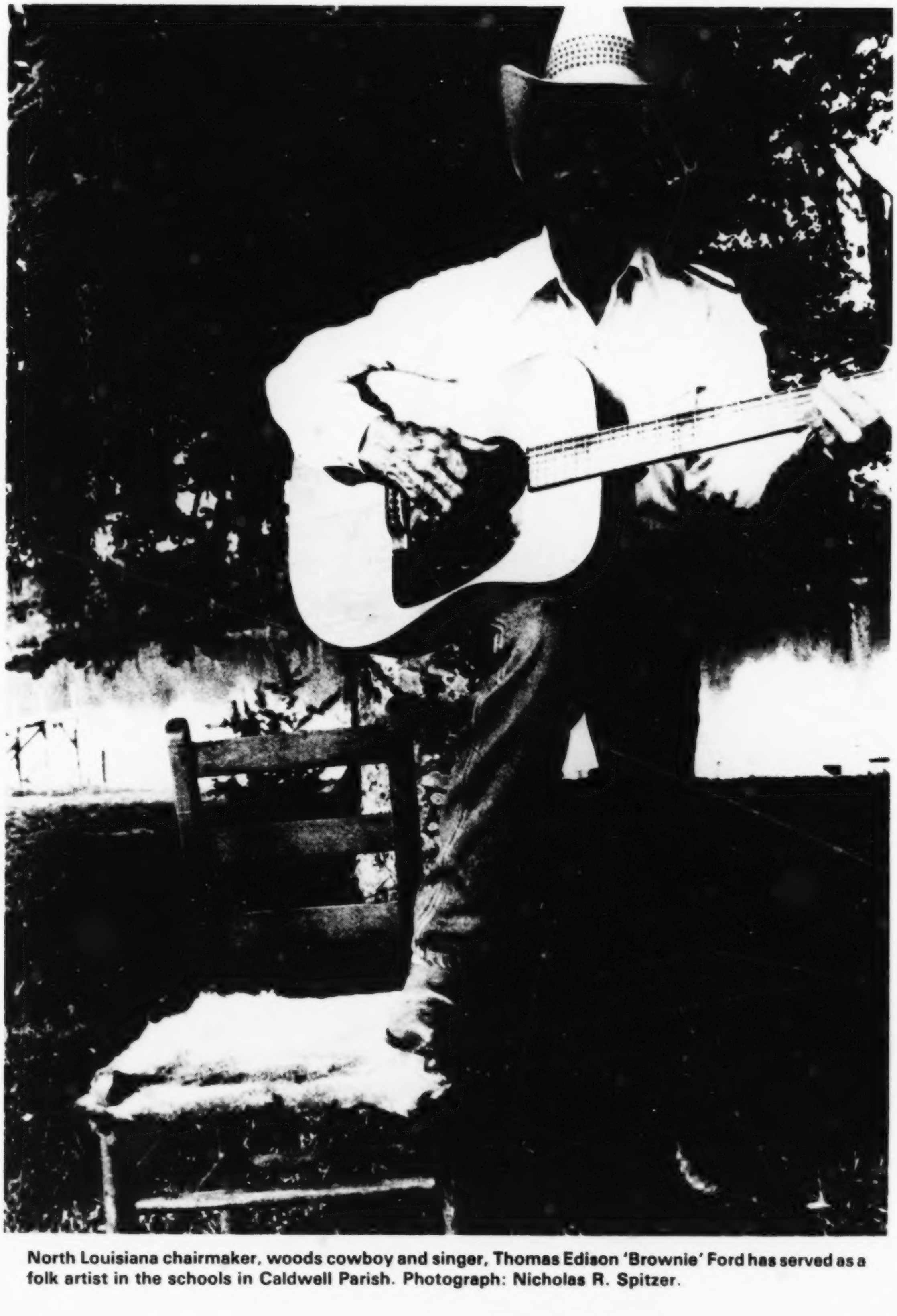
For example, how does the Department of Transportation and Development consider the impact on a folk cultural resource such as a fishing community, a country store, or an old Acadian cemetery as it plans highways and bridges? What policies are invoked when the Department of Wildlife and Fisheries resolves conflicts between traditional fishing methods and modern laws that protect certain species? Is our state's economic development moving in a way that can tap and maintain the strength of folk communities through such skills as boat building, quilting and traditional farming? Are we planning for a Louisiana future in which the landscape and cultural traditions of its people are preserved? Does the Department of Education encourage careful examination by students of the oral literatures (folk tales, folk songs), living traditions and diverse ethnohistories of our citizenry?

At present, no firm answers can be given to these questions. There are isolated state agencies and activities that have been important for folk culture. In the Department of Urban and Community Affairs, for example, is the Governor's Commission of Indian Affairs, which is intended to secure federal funds for Indian development and promote education, social and cultural well-being at the tribal level. In the Department of State is the State Archives and Records Service, which contains numerous photographs and records of historical relevance to folklife. The Department of Agriculture maintains a unique photographic collection of rural life in the Delta (see the section on Folklife and the Media). The Department of Health and Human Resources has considered working on an Indian crafts co-op. The Department of Education is involved in a variety of bilingual and bicultural programs affecting French, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian and Vietnamese children in the state. In general, however, public education in Louisiana and elsewhere has tended to ignore the folk cultures in our midst. All too often when questions about folk cultural traditions are asked, they are answered in simple terms and without the same depth that is focused on traditional history of Western civilization or language studies. The essay "Folklife and Education" in this section considers this policy problem specifically.

Conserving and enhancing our traditional cultures must not simply be the task of educators trying to redress the balance in formal learning settings, a few well intentioned museum curators seeking the arcane or those tourism promoters interested primarily in economic value. Instead, traditional culture and landscape preservation should be the broad concern of Louisiana public policy from the highest elected officials to the parish agents of the Cooperative Extension Service. The understanding that folk culture has provided basic values, aesthetics and ways of doing things in Louisiana should pervade state policy from levee boards planning water level changes to television producers at Louisiana Public Broadcasting scripting documentaries about the environment or state history.

A state as rich in folklife resources as Louisiana must begin to act coherently in all relevant agencies with strategies to protect and enhance these riches, from documenting and encouraging old-time musicians and craftsment to management of the environment and landscape use in harmony with folk community life. Some objectives and methods for these sorts of "cultural conservation" have been advanced by the Folklife Commission in a broad form in the statement that follows, drafted by former commission chairman F.A. de Caro. More specific priorities are also currently being planned on a region-by-region basis.

State agencies of special relevance to folk culture are also referenced in the resource listings in Appendix 1.



North Louisiana chairmaker, woods cowboy and singer, Thomas Edison 'Brownie' Ford has served as a folk artist in the schools in Caldwell Parish. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

FOLKLIFE PLAN FOR THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

by F. A. de Caro and the Louisiana Folklife Commission

The scope of folklife

Folklife consists of the sum total of traditional cultural materials of a community learned outside of formal institutions such as schools (i.e., learned in the family, from a craftsman, on the job, in a religious setting, etc.) and passed down over time. Folklife materials are those that are produced outside mass society. These materials include but are not limited to: language, traditional styles of architecture and land use, folk music and dance, folk medicine and beliefs, rituals and festivals, foodways, arts and crafts, oral history, tales and myths. Particular folk traditions are often shared by the members of folk groups, which may be ethnic, regional, or occupational in nature, or which may have some other common bond.

The benefits of folklife planning

As a state Louisiana has a particularly rich store of folklife traditions and enjoys a rich blending of folk cultures. The state's wealth in this area has long been nationally recognized. For example, noted folklife authority Alan Lomax has called Louisiana, quite simply, "by far the richest state" so far as folk cultural resources are concerned. Yet folklife is not always fully appreciated. And because many forces in the modern world today tend to undermine traditional cultural forms, folklife is sometimes threatened, despite its importance in the lives of many people. It is desirable that we have for Louisiana a plan for dealing with the folklife of the state, so that these cultural resources become better known both in the state and outside, so that they become more fully understood, and so that they can be preserved whenever possible and documented both for present appreciation and for posterity.

There are a number of benefits to folklife planning. Some of these benefits are economic. Tourism is the third largest industry in the state and folklife plays a key, if often not fully appreciated, role in tourism. For example, traditional jazz is one major drawing card for New Orleans visitors; Preservation Hall, where some of the most revered musical traditions of the state flourish, is a prime tourist attraction, famous throughout the world. The Jazz and Heritage Festival draws many thousands of visitors by celebrating a great variety of the state's musical and crafts traditions. The Natchitoches Folk Festival, attended by over 5000 people in 1982, has successfully acted as a magnet for a more regional form of tourism in northwest Louisiana. Other folklife-related attractions, such as the Jean Lafitte National Park and the Rebel State Commemorative Area, are new and have only begun to demonstrate their potential for attracting visitors to Louisiana, and folklife may prove a viable means of attracting visitors to parts of the state where tourism is as yet underdeveloped. Folklife has other economic implications, however, which go beyond the realm of tourism. For example, there are a number of traditional boat builders whose activities bring money into their respective communities. Houma Indian boat builders in such places as Dulac are known along the Gulf Coast as outstanding makers of shrimp boats. The Lafitte skiff is another Louisiana boat type which is made by traditional craftsmen and sold commercially. There are perhaps several hundred people in the state who can make traditional pirogues; the market for such boats in other parts of the country where water conditions might make such a boat useful has yet to be explored. Certainly an increasing respect on the part of many people for the handcrafted makes such possibilities even more feasible today than they might have been twenty years ago. Quilting is another vital Louisiana folk art form. It is not unusual for good quality quilts to sell for hundreds of dollars or more. This folklife form enables women not only to express their artistic talents but also to supplement their family incomes in a satisfying and creative way. A final excellent example of the growing viability of folklife forms in the marketplace is the great success story of duck decoy carving in Louisiana. This traditional form has moved from a status as a little-known supplemental activity to a point where it is practiced by scores of excellent local carvers who sell their creations for substantial prices all over the world.

It is not possible to provide at this time an estimate of the dollar value of folklife to the economy of the state, nor is it even possible to fully enumerate all the kinds of folklife which have economic impact. Any such attempts await further study and more complete surveys, region by region, of the state's resources. However, a concern with folklife has benefits which go beyond the economic and relate to the quality of life itself. Folklife plays a role in the lives of many people in the state. It may be a part of their sense of regional, ethnic, or even personal identities. It may play a role in how they fulfill their needs for artistic creativity. It may simply seem to them an integral part of their lives. People are often proud of their traditional cultures. To show interest in those traditional cultures and ways of doing things can give such people considerable satisfaction and help to validate their sense of self-worth. To show a sensitivity to the preservation of traditional ways, especially in a modern world where such ways of life may not be universally respected, can tell people that their heritage and their identity are of value and have a place in the modern world of mass culture.

Folklife planning, then, has two major roles and resulting benefits: (1) assessing the economic role of folklife within the state, leading ultimately to the possibility of measures which encourage and stimulate this sector of the economy; (2) according to traditional cultures and traditional folkways attention and respect which create satisfaction and a sense of pride and well-being. The second of these roles is the more immediate of the two and probably ultimately the more important, for it is the human rather than the economic dimension of folklife which is really the more striking.

The methods of folklife planning

Folklife cannot be planned in the sense of calling for and regulating its coming into existence; by its very nature it is a preexisting aspect of culture and must be dealt with as it already exists and has already been shaped over a long period of time. Nor can plans be made to attempt to change the nature of existing folklife, as that would be to violate its basic societal and cultural integrity, although folklife planning can deal in various ways with changes which are already taking place and with other cultural forces which may be exerting pressures which may cause folklife to change.

There are two basic methods for dealing with folklife in this context of planning:

(1) **Cultural Conservation.** This involves the strategies for allowing the material and behavioral aspects of folk culture to persist into the future. Strategies in this area include such possibilities as funding master craftspersons or performers to teach younger persons, helping to provide environments in which folklife best persists through time, alerting state agencies and others to the existence of folklife and making these parties aware of possible implications their actions might have for folklife, and in some cases providing for the continuance of folklife forms in artificial contexts, such as the museum or folk festival.

(2) **Documentation.** This involves the researching of folklife in a specific area or along a particular theme and then making known the results. The research might be carried on by a single fieldworker or it might be accomplished through a concerted, team-oriented field survey. The information which research garners may be presented in books and booklets, research reports, via television, photographic shows, films, at folk festivals and in other performance settings for the general public.

The mechanisms for implementing folklife planning

Numerous organizations in the state of Louisiana have been concerned with the documentation of folklife. The Louisiana Folklore Society has existed since 1956 and has published a journal which prints information on the folklife of the state. There is also a Folklife Society of Louisiana with a publications series. State universities have carried on relevant research; folklife research has been a focus of the Louisiana Folklife Center at Northwestern State University at Natchitoches, of the School of Geoscience at Louisiana State University, of the Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, and of the Center for Regional Studies at Southeastern Louisiana University. The universities have also presented information on folklife through classroom teaching and through conferences and exhibits, and such agencies as the State Museum and the Museum of Rural Life have also promulgated folklife information. However, the agency principally charged with dealing with folklife on a statewide basis is the Folklife Program in the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. This Program is advised by the Folklife Commission, which was created in 1981 and which includes representatives of various organizations and agencies concerned with folklife (see Appendix 9).

The staff of the Folklife Program operates to provide a clearinghouse for information on Louisiana folklife and to coordinate the gathering of knowledge on folklife and on what various organizations and citizens in the state are doing to study and promote folklife. They are involved in providing assistance to individuals and organizations who are involved with folk culture, in dealing with folklife-oriented grants requests (currently made through the Division of the Arts), and engaging in the field documentation of folk culture.

Planned activities for the period to 1986

The State Folklife Plan calls for action in five broad areas through 1986. These activities will be carried out by the Folklife Program, though other organizations and individuals may be involved in them under the terms of state grants and contracts, as part of programs assisted by or directed by the Folklife Program, or through projects which are independent of the Program but which are compatible with the activities in question.

(1) The Folklife Program will continue to act as a clearinghouse for information on Louisiana folklife and expand its activities in this area. The Program staff will make the existence of the Program more widely known and thereby act to serve an expanded constituency through various forms of community outreach. Information on folklife is generated at local, regional, state, and federal levels. Many requests for information about folklife already come into the Program from people throughout the state and outside the state who phone and write for assistance. The Program staff will develop mechanisms for disseminating information more effectively, for dealing with the anticipated growth in demand for information, and for putting those who seek information in touch with those who have it. The work *Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State* will be published in 1985 and will be distributed to parish libraries and other appropriate depositories. It is a major step in making available certain basic knowledge about Louisiana folklife in one standard reference source. A newsletter will be begun and circulated to those persons who are most interested in folklife, bringing them current information on up-coming conferences and meetings, current field projects, festivals, archiving programs, and so on; it will also be sent to appropriate agencies and libraries. The staff on the Program will also seek to expand their involvement in fieldwork, so as to have as often as possible firsthand knowledge of folk cultural trends.

(2) The presentation of Louisiana folklife through a variety of media will be encouraged. The Folklife Program will intensify its own media productions, which to date have consisted principally of a sound recordings series and the soon to be published *Guide*. The recording series will be begun to follow up on the excellent start provided by the *Guide*. Publications will be of various kinds but short, informative booklets similar to the Louisiana Archaeological Survey and Antiquities Commission Anthropological series, designed to convey information to the general public, will predominate. The staff of the Program will undertake other media productions, such as radio broadcasts, if funding and staffing levels permit, and will provide technical and other assistance to those involved in the production of other forms of folklife presentation, such as documentary film makers, photographers, and folklife festival organizers. Media productions will also be encouraged through grants funding. The Commission and Program staff was deeply involved in the planning and funding of the Louisiana Folklife Festival at the 1984 Louisiana *World's Exposition*. The Festival included an exhibit entitled "The Creole State: An Exhibition of Louisiana Folklife," produced by the Folklife Program as the major definitive collection of folklife from all parts of the state. The exhibit will continue beyond the life of the Fair, whether in a location devoted to folklife programming, such as a center or institute, or in an appropriate public place with high visibility. The Festival, too, will continue as an annual event complementing folklife fieldwork in various locations of the state.

(3) The identification of Louisiana folklife resources will be stimulated in several ways. Field report forms (see Appendix 9) have been developed to allow for the systematic reporting of aspects of folklife. Thus persons ranging from professional researcher to student to casual observer can contribute information in such a way that it can be filed for ready access in a computerized archival system. Positions for regional coordinators in the Folklife Program will be developed. Persons in these positions will devote their attentions to the documentation and preservation of folklife within a particular region of the state. Grants will assist universities, colleges, and other organizations to participate in the identification of folklife. Also to be carried out are a series of carefully coordinated field surveys. These have been planned on a regional basis. A major survey of the folklife and culture of the Lower Mississippi Delta region was carried out in 1979 under the auspices of the Jean Lafitte National Park but accomplished by the director of the Folklife Program. The second major survey, the Florida Parishes Folklife Survey, was conducted in 1983-84 with an NEA grant. A third survey, of the Delta Parishes, is in the initial planning stages.

(4) The development of a folklife curriculum for Louisiana public schools will be encouraged by the Commission with the Folklife Program providing assistance through consultation and the development of teaching materials. Thus the citizens of the state will come to an understanding of their unique and varied folklife heritage from an early age. Louisiana will be one of very few states with such an educational program.

(5) The preservation of Louisiana folk traditions, landscapes, and communities will be fostered through public dialogue and other means. State departments, local governing bodies and private sector organizations and individuals will be advised on policies appropriate to folklife conservation. In addition, conditions in which folklife is most apt to flourish will be promoted, through such means as heritage awards for leading folklife practitioners such as craftspersons and the continued use of funds to provide apprenticeships for folk craftspersons and performers.

Marie Billiot Dean with her crafts and students at Grand Caillou School, Terrebonne Parish, 1982.
Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

FOLKLIFE AND EDUCATION

by C. Paige Gutierrez

The teaching of traditional cultural materials in schools and a respect for the folk traditions in the communities served should be integral to the state's educational system. The Louisiana Department of Education does not as yet have a comprehensive statewide program or series of resources that comes to grips in an in-depth way with our tremendous folk heritage or its impact on communities, individual values, skills, and learning. The school folklife programming that is done has largely been at individual initiative, such as Foxfire-type projects started by enthusiastic teachers and classes. In some parishes, curriculum supervisors have seen the value of understanding subjects like history, geography and languages as well as the cultural diversity of the area in terms of folk cultural traditions. They have added folklife materials to course work and library collections.

In addition to using folk culture to teach other subjects, traditional skills, languages, architecture, art forms and concepts have value unto themselves in showing students that culture is everywhere and not simply something that emanates with a capital "C" from Greece, Rome, Paris, New York or New Orleans. Mamou, Marksville, Ferriday, Baton Rouge and Delacroix Island all have local traditional cultures of value. In fact, in some of these places the folk cultural resources are world renowned (Cajun music, Tunica Indian artifacts, rockabilly and blues music, Isleno songs).

Folklife studies can also help teachers come to recognize local dialects, traditional playground games, and community aesthetic and belief systems. For example, one wonders how many teachers in south Louisiana parishes understand that the tradition among some black French families of handmade, india-ink tattoos shows a survival of West African body marking and decoration. How many English teachers in the northern hill parishes hear the aspirated "S" in words like "spring" (pronounced "shpring") as derived from an old speech style of the Upland South.

In Louisiana, literacy is a double-edged sword. On one hand, high nonliteracy rates have meant exclusion from the benefits of standard education and the economic mainstream of America. On the other, such literacy rates also index our positive legacy as a Deep South state with a major non-English language base (French), and a tremendous survival of multiple folk traditions. In educating our children, we must not ignore the value of the folk background, as we must reject notions that equate illiteracy with stupidity. Though it is true that nonliteracy is inexcusable in today's eighteen-year-olds, there are many brilliant sixty-five-year-olds in Louisiana who do not read or write, but who perform complex songs and stories, can make a tight house out of logs, can weave intricate baskets, and are "schooled" in how to render bounty and comfort from the seasons and the landscapes around them. Sadly, it has often been educators who are insensitive to these sorts of local, traditional knowledge in favor of the creations of other places and times. Though worthwhile and essential, formal education in Western civilization should not obscure the traditions of family and community that survive in rural and urban Louisiana and actually link our people to England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Spain, Dahomey, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Italy, Yugoslavia and Germany, as well as Native America.

It seems ironic in the present day that national trends, which once emphasized educational standardization and homogenization, now tell us also to seek the knowledge and beauty of our local traditions. Thus it is imperative that our educators, from teachers to public officials, look beyond the provicial view of education as "elevating" oneself from the local and particular to the "great" and "universal" to the progressive search for traditional wisdom and creativity in their own and their students' midst.

Dr. C. Paige Gutierrez is a Danforth Fellow with degrees in folklore and anthropology. She has taught freshman English at LSU, where a knowledge of Louisiana folk culture proved useful in working with students and as subject matter. Dr. Gutierrez works as an anthropologist for the city of Biloxi, Mississippi, where she is involved in issues of education and cultural conservation.

The emphasis in education today is on the future, on preparing the children of the 1980s to function in the world of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Forecasters say that today's educators must adjust their programs in response to practical realities of a new socioeconomic setting, which is increasingly oriented toward the information and scientific-technical fields. Louisiana students, like those elsewhere in the United States, already face a social, economic, and intellectual climate which rewards expertise in "practical" skills such as engineering, medicine, finance, and computer technology, and which tends to devalue (and occasionally ridicule) the pursuit of humanistic studies as secondary, or even as superfluous. Given the practical realities of the current and future situation, why should students study, of all things, *folklore*? The word itself, with its unfortunate popular connotations of false knowledge and provincial ignorance, is not likely to excite the interest of a budget-minded school board. For some parents, it may conjure up images of an impoverished and limited past lifestyle which they have struggled to leave behind. Even those who do understand the folklorist's use of the term may nonetheless prefer to reserve those hours dedicated to teaching the humanities for those subjects which have long been a firmly established part of the school curriculum, such as literature and history courses taught with an eye toward "high" culture, "famous" people, "classic" literary works, and "milestones" in history.

The *Foxfire* project, initiated by Elliot Wigginton, represents what is probably the most famous and most ambitious example of folklore fieldwork and documentation carried out through a school system. A project of this scope may not be practical for all schools; however, students and their teachers have proven that the collection, documentation, and study of local folklore on a smaller scale can yield valuable results. For example, the students of the Southeastern Louisiana University Lab School in Hammond publish *Strawberry Jam*, a journal which includes oral history interviews and descriptions of the folklife in the Florida Parishes. Through their involvement with the journal the students learn not only about their local culture, but they also learn about interviewing, writing, editing, and publication management. Similarly, students of Chamberlin Elementary School in Port Allen produce the journal *Lagniappe*, and the students of Calvin High School in Winn Parish, through the Calvin High School Folklore Club, publish the journal *The Sassafras*. Each of these periodicals contains valuable documentation of local folkways, thus preserving materials which would otherwise go unrecorded. Each serves as a viable model for educators in other communities.

An excellent textbook for use in conjunction with local school-based folklore projects is *Country Folks: A Handbook for Student Folklore Collectors* by Richard and Laurna Tallman (Arkansas College Folklore Archive Publications, 1978). This 134-page paperback presents a thorough and easily understood overview of folklore study, including definitions of folklore, folklore methodology, folklore collection, folklore genres, archiving, and indexing. The text itself is written on a high school level, but teachers of all grades should find the book useful, especially (though not exclusively) for its "To the Teacher" chapter. Most folklore projects in the school system are likely to be done in conjunction with language arts or social science classes; the authors' explicit discussion of the relationship between folklore studies and these fields is noteworthy in this regard. Another useful guide for amateur collectors is a booklet published by the American Folklife Center, "Folklife and Fieldwork: A Layman's Guide."

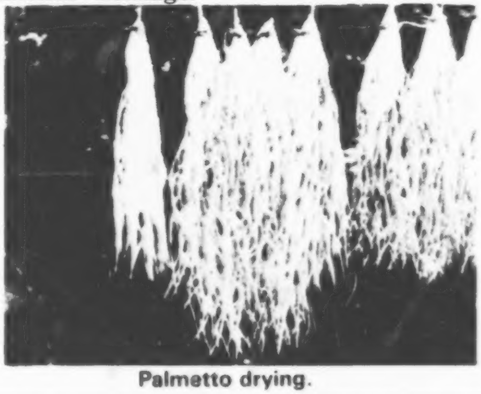
The Louisiana State Division of the Arts' Arts in Education Program has provided the opportunity for direct contact between pupils and folk artists at several locations in the state. In some cases, the students act as "junior folklorists," making field trips to artists' homes or "interviewing" a visiting artist in the classroom. Often, the artist demonstrates his or her skills to the student-audience, and, when feasible, actually teaches these skills to the class. For example, students in Natchitoches visited a harmonica player and former cattle-driver in his home, a double-pen log cabin which he built himself. Cajun musician Dewey Balfa has presented his renowned fiddle playing, plus discussions of the significance of south Louisiana's cultural heritage, to students throughout the state's southwestern parishes. Marie Billiot Dean, Roy Parfait, and other Houma Indians of the Dulac area have demonstrated and taught to students such skills as palmetto weaving, basket making, and blowgun making in schools in Terrebonne Parish. Various Caldwell Parish residents have demonstrated their music, crafts, and cooking for parish students. In particular, Thomas Edison "Brownie" Ford, a multiskilled traditional cowboy residing in the parish, has been called upon as an artist in the school. Ford sings cowboy songs, repairs saddle tack, tells stories, and, in the words of project supervisor Gregory Stone, "quietly forces the kids to reckon with his native intelligence, his way of seeing the world, and his old-time philosophy."

The lessons to be learned through projects, programs and people such as those described above are many. First, students learn that their local culture is something to be proud of, rather than something to be ignored or dismissed as "old-fashioned" or "unfashionable." It is significant in this regard that folklife studies are carried out through the schools. When schools and teachers (authority figures) promote folklife through incorporating it into the school curriculum, the value of folklife is thus affirmed in the eyes of the students, who are accustomed to looking to the schools and teachers as one source of "truth." One may infer that the value of folklife is thus also affirmed in the eyes of the children's parents and the community at large. Of course, the folk artists, "informants," and other local adults who participate in the projects receive flattering recognition for their skills and encouragement to preserve these and to pass on the knowledge which is uniquely theirs. One by-product of school-based folklore programs is a strengthening of ties between younger and older generations. These programs can foster among students the awareness that their elders possess useful, interesting, and even entertaining knowledge and skills. Essays written by children who participated in the Caldwell Parish Folk Artists in Schools Program overwhelmingly support this assertion. (See "The Homespun Heritage: Journal of the Louisiana Art and Folk Festival," Columbia, Louisiana, May 27, 1981.) Young people also experience a "new"-though old—style of education; that is, they become the direct recipients of oral tradition. In traditional societies, the knowledge needed for everyday life is part of the folk culture. Children learn skills and knowledge informally from members of older generations, without intervening institutions. Many of the grandparents and parents of today's Louisiana school children received at least part of their education in this manner. Those students today who spend their time interviewing community members and gathering folk knowledge become involved in a direct educational experience in which the personal ties which were once inseparable from the passing on and receiving of knowledge are reformed in a new setting.

In his book *Teaching as a Conserving Activity* (1979), Neil Postman asserts that the schools should function as a cultural "thermostat"; they should teach students those values and concepts which are *not* emphasized by the larger culture at a particular point in time, in order to counterbalance the values and concepts put forth by other educational "institutions," particularly television and other aspects of mass media and mass culture. Because "the school stands as the only mass medium capable of putting forward the case for what is not happening in the culture," it is imperative that the schools give time to teaching that information which is *not* easily learned from other contemporary sources. Because change is the hallmark of contemporary American culture, the schools must seek to balance the enthusiasm for change and progress by instilling a counterbalancing regard for preservation and time-tested values.

Folklore is one field of study which aptly serves this purpose. For example, Marie Billiot Dean, a Houma Indian palmetto and moss weaver, recently visited a seventh-grade class in Dulac. She demonstrated her skills at the Grand Caillou School and taught the students the rudiments of these processes. The children who took part in this project learned more than how to make mats, whisk brooms and dolls. While one might argue that knowing how to weave palmetto or make traditional crafts might serve these children well in some future, hypothetical situation, I believe it is more important to point out the immediate, less obvious benefits of such an endeavor. The students learned that ordinary people, like themselves, can take an ordinary, natural material such as palmetto and fashion beautiful and useful artifacts—without having to depend on money or the decisions of mass-marketers for these products. These items served as a starting point for discussion of Indian ethnic history and environmental adaptation as well as models for geometric patterns from traditional art forms. There was also an incipient lesson on self-reliance and on the relationship between humans and the resources which they still derive from the natural environment. There was an affirmation of the value of long-held skills. Similarly, a lesson in quiltmaking inherently involves a lesson in thrift, in the act of recycling cloth and creating an item from scraps which may have appeared to have outlived their usefulness. In addition, quilt making is a springboard for discussions of the value of patience, preciseness, community projects (and community relationships), and the ability to combine beauty and creativity with function.

When students listen to folk music or folk tales, they learn that not all entertainment originates with the national media and the national market, that people can entertain themselves—without the help of "canned" media programming. Such forms of entertainment show students that people need not be dependent on the decisions of network executives or on the availability of standardized art and entertainment forms. Moreover, the students learn that entertainment is not necessarily a consumer good; one need not deposit a quarter into a slot in order to have fun, and there are no pauses for commercials. Such understandings may be of particular significance for those students who themselves do not or cannot participate fully in modern popular culture. Those students whose own lives are relatively traditional can be shown that modern popular culture does not provide the only basis for making aesthetic judgements, and that there is reason for them to be proud of rather than ashamed of or disinterested in their "old-fashioned" heritage.



Palmetto drying.

Cajun violinist Dennis McGee plays with Michael Doucet at the University of Southwestern Louisiana. Photograph: Philip Gould.

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FOLKLIFE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION AND TOURISM

Interests in folklife programming and preservation activities are found throughout the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. The Department, which was created by governmental reorganization in 1974, consists of five programming Offices. These are the Office of Cultural Development, Office of the State Museum, Office of State Parks, Office of Tourism and Office of the State Library. These program Offices come under the administrative umbrella of the Office of the Secretary and the Office of Management and Finance. The Secretary of the Department is a gubernatorially appointed cabinet level position, as are the Deputy Secretary, Undersecretary and Assistant Secretaries. The latter are charged with day to day operations of the individual offices. Each office has in recent years become increasingly involved in folklife programming as a result of public interest, staff initiative and technical assistance from the Louisiana Folklife Program in the Office of Cultural Development.

Of all the offices, the Office of Cultural Development (OCD) has the primary obligation of identifying, documenting, developing, promoting and preserving the cultural resources of the State of Louisiana as a whole. The office is unique in the department in consisting of three divisions and one program: Division of the Arts, Division of Historic Preservation, Division of Archaeology and the Folklife Program. Each division uses technical assistance, grants, programming, policy coordination, federal guideline implementation and communication with the field as appropriate to their area of interest. The Division of the Arts (DOA) is devoted to support of the artists and arts institutions in the state. The Folklife Program in DOA serves the traditional folk cultures and communities. The Division of Historic Preservation addresses the historic and architectural heritage of the state. The Division of Archaeology is concerned with the historic and prehistoric material legacy of Louisiana.

These divisions of the Office of Cultural Development, devoted as they are to contemporary, traditional, historic and prehistoric cultural resources in Louisiana, each have a particular overlap into folklife interests. The other four offices of Culture, Recreation and Tourism are also involved with folklife programming in a variety of ways. All the divisions and offices were asked to outline their present and projected roles in the identification, presentation and preservation of folk culture resources in Louisiana. The summaries that follow are the results of this request. They provide the reader with a guide to programs and services involving folklife in the Department.

OFFICE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Division of the Arts

The Division of the Arts (DOA), of all the agencies in the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, has been the most active in identifying and presenting folk cultural resources in Louisiana. The Division is essentially a granting agency which distributes funds for projects in the arts under the auspices of the Louisiana State Arts Council through approval by professional advisory panels in media, music, literature, arts development, arts in education, theater, dance and folklife. Funds are also made available through the Special Services Program, Block Grants and Fellowships.

The Folklife Panel in the Project Assistance category has been the primary conduit for funds and projects that identify, preserve and present folk cultures and related art forms in Louisiana. Previous subprograms such as "Ethnic Outreach" and "Folk Arts" in the Special Services area have also been involved in projects initiated by the Division, such as the production of this book and the *Louisiana Folklife Recording Series*. Starting in 1982, the Folk Arts Internship-Apprenticeship Program has also made cash awards to senior traditional artists who were willing to teach their skills to serious students or to the students of such artists. It should be noted that a number of grants relevant to folklife in the state have also been made through DOA panels such as Arts in Education, Media and Arts Development.

Because it was realized that the folk art traditions of Louisiana were basic to the cultural life of the state of significance beyond our borders, the Division hired a Folk Arts Coordinator for the first time in 1978. This individual then produced the first Louisiana Folk Arts Conference in 1979 and began aiding potential grantees in using the programs of the Division to further the preservation and presentation of folk art in Louisiana. In this process the Division has taken the position that folk art is that traditional creativity which is handed down over time, and is produced by persons within ethnic, regional, occupational, religious and familial groups. Folk art is learned by oral transmission or imitation; it is not produced in formal institutions nor is it the work of untrained visionaries or highly individual members of folk communities.

In 1981, the Division responded to the increased demands for services in the folk arts-folklife area and the problems in using a grants process alone to achieve its goals in documenting and presenting traditional folk culture. It gave encouragement to the concept of developing a discrete Louisiana Folklife Program or Division of Folklife. Legislation calling for such a program was passed in 1981 although funds to fully realize the concept were not made available. However, this concept was framed out and has developed to the present (see below).

As the Division of the Arts moves into the future, the folk arts and folklife in general must have a major role to play in its grant programs. Currently, plans are being developed to create a unique grants and programming thrust for folklife within the DOA guidelines.

Of special note to those interested in folk arts is DOA's quarterly publication *artSpectrum*, which often features stories on the Folklife Program and folk arts in the state in general. The twenty-eight-minute film *Made in Louisiana*, produced by the Division, is also of interest, because of the prominent place it gives to blues, Cajun music, zydeco, folk-artists-in-the-schools, old-time country music and crafts. Anyone wishing to receive information on *artSpectrum*, the film, or folk arts related projects should write for guidelines to the Division of the Arts, P.O. Box 44247, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 70804.

Nicholas R. Spitzer
Division of the Arts

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE PROGRAM (DOA) OFFICE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE PROGRAM

The Louisiana Folklife Program had its beginnings in the Division of the Arts in 1978 (see above). In 1981, Act 893 provided for the creation of a discrete program devoted to folk culture in the broadest sense and the formation of the Louisiana Folklife Commission to advise the program (see legislation, Appendix 8). Folklife was defined in the legislation as "the sum total of traditional cultural materials of a community learned outside formal institutions and handed down over time. The cultural materials include language, traditional styles of architecture and land use, folk music and dance, folk medicine and beliefs, rituals, festivals, foodways, arts and crafts, oral history, tales and myths."

The Louisiana Folklife Program has carried on and expanded upon the work of the Folk Arts Coordinator of the Division of the Arts through the creation of a new position, the Folklife Program Manager. The work of the Program currently can be divided into several categories:

Identification of Folk Cultural Resources Through Field Survey

This includes the 1979 cooperation with the Jean Lafitte National Park in surveying the southeastern lower delta parishes and producing the *Mississippi Delta Ethnographic Overview*. Although fieldwork to address specific needs is an ongoing aspect of the program, the second systematic regional survey of folklife resources was commenced in the fall of 1983 in the form of the Florida Parishes Folklife Project. Future field surveys are planned for the Delta region of northeast Louisiana and, through a grant to Louisiana Tech, the north central hill parishes. Individuals interested in contributing to the Program's on going statewide Louisiana Folklife Survey should write for survey forms to the address given below. (Sample form in Appendix 9.)

Public Presentation of Folk Cultural Resources

These take a variety of forms such as museum exhibits, sound recordings, films, publications, slide tape programs, festivals and concerts. Some of these are supported through grant funds while others are produced by the Program itself. In this latter category were the Florida Parishes Folklife Conference (in cooperation with SLU's Center for Regional Studies), the ongoing Louisiana Folklife Recording Series (in cooperation with a variety of local groups—see listing below), the Louisiana Folklife Exhibit in the State Capitol, the Capital Concert Series, and publication of this book, *Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State*.

Technical Assistance to the Field

Technical assistance involves letter, telephone or field visit responses to local communities, institutions and individuals concerned about preserving and interpreting their local traditional culture. Such has been the case in the diverse inquiries from Cajun musicians, working cowboys, historical societies school boards, museums, etc.

Technical assistance is also provided at a statewide level. In the future the program hopes to publish a newsletter to encourage increased cooperation and networking of the individuals, groups and communities mentioned above. Currently this level of work is primarily in aid to other state agencies such as State Parks, the Office of Tourism and the State Museum. Also involved are major private organizations and resource centers such as the Louisiana Folklore Society, the Louisiana Folklife Society, the Center for Louisiana Studies (USL), the Center for Regional Studies (SLU), the Louisiana Folklife Center (NSU) and the LSU and UNO Departments of Geography and Anthropology, among others.

Technical assistance to federal and national private agencies presenting Louisiana folk culture or traditional performers has also been a major role of the program. In recent years we have worked with: the Smithsonian's Office of Folklife programs; the National Endowment for the Arts, Folk Arts program; the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress; the National Park Service; the U.S. Information Agency; and National Public Radio. Private advocacy and academic groups worked with include the National Council for the Traditional Arts, the American Folklore Society, the Society for Humanistic Anthropology and the Southern Anthropological Society.

Developing Public Policies to Present and Preserve Louisiana Folklife

The Louisiana Folklife Program and Louisiana Folklife Commission are committed to developing annual and long-range planning to encourage understanding of, research in and preservation of Louisiana folk cultures. This is carried out by stimulating public dialogue and producing documents as well as participation in major projects such as field surveys, World's Fair programming, and planning for a State Folklife Resource Center. (See "A Folklife Plan for the State of Louisiana" in this section).

For information on the Louisiana Folklife Program write, P.O. Box 44247, Baton Rouge, LA 70804.

Louisiana Folklife Recording Series LPs (in all parish libraries)

001 *"Cornbread For Your Husband, Biscuits For Your Man:* Clifford Blake, Sr., calls the Cotton Press." (stories and worksongs)

002 *"The North Louisiana String Band."* (Old-time country)

003 *"Since Ol' Gabriel's Time:* Hezekiah and the Houserockers." (Country blues)

004 *"Ensemble encore:* Octa Clark, Hector Duhon and the Dixie Ramblers." (Cajun Music)

DIVISION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

For many years the National Register of Historic Places program in Louisiana's Division of Historic Preservation was primarily geared toward high-styled architecture in Federal, Greek Revival, or Italianate modes. Vernacular or folk buildings were only appreciated to the extent that they had borrowed features from academic styles of their time. This was not so much a deliberate sin of omission as a reflection of the overall academic bias which had become a tradition with the survey and National Register programs nationwide.

In recent years, however, Louisiana Survey and National Register staff have made a concerted effort to understand and appreciate vernacular architecture more fully. This has included not only defining the basic concept of folk building but also isolating the specific building types which are indigenous to Louisiana. In addition, we have made a special effort to select vernacular structures for nomination to the register on a regular basis. As a result, twice as many folk buildings were listed on the register from Louisiana in 1982 as were listed in 1979.

In high-styled architecture, the builder follows national, or even international design fashions, to create an aesthetically pleasing result based upon some polemical set of criteria.

In vernacular architecture, the builder follows the local building traditions he has inherited to create a structure which is primarily useful though it may have pleasing qualities as well.

In provincial architecture, the vernacular builder begins to incorporate high-style features into his work, thus achieving at times both very awkward and very creative solutions.

In Louisiana, the vernacular environment is rich. The Division of Historic Preservation has recorded and recognized such diverse structures as the Magee dogtrot house in Washington Parish; the last surviving example of *poteaux-en-terre* construction in the state, Natchitoches Parish's Badin-Roque house; and a house representing three different folk motifs, the Ellis House in Jackson Parish, which is described as a combination of the New England temple-and-upright, the "I" House, and the dogtrot folk traditions. The Magee half-log dogtrot, for instance, has received painstakingly careful restoration at a private level. The Division has also provided grant assistance for a historic-structures report and for stabilization and restoration of the Badin-Roque House. We will offer all possible encouragement to the owner of the Ellis House to keep this special residence as part of the north Louisiana folk landscape.

Of special interset to those involved with folk buildings is *Historic Standing Structure Survey*. The survey instructions and forms include diagrams and directions for the identification and recording of folk and vernacular forms such as shotguns, log dogtrots, Creole cottages and bungalows (see diagram reprint).

Our support of folklife also extends to commemorating folk artists for outstanding achievements. The well-known blues singer Huddy Ledbetter was recognized by placement of a historic road marker near his native Mooringsport explaining his contributions to Louisiana folk musical heritage.

As George Zabriskie wrote in "Images of Tradition" in *With Heritage So Rich*, "How can we judge? May not the humble horse-turned bale press mean more than the decorous church, the preserved mansion with the family silver intact and the impersonal ancestors?"

Louisiana's Division of Historic Preservation has a substantial investment in the cotton press as well as the family silver. The sheer number of intact folk landscapes and individual buildings in Louisiana would not allow us to do otherwise.

Johnathan Fricker
National Register Coordinator

Donna Fricker
Historian

DIVISION OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeology is a discipline which seeks an understanding of man's past. The archaeologist's search is conducted through excavation of the material remains of man's occupation of the landscape. Recently folklore has been used in conjunction with archaeology to broaden our perspective of man's cultural history. Archaeologists have discovered the value of folklore in explaining the patterns of human behavior observed during excavations. At the same time, folklorists have seen that much can be learned about material folk culture from archaeology.

Archaeology has grown tremendously in the last fifteen years, primarily as a result of federal legislation which seeks to preserve our past in the face of present and future development. Folklife studies have become an integral part of this preservation effort as an awareness of our rich folk traditions has increased. Studies by folklorists have greatly assisted archaeologists in a number of ways. For instance, prehistoric archaeologists have found folklorists' insights into Indian customs and material culture valuable in the interpretations of native American archaeological sites. From the examination of Indian crafts and folk traditions, archaeologists hypothesize about past Indian lifeways and then attempt to search for evidence of these hypotheses in the patterns observed at prehistoric Indian sites.

The work of the folklorists has been found to be even more applicable to the work of historic archaeologists. The historic archaeologist specializes in the recent past from the discovery and colonization of America. Historic archaeologists make use of folklorists in a great number of ways. The study of folk tales and traditions, folk music, folk architecture, and material culture by folklorists are now regularly being integrated with the results of excavation of historic sites. One folklore technique, that of oral history collecting and informant interviewing, is so useful to the historic archaeologist that it is now considered a prerequisite in conducting any excavation at historic sites.

No better example of this recent "marriage" of folklore and historic archaeology is seen than the cultural resource work completed along the Tombigbee River in Mississippi. As a result of a large Corps of Engineers waterway construction project, extensive excavation of several historic sites was completed, each in conjunction with the collection of oral histories. At Waverly Plantation, former tenant farmers were interviewed about their lives on the plantation during the early 1900s. Archaeologists were especially interested in the tenants' perceptions of material culture and the location of their various domestic activities. In several experiments, tenants' description of their house construction and activity locations were compared to the archaeological remains. Informants visited archaeological sites during excavations and helped interpret the sites. Much was learned by having the folklorist and archaeologist work side by side in the field which produced an integrated "ethnohistorical" study of tenant farming.

At other sites along the Tombigbee, similar team efforts proved again and again that the two disciplines provided a better perspective than either could produce alone. At three historic town sites, Colbert, Barton, and Vinton, oral historians aided the archaeologists in locating structures and identifying site functions. At Bay Springs, a textile mill and a surrounding Upland South rural community, archaeologists and folklorists were able to reconstruct life in a mill community and define Upland South settlement patterns. Without the help of folklorists, the archaeologists at Bay Springs would not have been able to define the boundaries of the dispersed community.

Here in Louisiana, historic archaeologists and folklorists are helping each other to broaden our knowledge of the past. Recent excavations at a sawmill in Terrebonne Parish have made use of oral historical information which was critical to the study, because few historical records were located. The value of folklore and study of folk traditions is well acknowledged by the state's own Division of Archaeology. While primarily oriented toward the preservation and identification of archaeological sites, the Division sponsors programs which encourage the integration of both disciplines. One recent program cohosted by the division was a workshop for Louisiana Indian youth. These youth were given the opportunity to excavate a prehistoric Indian site. This was just one activity in a large program where Indian youth are taught about their past. The Division of Archaeology deems it a responsibility to help develop an appreciation of folk traditions in all Louisiana ethnic groups.

It is obvious that the lines which separate folklore and archaeology continue to grow closer and already overlap in many instances. Both disciplines have learned the value of integration. As Henry Glassie, a noted folklorist, has stated "... folklore and archaeology are paradigmatically quite similar disciplines with much to give and gain in a closer association."

Steve Smith
Staff Archaeologist.

Badin-Roque House, Melrose, Natchitoches Parish. Photograph: Guillet Photography.

OFFICE OF THE STATE MUSEUM

The Louisiana State Museum is both the oldest and largest museum in Louisiana. Founded in 1906, it is housed in a complex of eight historic structures in the New Orleans French Quarter. In addition, the State Exhibit Museum in Shreveport and the Old State House in Baton Rouge have been added to the museum's holdings.

The goals of the museum are to collect, preserve, exhibit and interpret artifacts germane to the history, culture and people of Louisiana. These goals are met through the museum's Curatorial Department, Historic Center and Education Department with the support of the Administrative Department, Building and Custodial Department and Security Department.

The museum collections are housed in two departments. Collections are grouped by nature because like materials share like needs for conservation, storage, etc. Within the Curatorial Department are the collections of Painting and Graphic Arts, Costumes and Textiles, Decorative Arts, Jazz and Louisiana Music and Photography. Collections of Cartography, Manuscripts and Rare Books and a non-circulating Research Library are found in the Historic Center.

The resources of all these collections are available to students and scholars by advance appointment. The collections are large and only a fraction of them may be displayed at any given time. The remaining historic objects, which constitute the largest portion of the museum's holdings, are in storage areas which are not accessible to the general public for security reasons.

The Collections

The museum's collections may be viewed as an assemblage of material culture—the physical objects created and/or used by and/or for Louisianians. They range from tools to top hats, looms to lamp bulbs. They include objects of interest with regard to technology, fashion, style, fine arts and events. Their usefulness to folklorists and practitioners of allied disciplines is limited only by the interest of the researchers who consult them, though they are largely of an historical nature.

The collections of the Louisiana State Museum are reflective of the people who created or used the materials which comprise them as well as the tastes of those who collected them. Because of the museum's geographic location in New Orleans and limited travel funds, the collections are more broadly representative of south Louisiana than they are of the northern part of the state.

A summary description of the museum collections may be useful to the scholar and researcher. Following is a brief account of each curatorial collection area:

Painting and Graphic Arts. Approximately 1,100 regional oil portraits, mostly from the nineteenth century. A select group are by Salazar, probably the best known of the eighteenth-century artists in Louisiana during the Spanish colonial period. Some twentieth-century works are included as well. This collection also houses the museum's sculptural holdings, which are limited in number. Principally these are comprised of busts (marble, plaster, wax) of prominent Louisianians. A small but excellent group of shop signs (Cigar Store Indians, etc.) and the works of Pierre Joseph Landry (Ascension Parish, active 1830's) may be of special interest to those who take an "art/historical" view of folk art. Genteel ladies' crafts (silhouettes, fish scale pictures, Spencerian work and like media) are within this collection as are prints (etchings, engravings, lithographs and others). The museum holds relatively few drawings, with the exception of a large group of works by Sadie Irvine, an important figure associated with the Newcomb Pottery (1895-1940). The Louisiana landscape holdings have been considerably strengthened in recent years and of special interest are works by Adrien Persac (active 1860's) depicting architecture in landscape settings. A few cityscapes (New Orleans) from the nineteenth century complete this holding.

It is principally within this collection that the question of "folk" versus "naive" arises. Some of the artists represented were fully, academically trained and their work may be viewed as professional. Others attempted to imitate the academic styles with resulting "naive" images not backed with the training in drawing, *chiaroscuro* and painting conventions employed by the professional artists. Still others, who learned their artistic activities outside formal settings—within the aesthetics of a folk community—created folk artifacts.

Decorative Arts. This collection contains an especially significant holding of works by Louisiana cabinetmakers as well as general furnishings from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries. The early Louisiana pieces (prior to 1830) are of both *ebonist* and folk origins. Some excellent examples of both Creole and Acadian craftsmanship are included.

A holding of Louisiana silver is housed in this collection. Some work by earlier smiths may be considered as "folk" or "naive" in character. Toys are also placed in decorative arts. Of particular interest are Louisiana dolls representing both black and white figures.

Costumes and Textiles. This collection documents the dress of Louisianians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as their household linens and other textile needs. The collection is weak in qults but is strong in Acadian handspun, handwoven textiles.

Costume holdings largely reflect the tastes of the elite (people tend to save their fancy gowns and discard everyday clothing). This collection contains the largest assembly of Louisiana Carnival and Mardi Gras costumes, and does include several examples from the Mardi Gras Indians.

As is usual with such collections, the holdings of women's wear and accessories (shoes, hats, fans, etc.) are very strong, while male garb (with the exception of military costume) is quite limited. Of particular interst to ethno-historians are a few slave-made pieces and a few extremely rare examples of Acadian *cotonade* and *jetture de laine* garments.

Jazz and Louisiana Music. This collection documents urban music of New Orleans more fully than rural music. It is especially strong in the areas of popular music of the nineteenth century (including opera), Creole song, ragtime, jazz and music published in Louisiana or by Louisiana composers. Many of these pieces, written for sentimental, promotional or commemorative purposes, document or memoralize persons, places, products, services or events from Louisiana's past.

In addition to several thousand pieces of published music, this collection contains approximately 9,000 78-rpm recordings, mostly of jazz as well as many tapes and 33 1/3-rpm discs. There is also an especially good collection of jazz posters and photographs and musical instruments played at the French opera, in theatre orchestras or by jazz performers (including Louis Armstrong's first horn). The largest single acquisition in the musical holdings is the New Orleans Jazz Club Collection of approximately 40,000 objects in all categories. It was presented to the museum in the seventies.

Photography. The images contained document many aspects of Louisiana and Louisiana folklife. The oldest picture in this collection is a daguerreotype of Canal Street (New Orleans) from the 1840's. It is thought to be the earliest extant Louisiana photograph. The total photography holdings consist of 40,000 to 60,000 images.

A number of single photography collections will be of particular interest, including:

1) The Tebbs Collection of architectural views, especially of plantations and out buildings, taken by Robert Tebbs in the 1920's.

2) The Mugnier Collection of several hundred glass plates, 1880-1925, of a wide variety of subjects of statewide interest by George Francois Mugnier.

3) The Simon Collection of 23,000 glass plates, 1910-1930, largely portraits but some of interesting events, public service employees, dock workers, etc.

4) The Frances Benjamin Johnston collection of salon prints of Louisiana architecture by Ms. Johnston, 1930's.

5) The Whitesell collection of about 500 works mirroring all phases of the activity of "Pops" Whitesell, 1930-1950.

There are also a vast number of pictures by other photographers ranging from daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and ferrotypes ("tintypes") through most paper print media, including a wide variety of subject matter and locations. Of greatest interest to folklorists are contemporary documentary photographs of black New Orleans folk traditions (Michael Smith), Creoles of Color (Chris West) and rural black sugar cane workers (Debbie Caffery).

Programming in the Traditional Arts

Several of the museum's exhibits have dealt with the traditional arts and crafts of Louisiana. Some examples are:

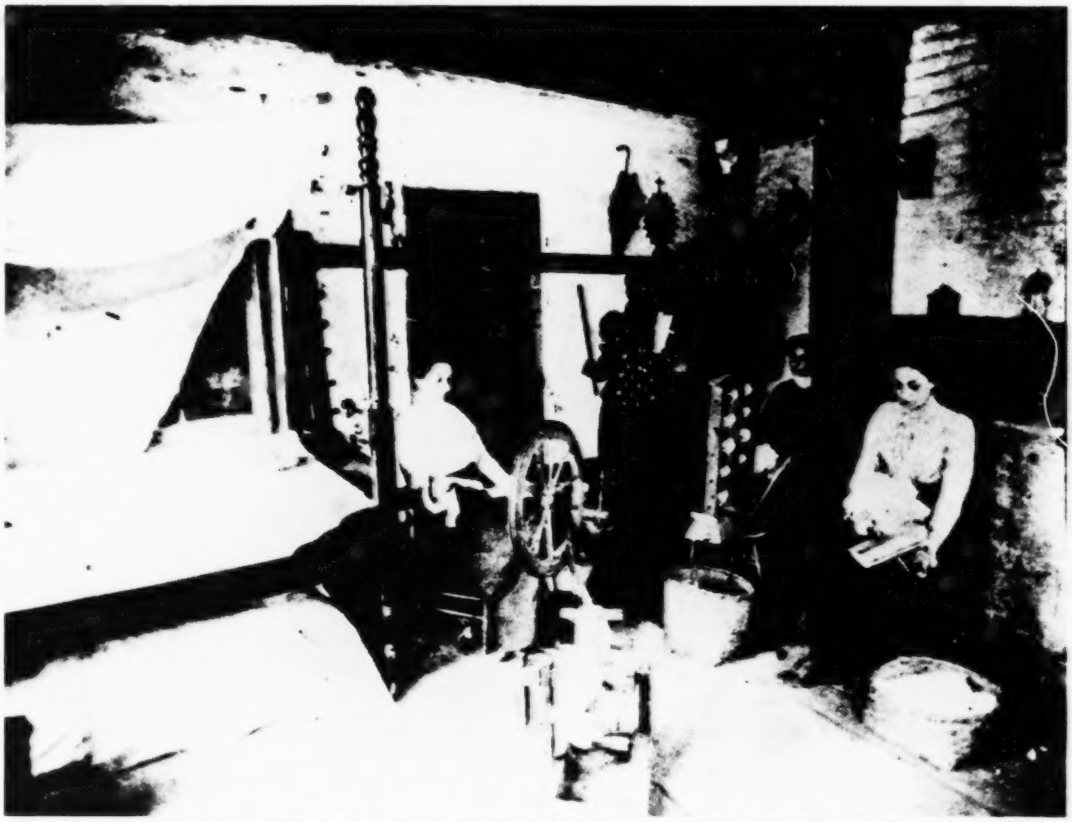
Louisiana Folk and Naive Arts: Reflections of a People. Temporary exhibition held at the Presbytere (1975) of approximately 100 works.

St. Joseph Breads (1977). Temporary exhibition and special program (interpretive lecture) of the elaborate fig-filled pastries prepared by baker/artisans of the New Orleans Italian community for the celebration fo St. Joseph's Day (March 19). Resulted in the permanent preservation (with the advice of the Chief of the Analytical Conservation Laboratory of the Smithsonian Institution) of six of these elaborate, ephemeral pastries.

Matters of Life and Death. Exhibition (designed to tour) and catalogue, presented at Madame John's Legacy (1978). Analytic photographic essay and text examining the unique funerary practices of south Louisiana (wakes, jazz funerals, aboveground cemeteries, All Saints practices) and the impact of modern technology (distant cemeteries, interstate highways, perpetual care design) on these traditional practices. Catalogue available.

Folk and Naive Portraiture. One of a suite of five rooms comprising *The Louisiana Portrait Gallery* (1978) in the Presbytere. A selection of the Museum's extensive permanent collection. Removed 1980. Catalogue available for the entire five-part gallery.

Played with Immense Success. Special exhibition (in conjunction with the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service) at the Presbytere, (1979). Over 340 examples of Louisiana-published music, displayed and interpreted to show how



Acadian woman card, spin and weave cotton at home. ca. 1910. Photograph: Louisiana State Museum.

local written music reflected the lives and times of the people who produced it. Recording available.

Louisiana Folk Arts (two-part exhibition. 1980). Historic items shown in the Jackson House and contemporary materials displayed in the Arsenal. Condensed into the Jackson House alone (1981).

L'Amour de Maman: the Acadian Textile Heritage (1980). Traditions, social custom and practice, techniques and history of Acadian textile production, 1770-1970. Research files available for consultation.

Spirit World (1984). Perhaps most important of all from a modern folklife point of view was this documentary photographic display of the Afro-Caribbean and African-influenced traditional expressive practices of New Orleans blacks. The exhibit, by photographer Michael P. Smith, was accompanied by a symposium and a publication of the same name.

The museum collections are, like a noncirculating reference library, available for consultation. Researchers should inquire about curatorial research files as well as individual objects from the collections. The museum is delighted to share its resources in the folklife area, and is always happy to enrich them with original objects, research papers and publications, photographs and other materials when they become available.

Vaughn Glasgow
Curator for Special Projects

LOUISIANA STATE
FIDDLERS
CHAMPIONS
FF

Tex Grimsley of Shreveport and Louis Darby Opelousas at the La. State Fiddle Championship. Photograph: Al Godoy. (Louisiana Office of Tourism.)

OFFICE OF TOURISM

The Louisiana Office of Tourism has a responsibility to promote the preservation of our state's diversity. Our natural environment and cultural heritage, second to none in the United States, are the basis of this great diversity.

As we encourage progress and new business enterprises in our state, we are also committed to make certain that the two in no way weaken Louisiana's cultural and environmental attractions.

We need to educate the public toward a better understanding of our roots, and of the economic and aesthetic consequences of preserving our heritage.

The Louisiana Office of Tourism sees itself as a support agency of the travel industry. We already have a firm base of cooperation among every element of the industry to pursue its goals and enhance its future. Education of the public can be achieved from this same base. We will work with the private sector, the key to the infrastructure of tourism in our state, and will appeal to this infrastructure to motivate and work toward the preservation of Louisiana's diverse cultures and environments. We will work with the business community and government as well in pursuit of this goal.

Tourism has a significant potential for improving society because travel is an educational experience that can be gained in no other way. The preservation of Louisiana's special and treasured heritage can influence an important facet of a traveler's life as he experiences our cultural and environmental diversity. And tax dollars generated by properly maintained environmental and cultural resources can have a positive effect on the quality of life of our own citizens . . . a better environment and more job opportunities.

Betty Edgerton
Editorial Services, Advertising & Publicity

THE OFFICE OF STATE PARKS

Interpretive Services and Folklife

The Office of State Parks has expanded the services it provides the public at park sites throughout Louisiana. It has recently formed an Interpretive Services Section whose primary responsibility is to address the problem of site enhancement and public education. This is particularly true of those parks designated as Preservation Commemorative Areas. State Park sites on the other hand, enjoy a passive recreation status, and emphasis at these sites is placed on day use, recreation and camping. Of the former two site types, the State Commemorative Areas—defined as areas which possess statewide historical, cultural or memorial significance—require special considerations when designing interpretive programs.

It is the goal of the Interpretive Services Section to present programs that will improve the quality of the visitor experience at these sites. This will be accomplished through a wide range of activities which will include audio visual presentations, living-history programs, publications, research and fieldwork, and rotating displays.

A major component of the developmental and operational philosophy of the section centers on a strong research program. It is felt that the only way to adequately interpret a theme is to thoroughly research the topic prior to designing facilities and then incorporate these data into a broader information bank available for continued use in developing the site.

The goals and objectives of the Louisiana Folklife Program, in many ways, are similar to those established by the Interpretive Services Section of the Office of State Parks. The services provided by the State Folklife Program have been used by our office in the past in developing such sites as Longfellow-Evangeline State Commemorative Area, Rebel State Commemorative Area, Fort St. Jean Baptiste State Commemorative Area and Plaquemine Locks State Commemorative Area. At each of these sites, the Office of State Parks has tried to provide a cultural background for the material items (from boats and houses to fiddles and accordions) used in the interpretation of the site or of a particular theme.

At such Commemorative Areas our office envisions ongoing research programs that will continue to provide newly identified folklife materials to be used in site and theme development.

Rebel State Commemorative Area, located near Natchitoches, Louisiana, has a theme centered on the development of country music in Louisiana. Our site curator works closely with the Folklife Program in developing this theme. The successful interpretation of such a complex theme in the context of the Anglo folk culture of north Louisiana goes far beyond the collection and display of musical instruments and personal mementos of musicians. Indeed, in the case of Rebel, a large amphitheatre on the site will be used to present folk and country music performance from the region.

The case is similar for Longfellow-Evangeline State Commemorative Area in St. Martinville, a site designated to commemorate the "story" of French people in Louisiana. Although musical performance is not as integral to this site, the traditions of Cajun and Creole crafts, cooking, fishing and other household/survival activities are being consistantly collected, identified and presented. Extensive fieldwork with folk culture bearers and their materials will be required to adequately gather sufficient data to present the culture of French Louisiana. The use of oral histories in particular will be paramount in developing a representative setting through which site and theme interpretation will best be accomplished at Longfellow-Evangeline.

A third locale involving folklife traditions as part of the interpretive theme is Plaquemine Locks State Commemorative Area. Located at the Mississippi River source for Plaquemine Bayou, the site is currently acquiring a diverse collection of folk boat types from historical and contemporary makers. The display of this means of water travel both presents folk material culture and alludes to the contact between cultural groups made possible by such travel.

While most of these interpretive facilties remain in the organizational state, it is during this period that crucial decisions must be made. As such, interaction with the Folklife Program will play an active role in establishing the interpretive framework for many of the State Commemorative Areas. Parks have traditionally been thought of as natural preserves or strictly historical/commemorative settings. Utilizing folklife resources allows the identification, presentation and hopefully, preservation of the continuing folk traditions of Louisiana within and outside the boundaries of the park.

James D. Morgan
Historic Sites Coordinator

OFFICE OF THE STATE LIBRARY

The Louisiana State Library has long had an interest in Louisiana folk culture. This interest is in part evidenced in the folk cultural aspects found in the WPA *Guide to the State*. This book was produced in cooperation with the State Library Commisssion. Many of the documents relating to the research into the original Guide are kept at the Louisiana Section of the State Library in Baton Rouge. Headings for the file drawers and folders containing these and other items relevant to folklife are given below.

In addition to these documents, the Louisiana Section maintains an extensive photo file. Some of these include the Louisiana WPA photography meant to accompany the Guide Series. The collection also includes copy prints of some of the Farm Security Administration photographs made in Louisiana and now housed at the Library of Congress (see the section on Folklife and the Media for more information). Other photo collections of note are the prints of Elemore Morgan, Sr., and Fonville Winans. The Louisiana Tourist Commission prints are also deposited in the Louisiana Section and many contain various folklife subjects.

Of special note to those interested in documentary films and folk music recordings is the Films and Recordings Section. This section maintains a number of significant films on Louisiana folklife by such persons as Les Blank, Steven Duplantier and Fred Packard. A complete listing of Louisiana films and video on folklife subjects, including those at the State Library, is provided in the Media Section of this volume. These films may be borrowed by non-school groups for showings that do not involve admission charges. Other materials in the State Library may only be checked out by state employees. Citizens, however, may request materials through Inter-Library loan.

As part of its on-going commitment to Louisiana folklife, the State Library has distributed this volume, *Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State* and the *Louisiana Folklife Recording Series*, to all parish libraries in the state and a number of other public depositories.

FOLKLIFE RELATED SUBJECT HEADINGS AND COLLECTION IN THE STATE LIBRARY

WPA FILE-SUBJECT OF FOLDER

Drawer #6
Folklore-Catholic
Folklore-River
Folklore-Cajun
Folksongs
Folklore-Medicine
Folklore-Negro

Drawer#7
Acadians-Customs
Acadians-South Central Louisiana
Folklore-Central Louisiana
Folklore-South Central Louisiana
Folklore-Southwest Louisiana

Drawer#8
Slaves-Folklore
Terrebonne Parish-Folklore
Washington Parish-Folklore

Drawer #13
Natchitoches Parish Folklore

Drawer #14
Folklore-Interviews (plantation stories)
Folklore-Poetry
Folklore-Proverbs
Folklore-Riddles
Shreveport-Folklore-Superstitions

Drawer#15
Shreveport-Superstitions

Drawer#16
Entire drawer about Voodoo and Marie Laveau

PICTURE FILE SUBJECTS

Batture Dwellers
Spanish Moss
Acadians
Religion-Baptism
St. Joseph's Altars
Occupations (Blacksmiths, Chimney sweeps, furniture makers, etc.)
Oysters
Huntings
Negroes
Street Vendors
Houses
Festivals
Hungarians
Trapping

VERTICAL FILE SUBJECT HEADINGS FOR FOLK CULTURE

Art-Folk Art
Acadians
Folk-lore
Indians of North America
Cajun Music
Negro Songs

Italian Catholic ritual parading St. Rosalia in Gretna, ca. 1940. Photograph: W.P.A. Collection, Louisiana State Library.

Folk-Music
Christmas
Voodooism
Dialects
Festivals (3 file drawers of material)
Germans
Italians
Canary Islanders
Hungarians
Irish
Yugoslavs
Filipinos
Handicraft
Acadian Handicraft
Atchafalaya Basin
Trapping
Fur Trade
Woodcarving
Spanish Moss
WPA file of six drawers of 3x5 cards with folk-lore information as follows:
Voodoo
Housewifery, sayings etc.
Husbandry, omens, tokens, etc.
Witchcraft
Medicine (2 drawers)

PUBLIC CATALOG-SAMPLING OF SUBJECT HEADINGS

Acadians in Louisiana
Cajuns
Folk Art-Louisiana
Folk-lore-Louisiana
Folk-lore-Negro
Folk-songs-Louisiana
Folk-songs-Creole
Folk-songs-French-Louisiana
Voodooism

compiled by Harriet Callahan
Louisiana Section

An Acadian Gro

Acadian handicrafts project, 1948. Photograph: Times-Picayune.

APPENDIX 1

RESOURCES IN RESEARCH, DOCUMENTATION AND PRESERVATION OF LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE

The following listings are divided into five sections of non-profit groups: COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS; LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS, FOLKLIFE CENTERS AND ORGANIZATIONS; and REGIONAL, NATIONAL AND FEDERAL RESOURCES. While some of these groups could be listed in a number of locations, we have tried to minimize cross listings in hopes that the user will scan the entire list. It is sometimes surprising to see how many groups inside and outside of the state are involved in some way with the folk cultures of Louisiana . . . as well as how many organizations have the potential to use their resources more equitably and rewardingly by applying them carefully to traditional culture.

Many of the resources here are discussed elsewhere in the Guide in greater depth. Where this is the case, a reference is given. More coverage specifically of the State of Louisiana resources for folk culture is provided in the section on "Folklife and Public Policy." Additional attention is also given there to the federal role in folklife in general. It has not been possible to list all organizations here, simply because many did not respond to questionaires, or we were unaware of their existence. This problem is especially true in the listings of COMMUNITY RESOURCE ORGANIZATIONS. If you know of a group that should be listed in future editions, please write to the Louisiana Folklife Program, P.O. Box 44247, Baton Rouge, LA 70804.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Community resource organizations are devoted to folklife, oral history, genealogy, local history, historic preservation, ethnic awareness, local/regional heritage and festival production. Note that only some of these organizations are exclusively devoted to the folklife in their respective locales. However, all could be useful when undertaking folklife research and public projects in communities. The festival listings here are not meant to be exhaustive, but rather are devoted to those events that focus on traditional culture. A section in Appendix V. covers the nontraditional festivals (agricultural and industrial products) as well as ongoing traditional forms of festivity in general. Organizations with a strong folklife orientation are marked with an "*".

The Arpadhon Hungarian Cultural Association
Box 666
Albany, LA 70711
504-567-5264

**Association of Philippino-Americans in Central La. (APACENLA)*
822 Melrose Ave.
Natchitoches, LA 71457
318-351-5409
Groups perform songs, dances and music of the Philippines

Ascension Heritage Association
P.O. Box 625
Donaldsonville, LA 70346

Ascension Parish Historical Project
203 W. Ascension St.
Gonzales, LA 70737

Association Hondurena de Nueva Orleans
419 Gravier St.
New Orleans, LA 70130

Associated Catholic Charities
2929 Carrollton Avenue
New Orleans, LA 70119
504-821-5309
Works with Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese immigrants.

Attakapas Historical Association
105 S. New Market Street
St. Martinville, LA 70582

**Baton Rouge Blues Festival*
Baton Rouge Arts & Humanities Council
427 Laurel St.
Baton Rouge, LA 70801
504-344-8558
Publication: Baton Rouge Blues
Annual festival held on the levee in April featuring contemporary blues performers from the Lower Mississippi Valley.

Baton Rouge Genealogical and Historical Society
P.O. Box 80565, SE Station
Baton Rouge, LA 70898

Calcasieu Historical Preservation Society
Box 5695, Drew Station
Lake Charles, LA 70601

**Calvin Folklore Society*
Calvin High School
Calvin, LA 71410
Publication: Occasional Foxfire type journal, *The Sassafras.*

**Catahoula Lake Heritage Foundation*
Rick Bryan, Director
P.O. Box 1371
Pineville, LA 71360
Special Projects: Catahoula Lake Festival in October features some local traditional music and crafts from the Catahoula Lake area. Site in Kees

Park. Pineville contains nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon folk buildings (Catahoula Homestead).

Club de Guatamala de Nueva Orleans
5228 Vinland Dr.
Metairie. LA 70001

Club Social Colombiano
4659 Coronado Dr.
New Orleans. LA 70127

Costa Rica Centro Social
3009 Seventeen Street
Metairie. LA 70002

DeSoto Historical Society
P.O. Box 523
Mansfield. LA 71052

Deutches Haus
200 South Galvez
New Orleans. LA 70119
504/523-0955

East Feliciana Historical Preservation Society
P.O. Box 288
Clinton. LA 70722

Ecuador Club
856 Carondelet
New Orleans. LA 70130

Filipino-American Club of New Orleans
3701 Tonti
New Orleans. LA 70117

**Festival de la Musique Acadienne*
Folklore and Folklife Program
Center for Louisiana Studies
USL
Lafayette. LA 70504
318/231-6350
Now sponsored jointly by the Folklore and Folklife Program in USL's Center for Louisiana Studies and the Lafayette JC's. This major festival devoted to French Cajun and Creole music is held each September in Lafayette's Girard Park.

**French Acadian Music Festival*
Comeaux Recreation Center
209 N. Bailey Avenue
Abbeville. LA 70510
318/893-1257
Festival held first Saturday after Easter.

Genealogical Research Society of New Orleans
P.O. Box 51791
New Orleans, LA 70150

Greek Community Center
1200 R. E. Lee Blvd.
New Orleans. LA 70112

Hispano-Filipino Benevolent Society
2 LaBarre Ct.
Jefferson. LA 70121

Historical Association of Central Louisiana
P.O. Box 843
Alexandria. LA 71301

Historic Preservation of Shreveport
P.O. Box 5192
Shreveport. LA 70115

**Houma Indian Crafts Coop*
P.O. Box 100
Dulac, LA 70353
318/563-4269
Collections: Houma Crafts Exhibit
Special Projects: Crafts marketing under United Houma Nation, Inc.

Italian-American Federation
1608 S. Salcedo St.
New Orleans, LA 70125
504/891-1904
Publications: Italian American Digest

**Lagniappe*
Chamberlin Elementary School
Port Allen, LA 70767
Publication: Foxfire type journal called *Lagniappe.*

**Louisiana Art and Folk Festival*
P.O. Box 196
Colombia. LA 71418
318/322-5997
Publication: Homespun Heritage.
Special Projects: Folk artist in school (DOA, NEA): Art and Folk Festival in Columbia. Caldwell Parish, features material from northeast La.

**Louisiana Native Crafts Festival*
Lafayette Natural History Museum
637 Girard Park Dr.
Lafayette. LA 70502
318/233-6501
Majority of the craftsmen are traditional. Others are revivalists and professional practicioners. Some music, story telling, and food workshops are held as well.) Held in September in conjunction with Festival Acadiens.

**Louisiana State Fiddle Championship*
Box 127
Marthaville. LA 71450
318/472-6255
Held the last week-end in May. The festival provides competition fiddling as well as a banjo and harmonica playing. Generally the musicians are from northern Louisiana, though some Cajun fiddlers do attend.

**Mandeville Horizons*
1815 Lakeshore Drive
Mandeville, LA 70448
504/626-7735
Publication: Cane and Palmetto Basketry of Bayou LaCombe: St. Tammany Parish and North Shore Area.
Special Project: Annual Crafts Festival held in the late fall.

**Natchitoches Folk Festival*
Folklife Center, NSU
Natchitoches, LA 71457
318/357-4332
Festival held second week-end in July since 1980. Each year the theme is a Louisiana industry or occupation related to folk culture (cotton, timber, oil, railroading). Featured are traditional music, foods, and crafts carried on today in the state. Emphasis on northwest Louisiana.

**New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival*
P.O. Box 2530
New Orleans, LA 70176
504/522-4786
Annual (April-May) 10-day music, crafts and food festival and various community workshops. Emphasis is strongly on traditional New Orleans jazz, Mardi Gras Indians, rhythm and blues, zydeco, and Cajun music.
Publication: Festival Program

North Louisiana Historical Association
P.O. Box 8607
Louisiana Tech Station
Ruston, LA 71272
Publications: Journal and occaisional publications

Northeast Louisiana Genealogical Society
P.O. Box 2743
Monroe, LA 71201

Preservation Alliance of New Orleans
4319 Carondelet St
New Orleans, LA 70115

**Preservation Hall*
726 St. Peter St.
New Orleans, LA 70125
504/523-2238
504/523-8939 (night)
The original definitive approach to preserving a traditional art form (old time jazz) by giving it's practitioners a place to play, payment and attention. Still a great model of national significance for cultural preservation.
Publications: LP's of old time jazz.
Access: Open every night 8 p.m.-12:30 a.m.; Admission to a set, $1.00.

Preservation Resource Center of New Orleans
604 Julia
New Orleans, LA 70130

Red River Parish Heritage Society
Emily Stothart
Rt. 3, Box 486
Coushatta, LA 71019

River Road Historical Society
P.O. Box 5
Destrehan, LA 70047

St. Bernard Genealogy Society
P.O. Box 271
Chalmette, LA 70044

St. Bernard Parish Historical Society
8201 West Judge Perez Drive
Chalmette, LA 70043
504/282-3025
Interest is Isleno folk culture.

**St. Mark's Ethnic Heritage Resource Center*
1130 North Rampart St.
New Orleans, LA 70116
504/529-1681
Collections: Oral history
Publication: Resource guides for teachers, video documentaries, slide tapes on urban black and Creole culture.
Special Projects: Workshops in Treme, 7th Ward.

St. Tammany Parish Historical Association.
705 West 22nd Avenue
Covington, LA 70433

Slavonic Association
1332 Meneley St.
New Orleans, LA 70122
504/288-1924

Sociedad Espanola
1823 South Carrollton Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70118

**Society for the Preservation of Ethnic Culture in Acadian Louisiana*
P.O. Box 941
Eunice, LA 70535
318/457-9563
Special Projects: Fiddle Festival; showing folk documentary films

Society of American Foresters, La. Chapter
Box 566
Lecompte, LA 71346
318/748-8402
Publications: Numerous articles, slide-tape productions on forestry traditions.

South Central Gospel Music Conference
Box 1956
Shreveport, LA 71166
Promotes gospel music through concerts and meetings.

Southeast Louisiana Historical Association
P.O. Box 1088
Hammond. LA 70402
Publications: Papers of the Southeast Louisiana Historical Association

Southern Arts and Crafts Foundation
Box 4099
New Orleans. LA 70178
Organization devoted to promoting crafts. traditional and otherwise
Special Projects: Louisiana Hands exhibit and catalogue (1978)

Southwest Louisiana Genealogical Society
1927 E. Prien Lake Road
Lake Charles. LA 70601

*Strawberry Jam
Hammond. LA 70402
Publications: Local students produce a Foxfire type publication called _Strawberry Jam._

*Tambourine and Fan Society
2258 North Robertson St.
New Orleans. LA 70117
Special Projects: Various cultural activities associated with black and Creole New Orleans traditions of music. parade. and festival.

Treme Cultural Organization
2117 Ursalines
New Orleans. LA 70116
504/821-5374

Vieux Carre Commission
630 Chartres St.
New Orleans. LA 70130

*Washington Parish Fair
Franklinton. LA 40438
Publications: Fair Booklet
Special Projects: Development of Mile Branch Settlement. a collection of Anglo-Saxon folk buildings. Annual Fair in October.

West Baton Rouge Historical Association
P.O. Box 502
Port Allen. LA 70767

West Feliciana Historical Society
P.O. Box 338
Baton Rouge. LA 70775

Wolf Creek Handicraft Guid
P.O. Box 116
Publications: The Sikes Historian
Special Projects: Annual crafts festival

Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club
732 North Broad
New Orleans. LA 70119
504/822-9782

LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS, FOLKLIFE CENTERS AND SPECIAL ACADEMIC RESOURCES

With collections, programs or projects devoted to folklore and folklife in Louisiana.

Listed below are a variety of institutions with important collections of photographs, artifacts, tapes, film, video, printed documents, and other materials. Many have programs open to the general public, and those with major folklife festivals are also listed. Collections are noted in general unless there are special folklife components which are described. Collections are often not limited to the items noted. Of particular note are folklife programs at academic centers that fall under the title "Regional Studies" or "Louisiana Studies." Programs at listed anthropology and English departments among others are also important as research and teaching resources. It is at these sorts of programs that active professional folklife fieldwork is carried out with the results being publications, archival materials, and coursework. Institutions with a major orientation to or collection in folklife materials are noted with an "*". Federal and state institutions are marked with an "F" or "S" and are commented upon further in the section on "Folklife and Public Policy," as well as in the listings here on "Statewide" and "Regional and National" resources. See also the appendix on "Festivals."

Acadian Village (and Tropical Gardens)
Rt. 3, Box 1976
Lafayette. LA 70506
318/981-2364
Collections: Tableware, crockery of nineteenth-century Louisiana; various folk buildings reconstructed along a manmade bayou.
Access: 10-5 everyday, $3.00 adults, $1.50 Senior citizens & students.

Allen Parish Library
Oakdale Branch
Berlin. LA 70655
318/639-4338
Collections: Local oral history; 5 tapes, 30" each interview.

Alexandria Museum
P.O. Box 1028
Alexandria. LA 70301
318/443-3458
Collections: North Louisiana folk arts and crafts; quilts
Publication: North Louisiana Folk Arts: "Doing it Right and Passing it On" (Catalogue).
Special Projects: Shows on quilting and North Louisiana folk art.

Amistad Research Center
400 Esplanade
New Orleans, LA 70116
504/522-9432
Collections: American Missionary Association Archives; also family papers, manuscript music, microfilm, photographs, records; Christopher West Collection (New Orleans: Creoles of Color); Robert Tallant Collection.
Publications: Various
Special Projects: Afro-American folklife, Native American traditions, German-American folklife.
Access: To scholars and researchers.

Bayou Folk Museum
Louisiana Rte 1
Cloutierville, LA 71416
318/379-2321
The museum is not really a museum of folklife, but rather is the former home of author Kate Chopin. It is named after one of her short stories set in Louisiana.
Collections: Various implements of nineteenth-century life; blacksmith shop.
Access: Varied hours, minimal admisison, reservations recommended.

Centenary College Archives.
Magale Memorial Library
P.O. Box 4188
Shreveport, LA 71104
318/869-5173
Collections: Shreveport KRMD Memory Lane Senior Citizen Collection.

DeSoto Parish Library
P.O. Box 513
Mansfield, LA 71052
318/872-6100
Collections: Parish history.

Ducros Museum
St. Bernard, LA 70085
504/682-2713
Collection: Oriented toward history of St. Bernard Parish and Isleno Spanish culture.

East Baton Rouge Parish Library: Centroplex Branch
120 St. Louis
Baton Rouge, LA 70802
Collections: Oral history, archives, genealogy.
Special Projects: Baton Rouge Room, Genealogy Room.

Franklin Parish History and Folklore Collection
Franklin Parish Library
Winnsboro, LA 71295
318/435-4336
Collections: Oral history: 16 interviews, 2 hours each, transcribed.

Friends of the Cabildo
701 Chartres St.
New Orleans, LA 70130
504/523-1998

Support group for the Louisiana Museum (see listing this section and under "Folklife and Public Policy").

Heritage Museum
1606 Main St.
Box 707
Baker, LA 70714
504/774-1776

**Historic New Orleans Collection*
533 Royal Street
New Orleans, LA 70130
504/523-4662
Collections: Cane River Collection (Free People of Color); legal papers, maps, books, manuscripts, pamphlets, photographs. Leonard Huber's photograph collection of New Orleans and Louisiana in general is of special interest. Photographs represented are C. L. Franck, G. F. Mugnier, Stephanie Dankin, Elemore Morgan, Francis Benjamin Johnston, FSA photographers and Michael P. Smith among others. Graphic collection of 19th century artist A. R. Waud is extensive.

Iberville Parish Collection
Iberville Parish Library
P.O. Box 736
Plaquemine, LA 70764
504/5[illegible]-3948
Collections: Oral history, 3 interviews, not transcribed.

**Isleno Museum El Museo de Los Islenos*
c/o Jean Lafitte Park
423 Canal St.
New Orleans, LA 70130
Jean Lafitte National Park (see below) Contact station oriented to Isleno folk culture, located in St. Bernard near historic cemetery and enroute to Delacroix Island. Spanish-speaking guides.
Collections: various artifacts from the Canary Islands and lower St. Bernard Parish.
Special Projects: Works with Isleno Society; programs honoring Spanish heritage.
Access: 8-4:30 every day.

**F—Jean Lafitte National Historical Park*
423 Canal
New Orleans, LA 70130
504/589-3882
Currently open to the public is a visitor contact station in the Lower Pontalba Building on Jackson Square. This contains short interpretive essays with maps and photos on cultural diversity in

southeast Louisiana. Also open is the Barataria contact station in Lower Jefferson Parish and the Isleno Museum (see above) in St. Bernard Parish.
Special Projects: Field studies have been done on the region as a whole, Isleno culture, New Orleans black spiritual churches, and New Orleans folk culture. Materials from these are contained in publications and exhibits. More exhibits and contact stations are planned in the southeast region.
Access: 9-5 every day (Jackson Square); 8-4:30 every day (Barataria); 8-4:30 every day Isleno Museum (St. Bernard).

Jeff Davis Parish Library
P.O. Box 356
Jennings, LA 70546
318/824-1210
Collections: "Oral and Visual History of Jeff Davis Parish"; tapes and sketches.

**Lafayette Natural History Museum*
637 Girard Park Drive
Lafayette, LA 70502
318/233-6501
Collections: various folk artifacts and photographs, especially Indian materials and Cajun crafts.
Publication: "Elvina Kidder: Folk Artist"
Special Projects: Folk craft shows and annual Louisiana Native Crafts Festival.
Access: Hours: M-W-F 9-5; T-Th 9-9; Sa-Su 1-5.

Laurel Valley Plantation
P.O. Box 1847
Thibodaux, LA 70301
Collections: Working sugar plantation on Bayou Lafourche.
Special Projects: Making Laurel Valley a living rural-life museum.
Access: Limited, grounds are generally closed. Write for information.

Le Comite des Archives de la Louisiane Research Center
124 Main
Baton Rouge, A ALA 70801
504/346-8050
Collections: Genealogy tools, museum collections

Lincoln Parish Museum Oral History Project
P.O. Box 3165 Tech Station
Louisiana Tech University
Ruston, LA 71270
Collections: Oral history tapes

**S — Longfellow Evangeline State Commemorative Area*
P.O. Box 497
St. Martinville, LA 70582
318/394-3754
Collections: Acadian House, kitchen-garden, craft shop. Various folk material culture items; South La. French folklife photos in Knipmeyer collection.
Special Projects: Interpret Louisiana Cajun culture.
Access: 9-5 Daily

Loreauville Heritage Village Museum
P.O. Box 11
Loreauville, LA 70552
318/229-4740
Collection: Assemblage of folk buildings and artifacts, not catalogued. Much non-folk material as well.
Access: 9 a.m.–dusk, everyday, reservations helpful

Louisiana College
Richard W. Norton Library
Pineville, LA 71360
318/487-7201
Collections: Louisiana College Collection, Baptist Church in Louisiana, oral histories.

Louisiana Maritime Museum
31st Floor, ITM Building
New Orleans, LA 70130
504/581-1874
Collections: Various relating to seafaring traditions.

S—Louisiana State Archives
P.O. Box 44125
Baton Rouge, LA 70804
504/342-5440
Collections: Photographs, papers, oral history, Louisiana Hayride (partial collection).
Publications: Legacy (Occasional newsletter).

**S—Louisiana State Library*
P.O. Box 131
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
504/342-4913
Collection: Louisiana Collection: Books, etchings, maps, magazines, census records, photographs, brochures, and clippings. In additon to W. P. A. manuscripts, photographs used in the W.P. A. guide and those of Elemore Morgan, Fonville Winans and the Louisiana Tourist Commission are represented; film collection includes many Louisiana folklife films.
Access: To state employees; to public through public libraries for check-out.

S—Louisiana State Exhibit Museum
Box 9067
Shreveport, LA 71109
318/635-2323

Museum of Louisiana life, now being reworked by the Louisiana State Museum. *Collections:* Dioramas of life in the thirties.

**S—Louisiana State Museum*
757 Chartes Street
P.O. Box 2458
New Orleans, LA 70116
504/568-6968
Collections: Folk artifacts; photographs by G. F. Mugnier, Debbie F. Caffery, FSA photographers and others
Special Projects: Acadian textile exhibit; Museum Days, Louisiana Folk Art exhibit.
Access: Various to different buildings, nominal admission. Use of collections by appointment to qualified individuals.

LSU/Anglo-American Art Museum
Memorial Tower
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
Collections: Primarily elite culture; Adrien Persac nineteenth-century maps.
Publication: Louisiana Folk Art
Special Projects: Louisiana Folk Art Exhibit (1972); Ada Thomas, Chitimacha Basket Exhibit (1980).
Access: Open to the public, closed on university holidays.

**LSU Archives & Manuscripts, Middleton Library*
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
504/388-3969
Collection: papers, photographs, oral history tapes. Of special interest are photographs and papers of cultural geographer Lauren Post. Also of use are printed materials on Louisiana folklore and folklife in the Louisiana Room.
Access: Library hours.

**LSU Departments of Anthropology and Geography/English*
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
Long renowed for their work on Louisiana folk housing and cartography, the Geography/Anthropology faculty also works with folk foodways, Creole languages, folktales and Louisiana Indian culture. Two folklorists on the English Department faculty participate in field projects and crafts exhibits. The Anthropology and English faculty co-teach a course on Louisiana folklife. *Collection:* (affiliated with the Museum of Geoscience (see below).

**LSU Museum of Geoscience*
Geology Building.
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
504/388-2296
Collection: McIlhenny Collection of Chitimacha basketry, historic and prehistoric collections; cartographic library; measured floor plans of over 150 Louisiana folk houses (French and Anglo log houses); computer data book on features of vernacular housing in Louisiana.
Publications: *Melanges* pamphlet series; *Geoscience and Man* series; both contain folklife information.
Special Projects: archaeological, ethnological, and anthropological research.
Access: Research by approved scholars. General collections open 8-4:30 M-F, closed university holidays.

**LSU Rural Life Museum*
6200 Burden Lane
Baton Rouge, LA 70808
504/766-8241
Collection: Major indoor-outdoor collection of tools, buildings and items of everyday use in the 19th century and early 20th century. Buildings include slave quarters, overseer's house, blacksmith shop, plantation store, Acadian cottage, double-pen log house, outhouses, church, schoolhouse, and pioneer's cabin.
Publication: The LSU Rural Life Museum.
Access: Mon-Fri. only 8:30-4:00. No one below 8th-grade level. Groups must make appointments one month in advance. Closed University holidays.

LSU-Shreveport/Archives
8515 Youree Drive.
Shreveport, LA 71115
318/797-5226
Collection: Photographs, papers, microfilm, oral history.
Publication: Louisiana Oral History Collections.
Special Projects: NW Louisiana History.

LSU-Shreveport
Pioneer Heritage Program
Shreveport, LA 71115
318/797-5339
Public programs and research into Anglo-Saxon culture in northwest Louisiana.
Special Projects: Preserving various folk buildings, public awareness, research.

LSU-Shreveport/Social Sciences
Shreveport, LA 71115
Collection: Social science faculty interest in north Louisiana folklife.

Louisiana Tech University
Archives
Ruston, LA 71270
318/257-2577
Collection: North Louisiana Collection.

Louisiana Tech/Department of Architecture
Ruston, LA 71270
Collection: data on north Louisiana folk housing.
Publications: Folk Architecture in North Louisiana, Vols. 1-4. Lincoln Parish.
Special Projects: Survey of folk architecture.

**Louisiana Tech*
North Central Louisiana Folklife Survey
Department of English
Ruston, LA 71270
Collections: Developing collection of folklife material from the region.
Publication: Gifts From the Hills. This program is largely devoted to the folklife of "Hill Louisiana" in the northern part of the state.

S—Marksville State Commemorative Area
P.O. Box 336
Marksville, LA 71351
318/253-9546
Collections: Archaeological collections on Indian culture in interpretive museum setting.
Access: 9-5 daily.

Morgan City Archives
Morgan City, LA
504/385-4877
Collections: St. Mary Parish history, large photograph collection on swamp and coastal life.

Musee du petit Paris
Box 198
St. Martinville, LA 70582
Dedicated to French culture in St. Martin Parish area.
Collections: grave decorations, shadowboxes, Mardi Gras costumes, etc.

**New Orleans Committee on Ethnicity*
c/o Department of English
University of New Orleans, Lakefront
New Orleans, LA 70122
504/286-6000
Publications: Ethnicity in New Orleans (annual).
Special Projects: Public forums and workshops.

New Orleans Museum of Art
P.O. Box 19123
New Orleans, LA 70179
Collections: Various folk artists, WPA typescript.
Special Projects: Show of visionary untrained artist, David Butler; Haitian Art Show.

**New Orleans Public Library*
Louisiana Division
219 Loyola Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70140
504/524-7382
Collections: Robert Tallant Collection, WPA, notes for revision of WPA, New Orleans City Guide, photograph collection.
Special Projects: Jambalaya Lecture Series on traditional culture.

**Nicholls State University/Center for Traditional Louisiana Boatbuilding Library*
Thibodaux, LA 70301
504/446-8111 extension: 401
Collections: Various dugout pirogues, boat graphics, oral history.

Nicholls State University Library
Archives Division
Thibodaux, LA 70301
504/446-8111
Collections: Lafourche Parish American Revolution, Bicentennial Commission "Heritage '76" oral history.
Special Projects: Work on North American Culture Survey (SNACS).

Northeastern Louisiana Archives and Special Collections
Sandel Library, NLU
Monroe, LA 71209
318/342-2195
Collections: Diaries, memoirs, letters, Cultural Resources Survey (microfilm/index), photographs, Connor collection of overseers' papers. Collections focus on these parishes: Caldwell, Catahoula, Concordia, E. Carroll, W. Carroll, Richland, Franklin, Madison, Morehouse, Ouachita, Tensas.

**Northwestern State University/Louisiana Folklife Center*
P.O. Box 3663
Natchitoches, LA 71457
318/357-4332
The Folklife Center at NSU is focused on the material culture and folklore of north and northwest Louisiana. It has a teaching director and is allied to the Williamson Museum with regard to most field projects. Many faculty members in the social sciences, languages, and arts contribute to programming undertaken by the Center.
Collections: Various field project tapes and artifacts. Also photographs.
Publications: Works with the Louisiana Folklife Society in publishing the journal *Louisiana Folklife*. It has coproduced three LP's in the *Louisiana Folklife Recording Series*: "Cornbread For Your Husband Biscuits For Your Man: Mr. Clifford Blake Sr., Calls the Cotton Press" (LFRS-001); "The North Louisiana Stringband" (LFRS-002); "Since Ol' Gabriel's Time: Hezekiah and the Houserockers" (LFRS-003); Cassette "Loggy Bayou Misfits": Al Ferrier, rockabilly LP.
Special Projects: Natchitoches Folk Festival; cosponsor of the 1979 Louisiana Folk Arts Conference.

**Northwestern State University/Williamson Museum*
Kyser Hall
Natchitoches, LA 71457
318/357-4364
Collections: 40,000 items of folk material culture and archaeological value, including contemporary Louisiana Indian basketry and North Louisiana folk arts and crafts.
Special Projects: Indian Basket Day (December during Christmas Festival); workshop with Alexandria Museum on Indian life.
Access: Research collection open to qualified scholars. General display open to public 8-4:00 M-F, closed during university holidays.

Northwestern State University Archives
Watson Library
Natchitoches, LA 71457
Collections: Caroline Dorman photographs (Indians); WPA manuscripts from Melrose and elsewhere, various items in association with the Williamson Museum.
Access: To qualified scholars.

Ouachita Parish Public Library
1800 Stubbs
Monroe, LA 71201
318/323-6647
Collections: Genealogy and special collections. Oral history and folklore.

**S—Plaquemine Locks State Commemorative* Area
P.O. Box 107
Plaquemine, LA 70764
504/687-8159
Collections: History and cultural geography of Lower Mississippi River and Atchafalaya Swamp complex with an emphasis on folk boats.
Special Projects: Collecting folk boats.
Access: 9-5 daily.

**Projet Louisiane*
Department de Geographic Universite Laval
Quebec, GIK7P4
Canada OR:
Louisiana Project Ethnic Research Program
P.O. Box 8, Administrative Studies Building
York University
4700 Keele St.
Downsview, Ontario M35 2R6 Canada
A major ethnographic field project undertaken in French Louisiana by two Canadian universities: Laval University (Quebec), York University (Toronto).
Collections: Fieldwork materials from French Louisiana.
Publications: Working paper series on Cajun and Creole ethnicity, land tenure, language, occupations, etc.

**S—Rebel State Commemorative Area/Louisiana Country Music Museum*
P.O. Box 127
Marthaville, LA 71450
318/472-6255
Collections: Collection of papers, discs, song folios, photographs, interviews and artifacts related to Anglo-American culture and country music in Louisiana.
Special Projects: Annual country music festival and concert series; field collecting; museum development.
Access: 9-5 daily.

Rice Museum
Crowley, LA 70526
504/783-0749

**Southeastern Louisiana University*
Center for Regional Studies
P.O. Box 761 University station
Hammond, LA 70402
504/549-2151
Specialization in Florida Parishes folklife and oral history; faculty in history and sociology are involved in ethnic and regional studies and other activities with the Center.
Collections: oral history tapes and photographs
Publications: Papers of the Southeast Louisiana Historical Association; Folklife of the Florida Parishes Series.
Special Projects: Photographic exhibit: *Piney Woods People* (1982); Florida Parishes Folklife Conference (1983) Florida Parishes Folklife Project (1983-84) with the La. Folklife Program.

Southern University
English Department
Baton Rouge, LA 70813
Faculty teaching of folklore and folklife.

**S—State Capitol Folklife Exhibit*
c/o Louisiana Folklife Program
P.O. Box 44247
Baton Rouge, LA 70804
504/925-3930
Collections: Display in breezeway of State Capitol Building, Louisiana folk arts and crafts.
Access: Open 8-4:30 daily.

Tulane University,
Archives
New Orleans, LA 70118
504/865-5131
Collections: Papers, photographs, oral histories.
Special Projects: Photography show on Clarence John Laughlin.

**Tulane University Hogan (William Ransom) Archive of New Orleans Jazz, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University*
New Orleans, LA 70118
504/865-6634
Collections: Oral history tapes of jazz musicians as well as 78s and cylinders, sheet music, photographs, scrapbooks, documents memorabilia, books, and serials.
Publications: Transcripts, introductory pamphlet.
Special Projects: Annual Gospel Conference and Hot Jazz Classic.
Access: To researchers, non-circulating.

West Baton Rouge Museum
845 North Jefferson
P.O. Box 502
Port Allen, LA 70767
504/383-2392
Collections: Duck decoys and slave cabin.
Special Projects: Annual wildfowl-carvers exhibit.

**University of New Orleans, Lakefront Department of Anthropology and Geography*
New Orleans, LA 70122
504/286-6294
Faculty has strong interest in south Louisiana and New Orleans folk culture. A component group of such persons is in the Archaeological and Cultural Research Program. Work in folklore and folklife is undertaken cooperatively with the English Department faculty (see below).
Collections: Student papers of folklore, various works and data in UNO Special Collection and Archives.
Publications: Studies on Isleno culture and spiritual churches in New Orleans.

University of New Orleans, Lakefront Department of English
New Orleans, LA 70122
504/286-6000
Folklorist on English faculty. A strong interest in ethnic culture in New Orleans is represented by the New Orleans Ethnicity Committee.
Publications: Ethnicity in New Orleans.

**University of New Orleans, Lakefront Special Collections, Earl K. Long Library*
New Orleans, LA 70122
504/286-6353
Collections: Louisiana collections, various ethnic archival materials.
Access: open to the public.

**University of Southwestern Louisiana/Center for Louisiana Studies Folklore and Folklife Program*
P.O. Box 40831
Lafayette, LA 70504
318/231-6027

The orientation here is toward Cajun and Creole French folk culture in southwest Louisiana. There is one full-time folklorist on the staff and numerous persons in associated fields such as history, sociology, and French. Departments at USL with a faculty interest in folklife are English, anthropology, and foreign languages.

Collections: In addition to a large number of Louisiana colonial records there are extensive field recordings of Louisiana French folklore and music; film and video copies of media documentation projects; wax cylinders recordings made in French Missouri by Joseph M. Carriere; documentary photographs from Louisiana as a whole by FSA photographers, Elemore Morgan, Jr., and Gniete'e Vachon among others; copies of recordigns made for the Library of Congress by Alan Lomax and field recordings made by Harry Oster, Ralph Rinzler and Barry Ancelet.

Publications: Louisiana French: An Annotated Linguistic Bibliography; "*Ensemble encore*" Octa Clark, Hector Duhon and Dixie Ramblers" (LA Folklife Rec Series); *The Cajuns: Essays on their History and Culture; Green Fields: Two Hundred Years of Louisiana Sugar; Louisiana History; Louisiana Review; Attakapas Gazette.*
Special Projects: Public lectures and demonstrations, fieldwork in the region, *Festival de Musique Acadienne* and photo exhibitions. Reissues of Lomax field recordings.

University of Southwestern Louisiana/Southwestern Archives and Manuscript Library Dupre Library
Lafayette, LA 70504
A related section is the Louisiana Room which contains most works on Louisiana folklore and folklife in print as well as genealogical materials.
Collections: many of the materials generated by the Center for Louisiana Studies (see listing above), Archives of Acadian and Creole Folklore.

Zigler Museum
411 Clara Street
Jennings, LA 70546
318/824-0114
Special Projects: "Islands of the Marsh Exhibit—A Study of Chenier Culture"; "Voices From the Louisiana Prairie: An Exhibit of the Oral and Visual History of Jefferson Davis Parish."

STATEWIDE RESOURCE ORGANIZATIONS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE . . .

devoted to folklife. state and local history. cultural and historic preservation. ethnic awareness. grants. and technical assistance. Not all of these groups are exclusively concerned with folklife. but many will be of use to those interested in folk culture because of a portion of their programs or resources. In general. these are agencies or organizations that do not have major public collections or research facilities but are involved in programmatic or financial support. Libraries. archives. and museums. statewide. regional or local in their scope. are listed separately under "Libraries. Archives and Museums. Folklife Centers and Special Academic Resources . . ." State agencies are denoted with an "S"; for more details on the programs of state agencies see the section on "Folklife and Public Policy." Organizations with the strongest interest in folklife are marked with an "*."

S—Antiquities Commission/Division of Archaeology
P.O. Box 44247
Baton Rouge. LA 70804
504/324-6680

S—Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL)
P.O. Box 3936
Lafayette. LA 70502
318/233-1020
Special Projects: In addition to coordinating French language instruction in Louisiana schools. CODOFIL presents a variety of cultural programs. some involving French folklife. Also located in various other south Louisiana subregions (Lafourche. Terrebonne. West Bank New Orleans).

S—Dept. of Culture. Recreation and Tourism
Box 44247
Baton Rouge. LA 70804

See the Section on "Folklife and Public Policy" for coverage of this state agency's role in folklife and related areas.

Foundation for Historical Louisiana
900 North Boulevard
Baton Rouge. LA 70802
502/387-2464

S—Governor's Commission on Indian Affairs
P.O. Box 44455
Department of Urban and Community Affairs
Baton Rouge. LA 70804
504/925-3751

**Inter-Tribal Council of Louisiana. Inc.*
9141 Interline Drive
Suite 41 D-2
Baton Rouge. LA 70809
Publication: Booklet "Indian Tribes of Louisiana."
Special Projects: Coordinates Louisiana Indian social and cultural programs including a traveling craft exhibit. 1979 Indian Heritage Festival.

**S—Louisiana Folklife Commission/Louisiana Folklife Program*
Box 44247
Office of Cultural Development
Baton Rouge. LA 70804
504/925-3930
See section on "Folklife and Public Policy"

**Louisiana Folklife Society*
c/o Folklife Center NSU
Box 3663
Natchitoches. LA 71457
318/357-4332
Publication: Louisiana Folklife
Access: Holds occasional meetings with an emphasis on north Louisiana and material cultural. See essay by deCaro on "The History of Folklife Research in Louisiana".

**Louisiana Folklore Society*
Address depends on current president. This can be found by contacting:
Dr. George Reinecke
Department of English. UNO
Lake Front
New Orleans. LA 70122
504/286-6273
Publication: Louisiana Folklore Miscellany
Holds annual meetings with an emphasis on south Louisiana and oral materials. See essay by deCaro on "Folklife Research in Louisiana."

Louisiana Genealogical and Historical Society
P.O. Box 3454
Baton Rouge. LA 70821

Louisiana Historical Society
509 Cotton Exchange Bldg.
New Orleans. LA 70130

S—Louisiana Parks Commission/Office of State Parks
P.O. Drawer 1111
Baton Rouge. LA 70821
504/925-3830
See also individual museums at State Commemorative Sites under the heading "Libraries. Archives. and Museums . . ."

Louisiana Preservation Alliance
P.O. Box 1587
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
Publication: Newsletter
Statewide group of cultural preservationists.

**S—Louisiana State Arts Council/Division of the Arts*
Office of Cultural Development, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism
P.O. Box 44247
Baton Rouge, LA 70804
504/925-3930

**Louisiana Wildfowl Carvers and Collectors Guild*
615 Baronne Street
Suite 303
New Orleans, LA 70113
504/588-9143
Publication: Annual Festival program book displaying traditional carvers and their work.
Special Projects: Annual Festival and Competition.

National Association of Louisiana Catahoulas, Inc.
P.O. Box 1041
Denham Springs, LA 70726
504/665-6082
Publication: Newsletter
Special Projects: Shows, competitions, museums

**S—National Register Review Board/Louisiana State Division of Historic Preservation*
Office of Cultural Development of Culture, Recreation and Tourism
P.O. Box 44361
Baton Rouge, LA 70804

MEDIA RESOURCE CENTERS AND ORGANIZATIONS . . .

with some or all of their programming devoted to folk culture. Because documentation of folk culture in the media has become so important in recent years, this separate listing notes nonprofit groups that have produced film and video works, maintain collections, broadcast or otherwise promote Louisiana folk culture. Not listed here are the many commercial French language radio stations, gospel stations and old-time country music programs. Also not listed are major independent producers involved in folk culture such as Cote-Blanche Productions and Stephenson Productions. These groups and extensive listings of media works on Louisiana folk culture are covered in the section "Documenting Tradition: Louisiana Folklife and the Media." Those with an "*" are primarily oriented to folk culture; an "S" indicates state affiliation: see the section on "Folklife and Public Policy" for additional commentary.

Calmalma Media Institute
1767 N. Roman St.
New Orleans, LA 70116
Documents traditional culture in New Orleans area in film and video including Mardi Gras Indians and decoy carving.

**Center for Gulf South History and Culture*
P.O. Box 512
Abita Springs, LA 70420
504/893-2806
The Center for Gulf South History and Culture is interested in documenting the natural and cultural history and ethnographic present of the Gulf South region through film, photography, exhibition and publishing projects. Films have documented Cajun musicians, zydeco music and Cajun/Creole food.
Publications: copublisher for this volume; numerous folklife films.

**Center for New American Media*
P.O. Box 53163
New Orleans, LA 70153
504/944-5386
Has produced video documentaries on Plaquemine Parish, Isleno culture, and New Orleans dialect.

KRVS-FM/Radio Acadie
Burke Hall, USL
Lafayette, LA 70504
Radio station that programs Cajun and Creole music during portions of the day.

LPB (Louisiana Public Broadcasting)
Louisiana Education Television Authority
Baton Rouge, LA 70804
504/925-6556
Occasional programs on Louisiana folk culture in series such as "Louisiana Alive!" and "En Francais."

Louisiana Purchase
c/o Prof. Jim Springer Borck
Department of English, LSU
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
504/38802236
Video tapes of performances of Louisiana music made on the LSU campus.

S—Louisiana State Library/Films and Recordings Section
P.O. Box 131
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
504/342-4913
Collections: Major collection of Louisiana films, some on folklife. These may be borrowed by appropriate organizations (see the Film and Video listings in Appendix III.
Publications: Catalogue of films.

Media-Louisiane
P.O. Box 3936
Lafayette. LA 70502
318/ 23-1020
Publications: French newspaper *Louisiane*
Special Projects: Promotes use of French in various media.

New Orleans Video Access Center (NOVAC)
2010 Magazine Street
New Orleans. LA 70130
504/ 524-8626
Produces video documentaries on a variety of topics including folk culture in the New Orleans area. Covered are such things as traditional jazz. neighborhood change. and stoop sitting.
Publications: "Video Vibes" (newsletter)

"Rendez-Vous"/Cox Cable TV
250 Plauche Street
P.O. Box 23202
New Orleans. LA 70183
504/ 733-5680
Program contains segments on Louisiana French folk culture.

**WWOZ-FM (90.7 mHz)*
P.O. Box 51840
New Orleans. LA 70151
504/ 891-2335
Radio station that programs Louisiana. Gulf South. American folk and Caribbean music: New Orleans jazz. blues. zydeco. Cajun. reggae. Tex-Mex. hillbilly. etc.
Publication: program guide. *All Right!*

WYES-TV
916 Navarre Avenue
New Orleans. LA 70124
504/ 486-5111
New Orleans Public Television station. Produces some documentaries on folk culture in the New Orleans area.

REGIONAL. NATIONAL AND FEDERAL RESOURCES FOR LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE . . .

including funding agencies. academic centers. programming organizations. archives. libraries and museums. Anyone interested in Federal agencies in depth and their resources for folklife should consult *Folklife and the Federal Government* (1977) compiled for the American Folklife Center. Library of Congress by Linda C. Coe. This can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents. U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington. D.C. 20402.

Another important work is *Folklife and the Library of Congress*, available from the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. Washington. D.C. 20504. The role of the federal government in folklife programs and policies is further discussed in the essay by Archie Green in the section on "Folklife and Public Policy." The agencies and organizations listed below that have a strong revelance to Louisiana culture and marked with an "*." The federal agencies are noted with an "F."

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

F—Craft Development Program
Farmer Cooperative Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington. D.C. 20250
Provides technical assistance to state and local government bodies including existing rural associations and cooperatives on business aspects of crafts (traditional and otherwise).

F/S—Department of Agriculture-Extension Service
c/o Cooperative Extension Service
LSU
Baton Rouge. LA 70803
504/ 388-4141
Programs in 4-H. Community Resources Development and Home Economics are based at state land grant universities such as LSU. A great deal of potential for folklife programming is housed in this agency. In Louisiana. the Home Economics section has been historically involved in the Acadian Handicrafts Project and in more recent times has published a number of documents relevant to folklife (see the listings of state documents in Appendix 6.

F—Forest Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington. D.C. 20013
In Louisiana this includes Kisatchie National Forest. Historical materials are maintained locally on the lifestyles surrounding the industry. Louisiana address is Kisatchie National Forest. 2500 Shreveport Highway. Pineville. LA 71360 318/ 473-7160.

F—Photography-Office of Communications
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington D. C. 20250
Collections: Extensive collection of photographs. not yet researched for Louisiana materials.
Publications: Guide to USDA Photos
Access: reproductions can be ordered.

American Anthropological Association
1703 New Hampshire Avenue. N. W.
Washington. D. C. 20009
202/ 232-8800
Publications: American Anthropologist
Special Projects: annual meetings.

American Association for State and Local History
708 Berry Road
Nashville. TN 37204

An active organization that unites museologists, genealogists, preservationists, geographers, folklorists, librarians, oral historians, etc.
Publications: extensive listings. write for pamphlet "AASLH Books and Technical Leaflets."
Special Projects: Annual meetings.

American Ethnological Society
703 New Hampshire Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20009
202/232-8800
Publication: American Ethnologist
Special Projects: annual meetings.

Archive of American Minority Cultures
University of Alabama
P.O. Box 1391
University, Alabama 35486
Collections: audio tapes, slides, manuscripts, LP's, books, clippings.
Publications: newsletters, finding aids, descriptive catalog.
Special Projects: Afro-American folk medicine, information clearinghouse, media support, workshops, academic courses.
Access: open; call for appointment.

**American Folklore Society*
1703 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20009
202/232-8800
The major learned society devoted to American and international folk cultures, the Society's annual meetings serve as a gathering place for academic folklorists, public sector folklife specialists, media documentors and a host of interested persons in general. Papers and media programs often include Louisiana topics.
Publications: Journal of American Folklore; American Folklore Society Newsletter; Publication of the American Folklore Society.

Association of Folklorists in the South
Center for Folk Studies
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, KY 42101
Publication: occasional newsletter
Special Projects: symposia.

University of California-Berkeley
Department of Folklore
Room 232, Kroeber Hall
Berkeley, CA 94720
An academic folklore program with graduate and undergraduate offerings. Offers a Ph.D.

Center for Applied Linguistics
3520 Prospect Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
202/298-9292
The center is involved in research into bilingual education, cross-cultural awareness, dialects of English, literacy, variety of related topics. It is also a worldwide resource center for development of language teaching materials, public policy and language use.
Publications: extensive, write for catalogue "Footnotes."

Center for Intercultural Studies in Folklore and Ethnomusicology
University of Texas
Austin, TX 78712
512/471-1288
Primarily an academic center with a graduate program in folklore/anthropology.
Collections: tape archives
Publication: Folklore Annual

Center for the Study of Southern Culture
University of Mississippi
University MS 38677
601/232-5993
Multi-disciplinary study center with folklife as a major component.
Collections: Southern Folk Arts Research Archive
Publications: Encyclopedia of Southern Culture (forthcoming).
Special Projects: various symposia, some on folklife and folk music; festival.

Center for Southern Folklore
P.O. Box 40105
Memphis, TN 38104
901/726-4205
A mid-South orientation in programs.
Publications: back issues of *Center for Southern Folklore Magazine; American Folklore Films and Video Tapes: An Index;* various films, newsletter and promotion packets.

Country Music Foundation
4 Music Square East
Nashville, TN 37203
Collections: archives; interview with and about Louisiana reforms; Museum display includes Louisiana music and culture.
Publication: The Journal of Country Music

**F—Ethnic Heritage Studies Program*
U. S. Department of Education
Washington, D. C. 20202
Project grants to schools and other groups involved in teaching about ethnic culture.
Publication: Guidelines

Folk Studies Program/Center for Folk Studies
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, KY 42101
Academic program offering master's degree in "Folk Studies." Program is tied to work with historic preservation.

University of North Carolina/Folklore Curriculum
Green Law Hall
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514
An academic concentration in folklore for undergraduates and graduates to the M. A. level.
Collections: archives, listening library.
Publication: Record series.

Folklore and Mythology Center
University of California in Los Angeles
Los Angeles, CA 90024
An academic program in folklore for undergraduates and graduate students.
Collections: archives with some Cajun, blues and old-time jazz material from Louisiana.

Indiana University Folklore Department/Folklore Institute
504 North Fess
Bloomington, IN 47401
An academic program for undergraduates and graduates in folklore studies. Offers a Ph.D.
Collections: archives of traditional music; folklore archive.
Publications: Journal of the Folklore Institute; Folklore Forum; Folklore Preprint Series; and various others.

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

F—Bureau of Indian Affairs/Department of the Interior
1951 Constitution Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20245
Cultural Studies Center is located in Santa Fe, Institute of American Indian Arts, Cerrillos Road, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501. The Center maintains an extensive bibliography and collections of music and literature. The Bureau as a whole operates a number of programs related to tribal acknowledgement, and Indian health, education and social services. Grants and contracts involving Indian cultural and community development are available to federally recognized tribes.

**F—Indian Arts and Crafts Board*
Department of the Interior
P.O. Box 292
Cherokee, N.C. 28719
This location serves the southeastern region in identifying and promoting authentic Indian crafts. While not providing funds directly for crafts, artists or exhibits, it does help find funds and coordinate projects in many cases. (Such was true of the two publications/exhibits noted below).
Publications: "Masterpieces of Chitimacha Basketry" (Ada Thomas) and "Coushatta Indian Pine Needle Basketry" (Marion John).

**F—Jean Lafitte National Park-National Park Service*
Department of the Interior
423 Canal
New Orleans, LA 70130
504/589-3882
Jean Lafitte National Historical Park is the only National Park dedicated to preserving and presenting the living culture of a region. 1978 legislation provided that it:

> . . . preserve for the education, inspiration and benefit of present and future generations significant examples of natural and historical resources of the Mississippi Delta region and to provide for their interpretation in such manner as to portray the development of cultural diversity in the region. . .
>
> The park shall consist of (1) the area of approximately twenty thousand acres generally depicted on the map entitled "Barataria Marsh Unit-Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve." (2) the area known as Big Oak Island; (3) an area or areas within the French Quarter section of the city of New Orleans as may be designated by the Secretary of the Interior for an interpretive and administrative facility; (4) the Chalmette National Historical Park; and (5) such additional natural, cultural, and historical resources in the French Quarter and Garden District of New Orleans, forts in the delta region, plantations, and Acadian towns and villages in the St. Martinville area and such other areas and sites as are subject to cooperative agreements.

It is more a park of the mental/cultural landscape of the lower Delta region then a continuous piece of land, as are most National Parks. Its exhibits, ethnographic documents, folk music concerts and future plans have already stimulated a public dialogue oriented toward a clearer understanding of the linkage between the natural and cultural preservation of southeast Louisiana. (see also the listings under "Libraries, Archives, Museums. . .)

Publications: loose leaf reports on ethnography of lower Delta region, Islenos, and black spiritual churches with others projected.
Access: Visitor contact stations in the French Quarter (9-5), Chalmette and Barataria (open from 8-4:30 daily).

Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C. 20204
Historic preservation is increasingly involved with folk structures and communities. This agency includes The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). Contact the Louisiana State Historic Preservation Offices for information: (Louisiana National Register Review Board) P.O. Box 44247, Baton Rouge, LA 70804; 504/925-3930.
Publications: Guidelines, New Directions in Rural Preservation, many others.

**John Edwards Memorial Foundation*
Greenlaw Hall, UNC
Chapel Hill, NC

Devoted to old time music of all types including: country, Cajun, zydeco, blues, gospel, ethnic and traditional jazz.
Publications: John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly and various reprints, special issues and LP's. Many articles deal with Louisiana traditional music and musicians.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

**F—American Folklife Center,*
Library of Congress
Washington, D. C. 20504
202/287-6590

Encompassing the Archive of Folk Culture (see listing), the American Folklife Center is one of three federal Washington-based agencies directly charged to work with folk culture (see also Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution and National Endowment for the Arts, Folk Arts Program). The American Folklife Center provides coordinative leadership to the field through publications, conferences and workshops as well as articulation of public policy issues within the federal government and for the nation as a whole, on behalf of folklife constituencies. The Center provides assistance to the field through response to requests for aid and guidance from local and state government agencies, organizations, communities and individuals interested in folk cultural programs and activities. As part of this undertaking, it loans sophisticated recording technology to approved borrowers for the purpose of documenting folklife in America. The Center also carries out model projects in the field with the results being research, publications, media documents, live presentations and exhibits.

As part of its coordinative role it has sponsored appearances at the Library of Congress, such Louisiana folk performers as: Delton Broussard and the Lawtell Playboys (zydeco), Dewey Balfa and Friends (Cajun music), The Sam Brothers Five (zydeco) and Thomas E. 'Brownie' Ford (cowboy).
Collections: see Archive of Folk Culture under this heading.
Publications: Folklife and Fieldwork; Folklife and the Federal Government; Folklife and the Library of Congress; Ethnic Recordings: A Neglected Heritage; various other useful pamphlets and records.

**F—Archive of Folk Culture (formerly Archive of Folk Song)*
American Folklife Center
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C. 20504
202/287-5510

Established within the Music Division of the Library of Congress in 1928, the Archive of Folk Song maintains and administers an extensive collection of folk music and lore in published and unpublished forms. It is the national repository for folk-related recordings, manuscripts and raw material. The archive holdings include over 30,000 field recordings—cylinders, discs, wires, and tapes—containing more than 200,000 items of folk music, folk songs, folk tales, oral history and other types of folklore.

Of special interset are the field recordings from Louisiana made by Morris Swadish (Chitimacha tales), John and Alan Lomax and others from 1931 to the present. See essays by F. A. de Caro, "A History of Folklife Research in Louisiana" and Stephen Tucker "Louisiana Folk Music on Records and the Radio," for more details of the Lomaxes' work in Louisiana. In 1980 the Archive was transferred from the Music Division into the American Folklife Center. Because of the significance for Louisiana of the items in the AFC's collections an enumerated listing is provided in this section, compiled by Frederick J. Stielow (see listing p. 290-291).
Publications: Check List of Recorded Songs in the English Language in the Archive of American Folk Song to July, 1940; "A Guide to the Collections of Recorded Folk Music and Folklore in the Library of Congress"; "The Archive of Folk Song in the Library of Congress"; "Folk Recordings" (a list of LP's issued from the Library's collections of songs and tales); "An Inventory of the Bibliographies and other Reference aids prepared by the Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress"; various others.
Special Projects: LP issues; transfer of wax cylinder recordings to tape; publications and conferences in conjunction with the American Folklife Center.
Access: During Library of Congress hours to qualified researchers. For listening to tapes an appointment is necessary.

**F—Manuscript Division*
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C. 20504

Collections: WPA manuscript collection (formerly in Archive of Folk Song) includes Louisiana material. The relevant headings of those collections compiled under the Federal Arts Project include: Ex-slave narratives, voodoo, French songs, notes on New Orleans Mardi Gras and Creole. Many of these collections are also still in Louisiana. These locations are noted in the listing for "Libraries, Archives, Museums . . ." in this section. Other items of interest in this Division are: Jefferson papers on Indian tribes of the Louisiana territory; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Collections (American Indian Folklore).

RECORDINGS MADE IN LOUISIANA AND BY SELECTED LOUISIANA PERFORMERS IN THE ARCHIVE OF FOLK CULTURE

Description

23 cylinders recorded by Morris Swadesh, including Chitimacha Indian tales: Charenton, LA 1931-1934. AFS Numbers CYl 4478-5000 (18, 472-18, 473)

79 discs recorded by John A. and Alam Lomax, including blues, Cajun, Creole, cowboy, prison, and religious songs and discussions: New Iberia, Kaplan, Crowley, Erath, White Oak, St. Martinville, Jennings, Lake Arthur, Amelia, Baton Rouge, Lafayette, Lloyd, New Orleans, and Angola, LA. 1933-1935. AFS Numbers 11-43; 79-83; 85; 92; 95-216; 143; 173B; 206F; 242A3; 1852-1854.

77 discs of Huddie (Leadbelly) Ledbetter of Shreveport, LA, mostly recorded by John A. and Alan Lomax and Mary Elizabeth Barnicle: Angola, Shreveport, LA; Witon, CT; Tucker, AL; Washington, DC; Little Rock, Pine Bluff, AR; Pineville, KY; Atlanta, GA; New York, NY. 1933-1935, 1937-1938, 1940, 1942. AFS Numbers 44-54; 119-157; 236B3; 239A3-240; 250; 993-998; 2501-2504; 4469-4473; 4507B; 4508B; 6502-6503; 12,056; 12, 419-12, 430; 18-963

6 discs recorded by John A. and Alan Lomax, including Creole, French, religious, and work songs: New Orleans, LA. 1937. 889-891; 893; 939; 944

52 discs of Ferdinand (Jelly Roll) Morton of New Orleans, recorded by Alan Lomax, including music and discussion: Washington, DC. 1938. AFS Numbers 1638-1688; 2487-2489 (12, 431-12, 435, 14, 606)

6 discs recorded by John A. and Ruby T. Lomax, including black, children's hunting, and religious songs: Knight, Merryville, LA 1939. AFS Numbers 3119-3134

12 discs recorded by John A. and Ruby T. Lomax, including blues, black, Creole, Cajun, and religious songs and discussion: Shreveport, New Roads, Oil City, Baton Rouge, Winnfield, LA 1940. AFS Number 3989-4000

1 disc of Pineville, LA, spirituals, recorded by Alan Lomax and John Langenegger: Washington, DC. 1940.AFS Number 4427

2 discs of opinions in Louisiana concerning World War II, recorded for a radio program of the Office of Emergency Management. 1942. AFS Numbers, 6431-6432

6 discs recorded by William A. Owens, including Cajun and Creole songs: Southwestern LA 1948 and before. AFS Numbers 9590-9595

1 disc of Cajun music and dancing, recorded at the National Folk Festival: Washington, DC. 1938. AFS Number 9853B

2 tapes of John DuBois of Kaplan, LA, including Cajun dance music and lullabies: Washington, DC; New York, NY. 1957 and 1973. AFS Numbers 10, 942; 15, 402.

1 disc and 10 tapes recorded by Harry Oster, including blues, Cajun, Creole, and religious music: Napoleonville, Scotland, Baton Rouge, LA 1957-1966. AFS Numbers 11, 404; 12, 575-12, 584.

1 tape interview of Papa Celestin, a black jazzman from New Orleans. 1968. AFS Numbers 13,487

22 tapes recorded by Ralph Rinzler, including Cajun and Creole songs and discussion: Ville Platte, Abbeville, Opelousas, Basile, Mamou, Crowley, LA: Newport Folk Festival, RI. 1964-1966. AFS Numbers 13,681-13, 702

24 tapes recorded by David Evans of Southern blues and spirituals: Clifton, Bogalusa, New Orleans, LA; also MS and GA. 1970. AFS Numbers 14, 488-14, 512

11 tapes of fiddling in various states, recorded by Chris Delaney, including Cajun music played by Dewey Balfa: Basile, LA. 1973. AFS Numbers 16, 984-16, 994

1 disc of the Jolly Boys of Lafayette, LA, recorded by Decca Records: New Orleans. 1937. AFS Numbers 17, 473

10 tapes made at the National Folk Festival, including Cajun and Creole songs: Vienna, VA. 1972. AFS Numbers 17, 111; 19,851-19, 854; 19, 856A; 19, 858; 19,865B; 19.866; 19.868

26 tapes recorded by Richard K. Spottswood, including Cajun and Creole music and comments: Abbeville, Rayne, Delcambre, Eunice, Chatagnier, Ville Platte, LA; Tuscon, AZ. 1975-76. AFS Numbers 17,568-17,571; 17,577-17,583; 17,585-17.588; 17,589-17,593; 17,624-17,626; 17,636-16,637; 19,732

1 tape of the Balfa Brothers, recorded by David Holt, including Creole and Cajun tunes: Eunice, LA; Asheville, NC. 1976. AFS Numbers 18,955

1 tape "letter" from S.D (Sady) Courville, including Cajun music and comments: Eunice, LA 1978. AFS Number 19,373

1 tape of Roy Beckman and Willie May Deason, recorded by Nicholas Spitzer and Susan Roach: Hico, LA. 1979. AFS Number 19,445

5 discs from the Country Music Foundation and Columbia Records, including Cajun and Creole recordings. 1920's-1930's. AFS Numbers 19,603; 19,606; 19,611-19,613

4 tapes recorded by Ralph Rinzler and Claudie Marcel-DuBois, including Cajun and Creole music and discussion: Port Sulphur, Diamond, Eunice, Lawtell, Mamou, LA 1973. 19,874-19,877

4 tapes duplicated from cylinders made by Joseph M. Carriere, including French songs: St. Martinville, LA: MO. 1934. AFS Numbers 20,504-20,507

Compiled by Frederick J. Stielow, University of Southwestern, Louisiana, for the Archive of Folk Culture
Persons interested in these recordings and this subject matter can request from the Archive of Folk Culture a *Guide to the Collections of Recorded Folk Music and Folklore in the Library of Congress* and a bibliography on Cajun music.

**F—Prints and Photographs Division*
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C. 20504
202/287-6394
Photographs from the Farm Security Administration (FSA) 1935-1941 are the major interest to Louisiana folk culture researchers. They include Cajun and Creole musicians, Italian strawberry workers, Anglo quilters, mule and plow agriculture, Isleno trappers and many other excellent documentary items from the folk culture of Depression Louisiana (see the section on "Documenting Tradition: Louisiana Folklife and the Media" for images and commentary). Representative photos are also found in this reference section and throughout the guide. Photographs must be ordered by negative number from the "*Library of Congress* Photo Duplication Service, Washington, D.C., 20504. Negative numbers can be obtained by researching the prints at the Library or through books in which photos are reprinted. The complete FSA photo-files are available by subject heading and region in *American 1935-1946* by Chadwyck-Healey
Collections: FSA photographs; Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection; various other collections.

**F—Louisiana Committee for the Humanities*
1215 Prytania, Suite 535
New Orleans, LA
Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), LCH has supported a number of projects involving folklife in Louisiana on such things as Florida Parishes folklife, zydeco music, Louisiana French language and Blues, among others. Projects require an academic humanist, advisor or discussant and public outreach.
Publications: guidelines, annual report.

**National Council for the Traditional Arts*
1346 Connecticut Avenue, NW Room 1118
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/296-0068
Founded in 1933 as the National Folk Festival Association, the National Council for the Traditional Arts (NCTA) has long presented Louisiana folk culture at its festivals and exhibitions. The first Cajun music to be played outside Louisiana at such an event was in Dallas in 1936. In recent years the National Folk Festival has featured Louisiana performers at Wolf Trap Farm Park near Washington. The 1980 Festival program focused on Isleno, Creoles and Cajuns from south Louisiana. In 1981 NCTA produced a North American tour of French folk musicians to Louisiana and elswhere called *a la mode de chez nous*, featuring Cajun music and zydeco. In 1983, Brownie Ford, "Louisiana woods cowboy" from Hebert, Caldwell Parish, was featured on the National Cowboy Tour, "Puncher's Reunion."
Publications: Annual program booklet, *Folk Festivals: A Handbook for Organizations and Management*, various special issues.

F—National Archives and Records Service
National Archives of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20408
Important archival material of all types including Bureau of American Ethnology photographs (see also National Anthropological Archives)and Agriculture Department, Federal Extension photographs of rural life. Also the Motion Picture Unit has edited and unedited films dating back to 1894, most transferred from federal agencies. Some Louisiana footage is included.
Collections: Audiovisual Archives: *American Indian* (relates to Bureau of Indian Affairs records); Harmon Foundation Collection on Negro Life and Culture.
Publications: A List of Record Groups of the National Archives: Genealogical Records in the National Archives.

**F—National Endowment for the Arts*
Folk Arts Program
1100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20506
202/682-5449
As one of the three Washington-based federal agencies mandated to work especially with folk culture, the Folk Arts Program of NEA provides grants for projects that identify, preserve, and present folk arts through field surveys, conferences, festivals, state folk art/folklife programs, media productions and workshops. It also makes National Heritage Awards for major traditional artists. The Folk Arts Program has funded many

projects in Louisiana and is an excellent general reference point for folk art and folklife in the United States.
Publications: guidelines and various publications by grantees.

F—National Endowment for the Humanities
Washington, D.C. 20506
Funds organizations and individuals in scholarly and public-oriented research projects through four divisions: Education, Research Grants, Fellowships and Public Programs. Separately administered, Youth grants have been useful in supporting Louisiana folk cultural documentation programs in recent years.

F—National Historical Documents Program, National Historical Publications and Records Commission
Washington, D.C. 20408
Provides grants to educational and non-profit institutions, preserves important historical documents of national significance
Publications: Annotation (newsletter)

F—National Institute for Mental Health
Rockville, MD 20857
Funds studies on ethno-linguistics, cultural change and basic ethnography through the Behavorial Sciences Research Branch. It has funded projects in Louisiana with Indian communities.

F—National Public Radio (NPR)
2025 M Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/822-2000
Occasionally features Louisiana folk traditions in its programming. Independent producers may submit programs to various sections of NPR for broadcast consideration. NPR's Folk Festival USA Series produced one program on music in French Louisiana, "*Bon Cher Camarade.*" Cajun and Creole music of Southwest Louisiana." Contact local NPR outlet stations in Louisiana for program information (WWNO, New Orleans; WRKF, Baton Rouge; KRVS, Lafayette) See also the essay "Media Documentation of Louisiana Folklife" in the section "Documenting Tradition: Louisiana Folklife and the Media."

Oral History Association
NT Box 13734
Denton, TX 76203
Publications: Newsletter, *Oral History Review, Pamphlet series.*
Association with emphasis on interviewing methodology that includes many folklorists among membership and on programs at annual meeting.

University of Pennsylvania/Department of Folklore and Folklife
Logan Hall
Phila. PA 19104
An academic program for undergraduate and graduate studies in folklore and folklife. Ph.D. is offered.
Collection: Archives
Publications: Digest, a journal of folk foodways, various occasional items.

Pioneer America Society
Department of Geography
University of Akron
Akron, Ohio 44325
The P.A.S. has an affiliation with LSU's Geography and Anthropology Department.
Publication: Pioneer America: The Journal of Historic American Material Culture.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

**F—National Anthropological Archives*
Smithsonian Institution/Museum of Natural History
Washington, D.C. 20560
202/381-5225
Collections: John R. Swanton/David I. Bushnell, Bureau of American Ethnology photographs of Louisiana Indians 1907-1915; manuscripts.

F—National Anthropological Film Center
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560
Collections: Contain film documentation of Festival of American Folklife and ethnographic films of all types.
Access: open to qualified scholars.

F—National Museum of History and Technology
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560
Department of Cultural History contains a Musical Instruments Division with many folk items. The Division of Ethnic and Western Cultural History maintains an extensive files and artifacts collection regarding regional and ethnic groups.
Access: qualified scholars.

F—National Museum of Natural History and Museum of Man
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560
Three major components are: The Department of Anthropology, National Anthropological Archives (see separate listing) and Center for the Study of Man. All have a strong interest in American Indian culture and the Archives particularly house the Bureau of American Ethnology Collection of correspondence, research and photographs.

**F—Office of Folklife Programs*
Smithsonian Institution
2600 L'Enfant Plaza
Washington, D.C. 20560
202/287-3424
As one of the three Washington-based federal agencies devoted to folk culture, the

Smithsonian's Folklife Program was initially established in the Division of Performing Arts in 1967. The program changed from a performance-oriented one to a research center in 1976, when it became part of the Office of American Studies. It has recently become a separate office unto itself The Office of Folklife Programs is charged with collecting, preserving and presenting the artifacts and performances of the nation's oral traditions: encouraging the continued survival of living cultural forms whose existence is endangered by the institutions of modern technological society: developing scholarly documentation of the papers, films, tapes and other materials amassed during Smithsonian folklife festivals: and planning and developing future folklife programs and presentations in conjunction with other Smithsonian divisions.

Louisiana French folk performers have been especially well represented at the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife since its inception in 1967. Included have been cooks, weavers, musicians and storytellers. In 1976 a large group of persons from Louisiana attended a part of the "Regional America" and "Old Ways in the New World" section of the event. In 1978 Louisiana oilfield folklife was represented, and in 1982, Cajun fiddler Dewey Balfa was presented with a National Heritage Award at the Festival. As a result of Smithsonian fieldwork in south Louisiana over the last two decades there are a number of relevant items in the Folklife Programs' archives, including photographs, field recordings and recorded performances at the Festival. The visiting scholars program funds research in Folklife Program's collected materials.
Collections: Field and festival recording of Louisiana musicians and storytellers: photographs of performers: fieldwork reports and data cards: fieldworker collections of R. Rinzler. R. Yellin N. Spitzer and B. J. Ancelet among others.
Publications: Working Americans; Festival booklets: *Folklore and Folklife: Teacher's Manual: Folk Festival Issues;* many others.
Special Projects: Field studies, films, monographs and recordings: workshops.
Access: Archives by appointment to qualified researchers. Annual festival is open to the public.

F—Office of Museum Programs
Arts and Industries Building/Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560
Provides technical and funding assistance for museums, museum professionals, Native American and museology students.

F—Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560
Sponsors and disseminates research on social and cultural issues related to contemporary immigrants to the United States.

Society for Applied Anthropology
1703 Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20009
202/232-8800
Publication: Journal of Applied Anthropology.
Special Projects: annual meetings.

Society for Humanistic Anthropology
Regional coordinator: Miles Richardson
LSU Department of Geography and Anthropology
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
504/388-5942
Publications: Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly, newsletter.
Special projects: symposia.

Southern Anthropological Society
c/o Department of Geography & Anthropology-LSU
Baton Rouge, LA 70803
504/388-5942
Publications: Publications of procedings include many articles on Southern culture.
Special projects: annual meetings

Southern Arts Federation
1401 Peachtree St. NE Suite 122
Atlanta, GA 30309
404/874-7244
Occasionally circulates tours of folk culture, related exhibits and performances in the southeastern United States to and from Louisiana.
Publication: Annual listing of programs and guidelines.

F—U.S. Army Corps of Engineers—New Orleans District
Cultural Resources Section
Planning Diviison, Environmental Analysis Branch
P.O. Box 267
New Orleans, LA 70160
504/838-2551
The Cultural Resources Section based in the New Orleans District of the Corps has responsibility for managing cultural resources associated with Corps' projects in the district in accordance with the Archaeological and Historic Preservation Act of 1974. This section has primarily an archaeological orientation, but living folk cultural communities are increasingly included in their mitigation work with regard to water resources. Traditional cultural materials have or are being gathered as part of the Atchafalaya Basin Project, Bayou Grand Caillou Project and the Mississippi River and Tributaries Project.
Publications: Archaeology & Ethnology on the Edges of the Atchafalaya Basin.

APPENDIX 2

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND MASTERS THESES RELEVANT TO LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE

The following abbreviations are made:

LSU - Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.
USL - University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.
NSU - Northwestern State University, Natchitoches.
NLU - Northeastern La. University, Monroe.
SLU - Southeastern La. University, Hammond.
UNO - University of New Orleans
La. Tech. - Louisiana Tech University, Ruston.

Some of these items can be secured by inter-library loan. Others do not circulate. All can be found at their respective school libraries. Thanks to: The Louisiana Room staff at LSU; John Budd, SLU; Carol Wells, NSU; Harriet Cale, NLU; Frederic Stielow and Patricia Rickels, USL; and George Reinecke, UNO

—Compiled by
C. Paige Gutierrez

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USL, 1967.

Baiamonte, John V.
New Immigrants in the South: A Study of Italians of Tangipahoa Parish.
SLU, 1969.

Baird, Emay Buchanan
The Revitalization of French in Louisiana: Language Policy and Language Strategy.
The American University, 1977.

Barnhill, Viron L.
A Linguistic Atlas Type Investigation in Western Louisiana.
Tulane, 1950.

Becnel, Thomas Aquinas
A History of the Louisiana Shrimp Industry, 1867-1961.
LSU, 1962.

Bennett, Harold C.
Rural Social Areas of Louisiana.
LSU, 1952.

Bergeron, Maida Owens
Language Maintenance and Shift in a Bayou Community.
LSU, 1978.

Berry, Nora
Place-Names of Natchitoches Parish.
LSU, 1935.

Bienvenu, Charles Joseph
The Negro-French Dialect of St. Martin Parish.
LSU, 1933. (includes folk medicine)

Blackshear, David
The Louisiana People.
Tulane, 1904 (BA)

Blanchet, Catherine Brookshire
Louisiana French Folk Songs Among Children in Vermilion Parish, 1942-1954.
USL, 1970.

Blume, George Terrill
The Rural Churches of St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, at Mid-century.
LSU, 1952.

Booker, Dennis A.
Indian Identity in Louisiana: Two Contrasting Approaches to Ethnic Identity.
LSU, 1973.

Bordelon, Marjorie L.
A Study of a Rural Town in Louisiana.
Tulane, 1936.

Boudreaux, Anna M.
A Profile of the Folklore and Idiomatic Expressions of the French Language of the Kaplan Area in Vermilion Parish.
USL, 1969.

Boudreaux, Maydell Celima
Food Preservation Methods Used By a Selected Group fo One Hundred Rural Families in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1947.

Bourgeois, Clotilde Julie
A Critical Bibliography of Material on Louisiana and of other Publications By Louisianians in the French Language in the LSU Library.
LSU, 1931.

Bourgeouis, Eugene Olivier.
Creole Dialect.
LSU, 1927. (contains folktales)

Bowie, Helen (Mrs. Robert Powers)
Bayou Lafourche.
LSU, 1935.

Brassieur, Charles Ray
A Preliminary Ethnographic Survey of the Atchafalaya Basin Area.
LSU, 1980.

Briede, Kathryn Claire
A History of the City of Lafayette.
Tulane, 1937.

Brink, Florence R.
Literary Travelers in Louisiana between 1803-1860.
LSU, 1930.

Broussard, Mamie Joyce
The Creole and French of Lafayette, Louisiana: A Comparative Study.
Atlanta University, 1945. (contains proverbs, songs, and stories)

Brown, Louise
Louisiana Costume from 1700-1900.
LSU, 1939.

Bruce, Edwin N.
Westwego, Louisiana: A Community Study.
Tulane, 1947.

Buchanan, Ann Spotswood
Some Things Belonging to the Early Days of Lafayette Parish.
LSU, 1931.

Burns, Kerry Oliver
Ouachita Parish Southern Baptists, 1800-1930.
NLU, 1970.

Calais, Gayle Dolores
The Acadian French of the Parks (St. Martin Parish), Louisiana Area.
USL, 1968.

Carey, Mary
The History of Table Manners and Customs and the Influence Upon Manners and Customs of South Louisiana.
LSU, 1933.

Carney, Raymond Edward
The Depression in Natchitoches Parish, 1930-1934.
NSU, 1969.

Carter, Albert E.
The Louisiana Negro and His Music.
Northwestern University, Evanston, 1947.

Carter, Hugh C.
Problems of Adult Education Classes Among the Hungarians and Italians in Tangipahoa and Livingston Parishes.
LSU, 1935.

Cole, Lewis Lavell
Levees in Louisiana Prior to the Civil War.
NSU, 1968.

Coleman, Linda P.
The Acadians.
LSU, 1911.

Collins, John Joseph
The People and Resources of North Louisiana.
Tulane, 1904.

Conner, Ida Mae
Food Consumed by a Family of Seven in South Louisiana: Calculated according to Cost, Quantity, and Adequacy.
LSU, 1938.

Creed, David Arnold
An Economic and Social History of Madison Parish.
NLU, 1969.

Creel, Manuel
Cuban Refugees of New Orleans: A Sociological Study.
LSU, 1973.

Cotton, Delora Nance
A Study of Migration Trends Into Northeast Louisiana.
NLU, 1978.

Daigle, Anna Theresa
Folklore and Etymological Glossary of Variants from Standard French in Jefferson Davis Parish.
LSU, 1934.

Darden, Donna K.
A Study in Louisiana French Onomastics.

Day, Sandra J.
Sociability and Creativity Aspects Related to Food in a South Louisiana Community.
LSU, 1975.

Delambre, Jules W.
Brokership in a Rural Sub-community: A Study of Group Relations.
LSU, 1969.

Doucet, Carol James
The acadian French of Lafayette.
USL, 1970.

Douglas, Connie Woodruff
A Linguistic Study of the English Used by New Orleans Speakers of Creole.
UNO, 1969.

Douglas, Lillian
Place-Names of East Feliciana Parish.
LSU, 1930.

Durand, Sidney Joseph
A Phonetic Study of Creole Dialect.
LSU, 1930 (contains folktales and proverbs)

Eagleson, Dorothy Rose
Some Aspects of the Social Life of the New Orleans Negro in the 1880's.
Tulane, 1961.

Everett, Donald Edward
Free Persons of Color in Orleans Parish, 1840-1860.

Falkowski, Carolyn Teresa
Connotative Meanings of Food in a Selected Louisiana Subculture. (Italian)
LSU, 1978.

Fogelman, Charles W.
The Negro Baptist Churches of East Baton Rouge Parish—A Socio-religious Study of their Structure and Functions.
LSU, 1949.

Folse, Clinton Louis
Form of Settlement as a Factor in Social Solidarity, with Special Reference to Southern Louisiana.
LSU, 1935.

Fontenot, Sharon Mitchell
Food Customs in a Louisiana French Parish.
LSU, 1980.

Fournet, Estelle Marie
A Comparison of Food Habits in non-French and French Louisiana.
LSU, 1939.

Gaty, Alice Lillian
A Study of the Food Preparation Methods Used by Fifty Families in Terebonne Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1942.

Giambrone, Guice A.
Rise and Decline of Italian Immigration in Louisiana, 1880-1924.
USL, 1972.

Gibson, Herman III
Deer Hunting Clubs in Concordia Parish: the Role of Male Sodalities in the Maintenance of Social Values.
LSU, 1976.

Goldman, Elliott
The Jewish Community of Natchitoches Parish.
NSU, 1968.

Foote, Lucy B.
Official Publications of the State of Louisiana 1898-1934.
University of Illinois, 1935.

French, Carolyn Joyce Oliver
Franklin Parish: Settlement Prior to 1843.
NLU, 1972.

Hamlett, James Alexander
The Folklore of the French-Speaking Negro of Evangeline Parish.
LSU, 1954.

Hammond, Raymond V.
Delineation of the Anacoco Prairie on the Basis of Physical Properties, Settlement, and Land Use.
NSU, 1973.

Hatfield, Mrs. Beryl (Dyson)
Fish Cookery in South Louisiana, with its Influencing and Contributing Factors.
LSU, 1933.

Hawley, Francis F.
Spanish Folk Healing in Ascension Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1976.

Hebert, Wallace Andrew, Jr.
Louisiana Southern Baptists and the Crisis of Evolution, 1923-1929.
NSU, 1966.

Hernandez, Luis
Godparenthood in Latin America and French Louisiana: A Comparison.
LSU, 1972.

Hoblit, Paul C.
The Pentacostal Experience. A Revitalization Ritual.
LSU, 1970.

Holden, Harriet
An Analysis of Consumer Habits in the Purchase and the Use of Foods with Special Reference to Bogalusa.
LSU, 1939.

Hyde, Roy E.
Rural Family Organization on Bayou Plaquemine.
LSU, 1932.

Istre, Giles
An Investigation of the Pronunciation of Persons of Slavic Descent in Parts of Plaquemine Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1966.

Jackson, John Robert
The Poor Whites of Antebellum Louisiana.
Tulane, 1935.

Jarreau, Lafayette
Creole Folklore of Pointe Coupee Parish.
LSU, 1931.

Jensen, John A.
A Comparative Study of Religious and Ethnic Attitudes of Northern and Southern Louisiana College Students.
LSU, 1949.

Johnson, Virginia
Farm Housing in LaFourche Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1938.

Jones, Joseph Hardy
The People of Frilot Cove: A Study of a Racial Hybrid Community.
LSU, 1950.

Jones, Nine Irma
The Jewish Community in New Orleans: A Study of Social Organization.
Tulane, 1925.

Jordan, H.
Farm Life in Webster Parish, Louisiana 1870-73 as Reflected in the Diary of Samuel Worth Jones.

Kaltenbaugh, Louise Pauline
A Study of the Place-Names of St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana.
UNO, 1969.

Kaplan, Benjamin
Study of Newsboys in New Orleans.
Tulane, 1929.

Kaufman, Louis
A Socio-economic Study of LaFourche Parish.
Tulane, 1942.

Kayman, Eleanor Kerner
Leisure time Activities in New Orleans, 1855-1863.
Tulane, 1966.

Keaty, Lucille
The Work of Alcee Fortier.
LSU, 1929.

Kilman, Grady W.
Slavery and Forced Labor in Colonial Louisiana, 1699 to 1803.
USL, 1972.

King, Dorothy Elizabeth
Phases of Bayou Life.
Tulane, 1934.

King, Peggy Elaine
The Effects of Displacement on Levee Dwellers, Atchafalaya Basin, Louisiana.
LSU, 1977.

Klein, Selma L.
Social Interaction of the Creole and Anglo-Americans in New Orleans, 1803-1860.
Tulane, 1940.

Konrad, William R.
The Diminishing Influence of German Culture in New Orleans Life since 1865.
Tulane, 1940.

Labbe, Delores Egger
Jim Crow Comes to Church: The Establishment of Segregated Catholic Parishes in Southern Louisiana.
USL, 1965.

Laguaite, Jeannette K.
The German Element in New Orleans, 1820-1860.
Tulane, 1940.

LaHaye, Marie Anne Theresa
French Folk Material from St. Landry Parish.
LSU, 1946.

Lamoureux, Dominque Marie
The Struggle for Survival, the Uniqueness of the French Creoles in Louisiana.
Ohio State University, Columbus, 1975.

Landry, Katerine
An Historical Study of the Judice Community.
USL, 1975.

Lavergne, Remi.
A Phonetic Transcription of the Creole Negroes' Medical Treatments, Superstitions, and Folklore of Pointe Coupee.
LSU, 1931.

LeBon, Joseph W.
The Catahoula Hog Dog. A Cultural Trait of the Upland South.
LSU, 1970.

Levy, Russell.
Of Bards and Bawds: New Orleans Sporting Life before and during the Storyville Era, 1897-1917.
Tulane, 1967.

Loftin, Marion T.
Agricultural Extension and Cultural Change in Red River Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1941.

Lorio, Elaine C.
Place-Names of Pointe Coupee Parish.
LSU, 1932.

McGowan, Emma W.
Free People of Color in New Orleans (1803-1860).
Tulane, 1939.

McIlhenny, Louise W.
The Retention of Original French Culture Traits by the Acadians of Rural Louisiana.
Tulane, 1935.

McKillips, Edward J.
Activity Programs and Cultural Change in Caldwell Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1940.

Magness, P.J.
Evidence Supporting the Theory of Spanish-American Culture in Sabine Parish.
NSU, 1973.

Malin, Helen Rahm
A Questionnaire of Lexical Items Used by New Orleans English Speakers.
UNO, 1972.

Melancon, Dale Ann
French Folklore in Terrebonne Parish.
LSU, 1964.

Mobley, Frank
El Camino Real: The Route From Little River to the Red.
NSU, 1962.

Morgan, Agnes Brown
The Uses of Cane Syrup and Brown Sugar in Louisiana Homes.
LSU, 1939.

Nicherson, Camille Lucie
Africo-Creole Music in Louisiana: A Thesis on the Plantation Songs Created by the Creole Negroes of Louisiana.
Oberlin Colege, 1932.

Nordmann, Christopher Andrew
Some Aspects of the Regulation and Control of Slaves and Free Persons of Color in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, 1830-1865.
USL, 1978.

Painter, Norman W.
The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans, Louisiana.
Tulane, 1949.

Parenton, Vernon J.
A Sociological Study of a Negro Village in the French Section of Louisiana.
LSU, 1939.

Parker, Archie David, Jr.
Cypress and Hardwood Lumbering in Northeast Louisiana from 1865 to 1930.
NLU, 1969.

Parr, Una M.
A Glossary of Variants from Standard French in Terrebonne Parish with an Appendix of Popular Beliefs, Superstitions, Medicines, and Cooking Recipes.
LSU, 1940.

Pecot, Marguerite A.
The Cajun.
LSU, 1932.

Pellegrin, Roland J.
A Sociological Analysis of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1949.

Peneguy, Elizabeth Levin.
Elements of Political Cutlure in Rural Louisiana.
LSU, 1972. (Compares Mansfield and Breaux Bridge)

Perrin, Patricia F.
Storm Lore About the Hurricanes of 1893 and 1915 in the Coastal Areas of LaFourche and Jefferson Parishes.
USL, 1977.

Perrin, William E.
Zemurray Gardens: The Land and Its People.
SLU, 1971.

Petitjean, Irene M.
Cajun Folk Songs of Southwest Louisiana.
Columbia University, N.Y., 1930

Phillips, Susan Thompson
A Study of Place Names in St. Charles Parish, Louisiana.
UNO, 1979.

Phillips, Yvonne.
Land Use Patters in Louisiana.
LSU, 1950.

Pierce, Janet K.
Grand Bayou: Seasonal Activities in a Louisiana Marsh Community.
LSU, 1979.

Pierron, Walter Joseph
A Sociological Study of the French-Speaking People in Chauvin: A Line Village in Terrebonne Parish.
LSU, 1942.

Pope, Mrs. Beryl
The Place of the Native Carbohydrate Foods, Such as Rice, Corn, and Sweet Potatoes in the Daily Menus of the South Louisiana People.
LSU, 1934.

Posey, Darrell A.
The Fifth Ward Settlement: A Tri-Racial Marginal Group.
LSU, 1975.

Pratt, Edward E.
The American Slum—A Sociological Study of New Orleans.
Tulane, 1907.

Puckett, Erastus P.
The Free Negro in New Orleans to 1860.
Tulane, 1907.

Pujul, Irene Blanche.
Robin's "Voyages Dans L'Interieure de la Louisiane," Translated and Annotated
LSU, 1939.

Reed, Mary Barton
Louisiana Cookery—Its History and Development.
LSU, 1931.

Reinecke, George F.
New Orleans Pronunciation among School Children and Educated Adults.
Tulane, 1951.

Reynolds, Jack
The Pronunciation of English in Southern Louisiana.
LSU, 1934.

Robertson, Pamela E.
A History of Poor Relief in St. Landry Parish.
Tulane, 1942.

Ross, Elmer Lamar.
"Factors in Residence Pattersn Among Latin Americans in New Orleans, La.: A Study in Urban Anthropological Methodology."
University of Georgia, 1973.

Roumagnac, C. J.
A Demographic Analysis of Selected Characteristics of the "Acadian" Population of Louisiana, 1940.
LSU, 1952.

Rousseve, Charles Barthelemy
The Negro in Louisiana: Aspects of His History and His Literature.
Xavier University, New Orleans, 1935.

Roy, Edison Peter
The Indians of Dulac: A Descriptive Study of a Racial Hybrid Community in Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1959.

Sadler, Cora
Creole Songs.
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1939.

Saltzman, Joseph D.
A Phonetic Study of the French Spoken in Saltzman Settlement, Vermilion Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1957. (contains personal histories and tales)

Saucier, Corinne-Lelia
Louisiana Folk-Tales and Songs in French Dialects with Linguistic Notes.
George Peanbody College, Nashville, 1923.

Severance, Kathleen Thomas
Folk Medicine in North Louisiana.
NSU, 1971.

Scrammuzza, V.M.
Galveztown: A Spanish Settlement in Colonial Louisiana.
LSU, 1924.

Sepulvado, Donald Lester
Folk Curing in a Spanish Community.
NSU, 1975.

Shea, Robert S.
The Development of Catholic Facilities for Negro Education in the State of Louisiana with Special Reference to the Work of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People.
Tulane, 1949.

Shpall, Leo
Study of the Group Activities of the Jewish Youth in New Orleans.
Tulane, 1927.

Simon, Anne L.
Codofil: A Case Study of an Ethnic Interest Group.
USL, 1977.

Smith, Irene Dixon
The Louisiana Creole in Fiction.
Tulane, 1926.

Stanton, Max
The Indians in the Grand Caillou-Dulac Community.
LSU, 1971.

Sturdivant, Sheila T.
Rich Man, Poor Man, Beggar Man, Thief: Frenchmen Exiled to Louisiana, 1717 to 1721.
USL, 1971.

Suarez, Raleigh A.
Aspects of the Social History of Iberville Parish, 1850-1860.
LSU, 1949.

Tinsley, Vallie
Some Negro Songs Heard on the Hills of North Louisiana.
LSU, 1928.

Trappey, Adams Shelby Holmes
Creole Folklore in Phonetic Transcription.
LSU, 1916.

Tugwell, Marie
The Sources of Food Supply of 100 Selected Homes in DeSoto Parish.
LSU, 1935.

Voorhies, Edward T.
A Glossary of Variants from Standard French in St. Martin Parish, Louisiana, Followed by Some of the Folklore of the Parish.
LSU, 1949.

Wagner, Irene C.
A Survey of the Folk-Lore of Louisiana with Special Reference to its Distinctive Qualities.
University of Kansas, Lawrence, 1933.

Walker, Ursula Genung
Structural Features of Negro English in Natchitoches Parish.
NSU, 1968.

Watson, Helen
Midwives in New Orleans.
Tulane, 1921.

Wells, Carolyn McConnell
Domestic Architecture of Colonial Natchitoches,
NSU, 1973.

Western, John Charles
Social Groups and Activity Patterns: Houma, Louisiana.
University of Western Ontario, 1971.

Whitfield, Irene Therese
Louisiana French Folk-Songs.
LSU, 1935.

Williams, L.
The People of Tangipahoa Parish: A Sociological Comparison of Two Ethnic Groups.
LSU, 1951.

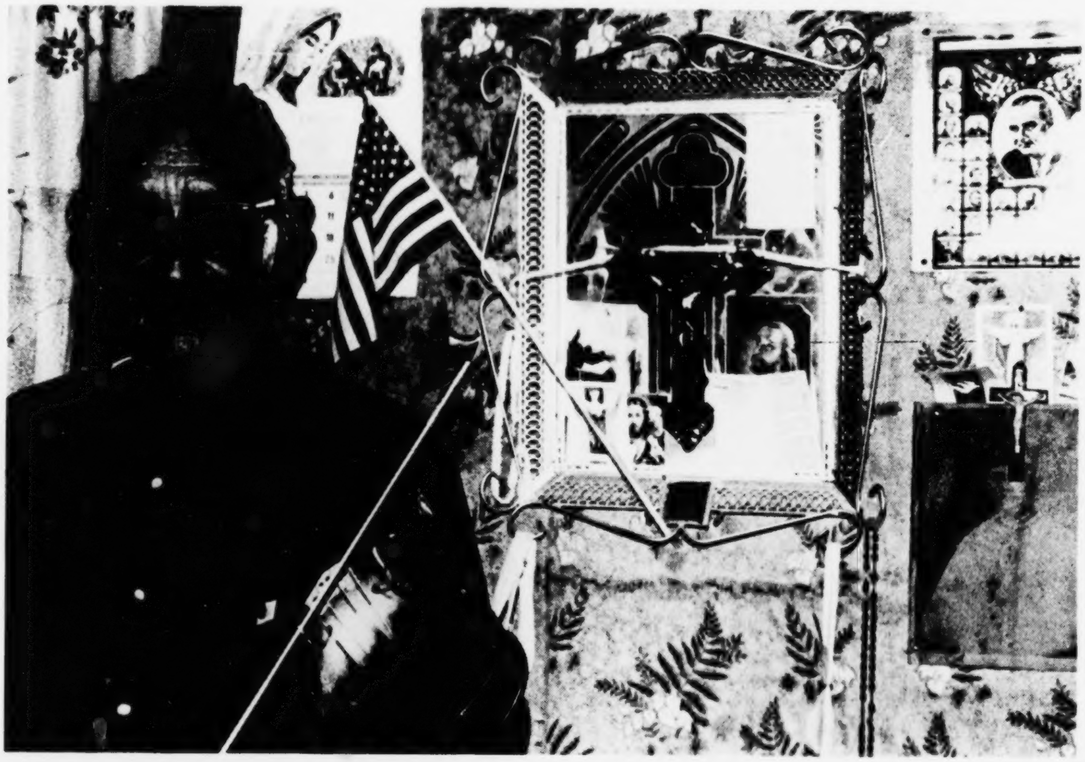
Wilson, Martha Lynn
A Vocabulary Study of St. Tammany Parish Using the New Orleans Questionnaire.
UNO, 1973.

Wilson, Mary Louise Lewis
Traditional Louisiana-French Folk Music: An Argument for its Preservation and Utilization as a State Cultural Heritage.
University of Pittsburgh, 1977.

Wood, Minter
Life in New Orleans During the Spanish Period.
Tulane, 1938.

Young, Chester W.
Activity Programs and Cultural Change in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana.
LSU, 1940.

French-speaking Choctaw man, Leon Laurent of Mandeville, is in front of the house he built. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer



Joseph BeBe Carriere of Lawtell, St. Landry Parish, a traditional Creole musician in the film ZYDECO. Photograph: Nicholas R. Spitzer.

APPENDIX 3

FILM AND VIDEO ON LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE

*The following list was compiled from the film catalogue of the Louisiana State Library (1980) and the Center for Gulf South History and Culture's Louisiana Film Catalogue completed in 1981. Additional listings were made by the editor based on new works and previously unlisted items. Although many of the films and video tapes listed here can be purchased and rented, it was not deemed appropriate to quote prices. These are in constant flux and may vary depending upon the user and use for a particular work. A listing of distributors is, however, provided. School boards, libraries, archives and museums are encouraged to include such works in their programming. Items that are particularly good for presenting folklife are noted with an *.*

A large number of films listed can be used free of charge and are available from the Louisiana State Library's Films and Recording Section, through local and parish libraries. However, these films cannot be used by school groups or where admission is charged.

It will be seen that there are many documents about New Orleans and south Louisiana in general, but relatively few about Indian culture or north Louisiana. Funding agencies, cultural programmers and filmmakers should be aware of these needs when planning their activities.

SOUTH LOUISIANA: CAJUNS, CREOLES, ISLENOS, RURAL MARDI GRAS, FESTIVALS, OLD-TIME JAZZ AND BLUES, FOOD

THE ACADIANS—Color; 16mm; 15 minutes
The program begins with a visit to Grand Pre, Nova Scotia, then there are scenes from New Orleans as it might have looked in 1755 when the Acadians first arrived in Louisiana. The remainder of the program was filmed in and around St. Martinville, Louisiana. It shows how the original Cajuns used the bayous historically and are still using them today for transportation and to make a living. The film concludes with a festival and a traditional Cajun "fais-do-do."

Produced in the American Scrapbook Series
Jefferson Parish Library

ALLONS A LOUISIANA CAJUN COUNTRY!—Color; 16mm; 30 minutes
Festivals, food and entertainment in south Louisiana.

Produced by Carolyn Ramsey for the Louisiana Travel Promotion Association, 1975, Louisiana State Library

THE BARATARIANS—Color Video; ¾"; 60 minutes
Documentary on the ethnic diversity and occupational activities of the peoples of Barataria Bay area.

Produced by John Beyer for WYES-TV, Distributed by WYES-TV

BYE BYE BAYOU BLUE—Color; 16mm; 13½ minutes
A chilling study in contrasts of the bayou country versus the encroachment of industry. Voice-over is done by an 89 year old Cajun. 1979

Produced by Dale Anthony Smith, Jefferson Parish Library

CAJUN COUSINS—Color; 16mm; 24 minutes
Lisa lives in Sunset in the bayou prairies of Louisiana, and Randy lives in Acadian Nova Scotia—3,000 miles apart, yet they share a common heritage. Many scenes familiar to rural Louisiana—crawfish harvesting, hunting, the small rural schoolhouse where the students are bilingual. 1976

Produced by Young People's Specials Jefferson Parish Library, Louisiana State Library For Children

CAJUN SPECIAL: NEW LOUISIANA STORY—Color; 16mm; 60 minutes
An overview of the revival of French culture in Louisiana.

Produced and distributed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

C'EST NICE DE PARLER LES DEUX MANIERES—Color; 16mm; 22 minutes
The film introduces us to a Kaplan, Louisiana family. In the three generations represented we see the evolution of the Cajun French language. The viewer also has a look at the Mardi Gras in Mamou, Louisiana. In French

Produced by Denis Godin, Sound by Randall Labry, Distributed by Bayou Films

D.L. MENARD, CAJUN MUSICIAN—Color; 16mm; 11 minutes
A short film in which this south Louisiana musician sings some of his songs, demonstrates chair making and comments on his philosophy of life. 1979

Producer-director, Stephen Duplantier and Marc Porter, Distributed by Bayou Films

*DEDANS LE SUD DE LA LOUISIANE—Color; 16mm; 60 minutes
An overview of traditional music in French Louisiana with the Balfa Brothers, Clifton Chenier, Nathan Abshire, Bois Sec Ardoin, Canray Fontenot, Ed and Bee Deshotels, Bee Fontenot, Dennis McGee and Cyp and Adam Landreneau. 1973

Produced by Jean Pierre Bruneau, Distributed by Bayou Films. Also available from Dewey Balfa, CODOFIL and the Center for Louisiana Studies

*DON MONTOUCET JOUE L'ACCORDEON—Color; 16mm; 12 minutes
The first version of this film shows accordionist Don Montoucet of Scott at work in his garage, at home and playing accordion. The film is planned for a re-release in 1983 with additional interview footage. 1979

Produced and directed by Barry Ancelet and Stephen Duplantier. A Gulfsouth Film. Available at the Center for Louisiana Studies, USL

***DRYWOOD**—Color: 16mm: 37 minutes
DRYWOOD is a look at the rural Creole lifestyle surrounding the Ardoin family of Duralde near Mamou. Named for the patriarch of the family, Alphonse "Bois Sec" (Dry Wood) Ardoin, the film shows the traditions of folk Catholicism, Mardi Gras, foodways and music in the context of family and community life. Companion to the film HOT PEPPER. 1973

Producer-Director: Les Blank. Distributed by Flower Films

***$8.50 A BARREL!**—Color; 16mm; 58 minutes
Known in French as *Huit piastres et demie*, $8.50 is a recreation of events surrounding the 1938 shrimp strikes. Oral histories of the strikers and strike breakers are interwoven to dramatic effect with the re-enactment of the events. In French with English subtitles. 1979

Producer-Director: Glen Pitre. Distributed by Bayou Films

EN BAS DU BAYOU—Eight Black and White ¾" video works; 30 minutes each
Allons Danser Colinda: Cajun Music in the Home.
Deux Freres: Two Cajun Brothers Comment on Social Change.
Les Traiteurs Cadiens: Cajun Folk Medicine.

Ca pagaille tout les temps: Pirogue making and duck decoy making.

Les Cadiens: The Future of Cajun Culture.
Sur l'eau: Lafourche Residents Relationship to the Sea.
Vieux Temps: Four Men Tell Stories of the Old Days.
Why Did You Go Away and Leave Me in Big Mamou? Lafourche Area Cajun Music.

Produced by Glen Pitre in association with the State Arts Council 1977. Copies at Foreign Languages and Bilingual Education, Dept. of Education, Bayou Films, Nicholls Media Center

FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
A number of short video tapes have been produced by this section of state government under the direction of Homer Dyess and Lyle Soniat. In addition to co-sponsoring the FRANCO-AMERICANS OF LOUISIANA (see below) this series of short programs includes the following titles in Color ¾" Video format:

CAJUN DOLL MAKING—8 minutes

TOURNOI DE LA VILLE PLATTE: 10 minutes
A brief history of the festival and shots of the competitions. French and English versions.

VIETNAMESE TET CELEBRATION: 12 minutes
The New Year festivities in New Orleans.

HUNGARIAN CHRISTMAS/ST. NICHOLAS DAY: 10 minutes

TABASCO LA SAUCE PIMENTEE: 10 minutes
Coverage of tabasco growing and processing at Avery Island. French and English versions.

FRANCO-AMERICANS OF LOUISIANA: Color; ¾" Video cassette: 60 minutes
A series of interviews with French speaking Louisianians of Creole, Creole of Color, Cajun and Indian backgrounds regarding the meaning of the terms "Cajun" and "Creole," and the value of preserving the French language in Louisiana. Discussion follows by Louisiana language and culture specialists.

Produced for CODOFIL/Dept. of Education, Foreign Language and Bilingual Education by Homer Dyess, Allegra Roach, Michael Comeaux. Distributed by the Foreign Languages Section/Dept. of Education and CODOFIL

THE GOOD TIMES ARE KILLING ME: Color; ¾" Video; 50 minutes
Controversial look at rural Cajun life in the Mamou area. Focuses on Mardi Gras and social aberrations that accompany the celebration. Shot in a verite style that made few subjects happy. People are not depicted in a positive way.

Produced by TVTV, Distributed by the Public Broadcasting Service; File copy at the Center for Louisiana Studies, USL

GRAN MAMOU; Color: 16 mm; 8 minutes
Mardi Gras celebration at Mamou, Louisiana—riders gathering for the run led by the captain, Jasper Manuel, and ending with gumbo at the close of the day. 1974

Directed by Ronald Judkins, Louisiana State Library

*GUMBO: The Mysteries of Cajun and Creole Cooking; Color; 16mm; 28 minutes
A comparative view of the south Louisiana food traditions as found in homes, restaurants, rural camps and family bar-be-ques. Narrated in part by Chef Paul Prudhomme. The differences between New Orleans Creole and rural Cajun lifestyles are also apparent.

Produced and directed by Stephen Duplantier and Marc Porter, Distributed by Bayou Films, Louisiana State Library

*HOT PEPPER—Color; 16mm; 54 minutes
This film plunges the viewer deep into the music of Clifton Chenier and its source in the surroundings of rural and urban Louisiana. The great Creole accordionist mixes rock and blues with his unique version of "Zydeco," a pulsating combination of Cajun music with African undertones. Also includes scenes of the bayous and countryside byways. Companion to the film DRYWOOD. 1973

Producer/Director: Les Blank. Distributed by Flower Films

LAFOURCHE: FORK OF THE MISSISSIPPI—Color; 16mm; 30 minutes
A travelog style look at the people who live along the banks of Bayou Lafourche. 1979

Produced by Ron Simeral and Robert Blazier for Nicholls State University, Distributed by Nicholls State University Media Center, Louisiana State Library

LE REEL DE PENDU—Color; 16mm; 58.5 minutes
Traces the song ("The Hangman's Reel") in French tradition in Europe and the New World including Louisiana. 1972

Directed by Andre Gladu, Produced and distributed by the National Film Board of Canada

*LE SON DE CAJUNS—Color, ¾" video; four ½-hour programs
The work of filmmaker Andre Gladu of Quebec. The four segments are "Fred's Lounge," "Ma Chere Terre," "Les Creoles," and "La Releve." These were made for French Canadian audiences and are in French. 1976.

Directed by Andre Gladu, Produced and distributed by Radio Canada, Canadian Broadcast Corp., Center for Louisiana Studies, USL

LES ACADIANS DE LA LOUISIANE—Color; 16mm/video; 60 minutes
Overview of culture of French Louisiana. In French made for French Television.

Produced for Television Francaise, Channel 1 by Yannich Resch, Distributed by Television Francaise

LES ACADIANS DES DISPERSION—Color; 16mm; 2 hours
Covers Acadian culture in Canada and French Louisiana.

Produced and distributed by Radio Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

*LES BLUES DE BALFA—Color; 16mm; 30 minutes
An overview of the Balfa Brothers and their musical and cultural impact on French Louisiana and beyond, 1983.

Produced and directed by Yasha Aginsky

LOS ISLENOS DE LUISIANA, HERENCIA QUE ESTA DESAPARICIENDO—Color ¾" video; 30 minutes
Overview of Isleno culture in St. Bernard Parish.

Produced and distributed by WYES-TV

*LOUISIANA STORY—Black and white; 16mm; 77 minutes
The classic fiction film about a Cajun boy and his family as they are confronted with the change brought by oil exploration/production in south Louisiana. Beautifully photographed and tastefully scored with orchestral interpretations of Cajun music, the film is uncertain in its ending where modern technology is portrayed in an idyllic harmony with bayou life. The film was produced with support by Humble Oil and Refining Company. 1948

Director: Robert Flaherty, Distributed by Films, Inc., and Louisiana State Library

*MADE BY HAND—Color; 16mm; 15 minutes
A quick overview of four south Louisiana craftspersons including an Indian cane basket maker, an Acadian weaver, a black split oak basket maker and an Acadian palmetto weaver. Although the film's content is not in-depth and the scripted narration tells little about the practicioners, this is a very useful film to introduce traditional crafts. 1978

Produced by the Lafayette Natural History Museum, Photography/Editor: Fred M. Packard, Distributed by Lafayette Natural History Museum and Louisiana State Library

MARDI GRAS LOUISIANE—Color; 16mm; 53 minutes
Contrasts the Mardi Gras of New Orleans and its huge parades, ethnic intermingling and tourists with the Cajun Mardi Gras in Mamou which is run on horseback and concluded with a dance and gumbo supper. In French. 1977

Produced and Directed by Robert Audet, Distributed by Bayou Films

THE MARDI GRAS THEY COULDN'T STOP—Color; Video; 18 minutes
National news coverage by the program "20/20" of the Church Point Mardi Gras.

Produced for ABC-TV 20/20 by Peggy Brim, Distributed by ABC-TV, Copy at Center for Louisiana Studies, USL

MOSQUITOS AND HIGH WATER (La Mosca y el Agua Alta)—Color: ¾" Video: 30 minutes
A portrait of the Islenos, or Canary Islanders, who live in St. Bernard Parish, trapping, fishing and oystering. Many of the Islenos still speak their own dialect of Spanish and have preserved a unique song tradition known as the , decima, a long series of descriptive narrative couplets sung a *cappella*. The work contains memories of growing up in the marshes, songs, events and occupational scenes in the life of the Isleno community on Delacroix Island. 1982

Produced by Andrew Kolker and Louis Alvarez. Distributed by Center for New American Media

OUBLIEZ PAS,VOUS ETES CAJUN—Color ¾" video: 40 minutes
"Don't Forget, You're Cajun"

Produced and Directed by Claude Sleouter for Television Francaise 3. Copy at French Cultural Services

PETITE CAILLOU—Color: 16mm: 20 minutes
This film deals with the harvesting of shrimp, blessing of the fleet and the Lagniappe on the Bayou Festival in Chauvin, Terrebonne Parish. 1972

Directed by Fred Packard and Rod Grossman. Sponsored by Chauvin Catholic Church. Produced and Distributed by Lagniappe Festival Committee, Louisiana State Library

*PIROGUE MAKER—Color: 16mm: 12 minutes
Documentary record of the nearly lost skill of fashioning a pirogue from a single cypress log. Folk revival songs sung by Susan Reed are used as narration. 1948

Produced by Humble Oil and Refining Company. Directed by Arnold Eagle. Distributed by Louisiana State Library

*SPEND IT ALL—Color: 16mm: 41 minutes
Portrays the culture of Cajuns of rural southwest Louisiana. Presented as musicians and interviewees are some of the best known folk performers in the region: the Balfa Brothers, Mark Savoy and Nathan Abshire. Occupations and home activities covered are: fishing, tobacco curing and making accordions.

Produced and Directed by Les Blank. Distributed by Flower Films, Louisiana State Library

THE SWAMP AND MR. HARKINS—Color: 16mm: 16 minutes
In a surprising Anglo-Tidewater dialect, a south Louisiana man recalls past years when he hunted alligators and lived off the wildlife in the marshes and swamps of the Atchafalaya River and lower coast. His problems now are caused by a dam built twenty years ago which has changed the river so much that floods a foot or more deep come into his house. He is too old to get a job, can't afford the city, and doesn't want to depend on his children, so he tenaciously struggles to stay in his lifelong home. 1980

Produced by Hart Sprager. Distributed by Adams and Adams Films. Louisiana State Library

TOURNESOL—Color: 16mm: 30 minutes
Covers French language and culture in Louisiana

Produced and Distributed by Radio Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: CODOFIL: Foreign Languages and Bilingual Education, Dept. of Education

TRIBUTE TO CAJUN MUSIC 1980—Color: ¾" video:30 minutes
Coverage of the 1980 Festival in Lafayette.

Produced by Michael Comeaux. Distributed by Foreign Languages and Bilingual Educaiton, Dept. of Education and CODOFIL

VEILLES CAJUNS—Color: 16mm: 30 minutes
Interviews and music featuring Dennis McGee, Cheese and Ella Mae Read, Canray Fontenot, Leopold Francois and Robert Jardell, 1983.

Produced and Directed by Yasha Aginsky

VIVRE POUR MANGER—Color: 16mm: 30 minutes
A French parallel version to Duplantier's film GUMBO. More emphasis is placed here on Cajun cooking (i.e., not New Orleans) and the bounty of the endangered environment that makes such cooking and food possible. In French.

Produced and Directed by Stephen Duplantier. Distributed by Bayou Films

YELLOW FEVER—Black and white: 16mm: 30 minutes

A recreation of events surrounding the quarantine in force on lower Bayou Lafourche during the yellow fever epidemic in 1897. Descendants of the persons involved play some of the roles. A rough classic in the field of Cajun film. In French with English sub-titles. 1979.

Produced and Directed by Glen Pitre. Distributed by Bayou Films

*ZYDECO—Color: ¾" video; 16mm; 58 minutes
An ethnographic film about the music and culture of rural Creoles in St. Landry Parish. Performers featured are the Carriere Brothers, Delton Broussard, John Delafose and his Eunice Playboys and the Ardoin Family. In addition to home altars, All Saints activities, religious *jurer* chanting, dancing, club life, work practices at the home, the farm and in the factor are also seen. Film concludes with a Creole Mardi Gras run. 1983.

Produced and Directed by Nicholas R. Spitzer and Stephen Duplantier. Distributed by Bayou Films, Flower Films

NEW ORLEANS: MARDI GRAS, FESTIVALS, OLD-TIME JAZZ AND BLUES, FOOD

*ALWAYS FOR PLEASURE—Color: ¾" video; 58 minutes

An intensive look at Mardi Gras and the diverse musical traditions the annual celebration supports in New Orleans. The film takes you to a jazz funeral, to Mardi Gras "practice" parades, Mardi Gras celebrations and a St. Patrick's Day celebration in white working class neighborhoods. The second part of the film focuses on Mardi Gras celebrations in the black community, particularly on the "black Indian" tradition, in which working class blacks try to outdo each other in dancing, talking, and especially in the parading of hand sewn Mardi Gras Indian costumes of their own design. Includes performances by Professor Longhair, Kid Thomas Valentine and the Wild Tchoupitoulas. 1978

Producer/Camera: Les Blank, Distributed by Flower Films, Louisiana State Library

BLACK INDIANS OF NEW ORLEANS—Color; 16mm; 33 minutes
A visually beautiful portrait of the black communities in New Orleans whose social clubs present parades of stylized Indian costumes at Mardi Gras each year. The film shows an historical link to Native American culture that has been questioned. However, the in-depth treatment of the practice sessions, costume makers and street events is more than worthwhile.

Directed and produced by Maurice Martinez
Distributed by Bayou Films: Jefferson Parish Library

FAT TUESDAY—Color: ¾" video; 1 hour
Stream of consciousness documentary on the 1981 New Orleans Mardi Gras.

Producer/Director: Armand Ruhlman. Distributed by Goofy Gator Productions

HOT STUFF—Color: ¾" video;60 minutes
A look at traditional/ethnic influences on New Orleans restaurants.

Produced by John Beyer for WYES-TV. Distributed by WYES-TV

KID THOMAS BAND LIVE AT PRESERVATION HALL—Color: ¾" video; 30 minutes
A performance film as the title indicates showing one of the finest old-time jazz musicians and his band at Preservation Hall in New Orleans. 1979

Directed and produced by Stephenson Palfi and Eddie Kurtz. Distributed by NOVAC

MARDI GRAS INDIANS—Color: Super 8: 15 minutes
A silent film meant to be narrated by the producer. The Mardi Gras Indian parades of New Orleans are covered with particular attention to street dance and costumery. 1973

Produced and Distributed by Ethelyn Orso

N'AWLINS—Color: ¾" video; 11 minutes
Stream of consciousness documentary on New Orleans music, Mardi Gras, people. 1980

Produced and Directed by Armand Ruhlman. Distributed by Goofy Gator Productions

A NEW ORLEANS LEXICON—Color: ¾" video: 7 minutes
A humorous examination of several unique New Orleans locutions ("silver dime," "make groceries," "lagniappe," etc.) with cultural commentary by folklorist George Reinecke.

Produced by Louis Alvarez and Andy Kolker. Distributed by Center for New American Media

*PIANO PLAYERS RARELY EVER PLAY TOGETHER—Color: 2" video;75 minutes
This is an intimate portrait of 3 generations of New Orleans piano players who strongly influence each other's music. Their music styles range from traditional jazz to honky-tonk blues, boogie woogie and rhythm and blues, to contemporary rock and roll. Includes the work of Professor Longhair, Isidore "Tuts" Washington, and Allen Toussaint. Scenes of Longhair's jazz wake and a final musical tribute at Tipitina's nightclub. 1981

Produced and Distributed by Stephenson Palfi

•PRAISE IN HIS NAME—Color: ¾" video: 60 minutes
A documentary performance piece about The Gospel Soul Children of New Orleans.

Produced by Alan Bell for WYES-TV. Distributed by WYES-TV

ROOSEVELT SYKES—Color:16mm: 31 minutes
Shows bluesman Sykes performing on stage and also playing, talking, and fishing at his home in New Orleans. 1971

Producer: BuDuDa, Inc., Distributed by Dusty Nelson

ST. JOSEPH'S DAY—Color: Super 8; 15 minutes
A silent film meant to be narrated by the producer. Covered are the making of St. Joseph altars and the ritual feast of children who recreate the Holy Family on or around March 19 each year in New Orleans and other Louisiana cities where Italians carry on the tradition. 1971

Produced and Distributed by Ethelyn Orso

•THIS CAT CAN PLAY ANYTHING—Color: ¾" video: 27 minutes
Emmanuel "Manny" Sayles, one of New Orleans' greatest banjo and guitar jazzmen, is the subject of this documentary. The production traces the historical and musical milestones in the life of Manny Sayles while visiting many of the places where he evolved into a working musician.

Produced and Distributed by NOVAC, Louisiana State Library

'TIL THE BUTCHER CUTS HIM DOWN—Color; 16 mm; 53 minutes
A tribute to traditional jazz with emphasis on the life and music of New Orleans jazz musician "Kid Punch" Milier. Includes his appearance at the New Orleans Jazz Festival. Philip Spalding. 1972

Distributed by the Louisiana State Library

•UP FROM THE CRADLE OF JAZZ—Color: ¾" video: 58½ minutes
Profiles two musical families of New Orleans. The Lasties are a family of drummers, from the Ninth Ward, with roots in spiritual church ceremonies, where rituals have Afro-Caribbean roots. The Neville Brothers come from the Thirteenth Ward, an uptown neighborhood where the piano was the primary instrument. The Neville portion contains much footage of the Mardi Gras Indians including an appearance by the late George Landry, Big Chief Jolley of the Wild Tchoupitoulas. 1980

Director: Davis Frentz, Produced and Distributed by Jason Berry and Jonathan Foose

VIEW FROM THE STOOP—Color: 1" & ¾" video; 30 minutes
A documentary on persons who carry on the New Orleans neighborhood tradition of stoop sitting. The stoop is viewed as a key place for community life, discussions between family and friends and a place to watch the world go by, New Orleans style.

Produced by Karen Snyder, Distributed by NOVAC

WINGS OF WOOD—Color; ¾" video: 10 minutes
Focuses on New Orleans Creole wildfowl carvers in the Hutchison family and what they learned from an elder carver named Mitchell LaFrance. The practice of decoy carving is shown as it has evolved from folk craft to sport to fine art.

Produced and Directed by Marice Martinez: Distributed by Folklore Films

INDIANS

HOUMA CRAFTS—Color: 16mm: 10 minutes
A brief look at Houma Indian life through traditional crafts items and practices as demonstrated by Antoine Billiot, Marie Dean, Lawrence Billiot, and Whitney Billiot, all brothers and sister in a Dulac family. 1983

Directed by Stephen Duplantier, Produced by the Louisiana Intertribal Council, Distributed by United Houma Nation

RETURN FROM OBLIVION—Color: 16mm: 28 minutes
An overview film on some of the Louisiana Indian tribal groups. Film is done entirely as a voice over and does not have statements by Indians in it. The focus is on tribal organization, rather than culture and traditions.

Produced and Distributed by the Jefferson Parish School Board, also Distributed by United Houma Nation

NORTH LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDA PARISHES

EZEKIEL—Color: 16mm; 10 minutes 40 seconds
Film documents the activities of the Pioneer Heritage Program at Caspiana House, a working museum of pioneer activities: brickmaking, shake splitting, weaving, cooking, etc. A mini-

dramatization dealing with history, folklore, early culture of Upland South pioneers is also included. 1980

Produced and Distributed by Clements Productions

OF SUGARCANE AND SYRUP—Color; 16mm; 15 minutes
The making of sugar cane syrup in Franklin Parish, Louisiana, where some families still provide for themselves using skills now almost forgotten that were commonplace and necessary only a generation ago. 1977

K&S Productions, Louisiana State Library

MISCELLANEOUS FILMS OF SOME RELEVANCE TO FOLKLIFE IN LOUISIANA

AFRICAN SOUL: MUSIC PAST AND PRESENT—Color 16mm; 17 minutes
Dallie and Olantunji show how the Memphis and New Orleans blues have roots in the forests and savannahs of Africa. We hear a demonstration of the ancient art of body percussion and an original African jazz composition. 1970

Produced by WCAU-TV, Philadelphia, Distributed by Carousel Films

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MISS JANE PITTMAN
The made-for-TV movie based on the novel by Ernest Gaines. The story covers the remembrances of an elderly black lady from the mid-19th century into the Civil Rights period.

Produced by Robert Christiansen and Rick Rosenburg for Tommorrow Entertainment, Distributed by McGraw Hill and the University of Michigan

CHANGING THE CHANNEL: THE RENOVATION QUESTION—Color; ¾" video;30 minutes
In the last few years New Orleans has seen a phenomenal interest in the restoration of the city's older houses. Renovation is changing the faces of many old neighborhoods. But despite enthusiasm for fixing up historical buildings, there is a need to look at the total effects of the renovation movement. What about the problems of displacement, overcrowding, and skyrocketing prices? How will they affect the future of New Orleans.

Produced and Distributed by NOVAC

CHEAP AND GREASY—Color; ¾" video; 26 minutes
Some say New Orleans is a city made of drifters, some staying a few days, some staying a few years. They all seem eventually to pass through the Hummingbird Hotel and Grill, a 24 hour a day, 365 days a year institution located in the middle of skid row. Bernadette Contreras, a local songwriter, spent a lot of time there and wrote the song *Cheap and Greasy*. This documentary features interviews with the owner, staff, and customers of the restaurant as well as the insights of the songwriter: "You won't find a better restaurant in the whole world, or a better place to feed your mind."

Produced and Distributed by NOVAC

*THE ENDS OF THE EARTH—Color; ¾" video; 60 minutes
This overview of the politics and cultures of Plaquemines Parish is a mingling of archival footage, interviews, and parish events. The political coverage of the Perez family dynasty is controversial, but well handled. The documentation of culture groups found in the area is a useful beginning. This is particularly true of the fine footage of Slavonian oystermen as they fish and play *bocce*. Other groups covered are local Creoles and Cajuns.

Produced by Louis Alvarez and Andrew Kolker, Distributed by the Center for New American Media

FOLKS—Color; ¾" video; various lengths
This program on Louisiana Public Broadcasting began in 1981. It occasionally features traditional culture, but not with the frequency or depth of LOUISIANA ALIVE (see below). One program that is useful covers the 1981 Natchitoches Folk Festival in segments. Another deals with the Houma Indians. 1982

Produced by Sharron Sexton for Louisiana Public Broadcasting

INDUSTRY ON PARADE NO. 145—Black &white; 16mm; 14 minutes
One of the series of films on people, products, methods of manufacture, etc., of specific American industries. This one features the McIlhenny tabasco sauce industry at Avery Island, Louisiana.

Louisiana State Library

THE JAZZ MUSEUM STORY—Black and white; 16mm; 12 minutes
Scenes from the opening in 1961 and from the fifth anniversary celebration in 1966. History of jazz in New Orleans; jazz musicians and a marching band as well. 1967

Louisiana State Library

LAST CAST—Color; ¾" video; 30 minutes
A pair of men who have fished together for 18 years in the Delacroix Island area are the focus of this work.

John A. Lomax with Leadbelly at Angola Prison. Photograph: Library of Congress.

Produced by Kevin Caffery for WYES-TV. Distributed by WYES-TV

THE LAST WILDERNESS—Color; 66mm; 55 minutes
A romantic view of south Louisiana people and animals. 1973

Produced by Kelly Falcon. Directed by John Korbel. Distributed by K. Falcon Productions

*LOUISIANA ALIVE—Color; ¾" video; various lengths
This show aired on LPB in 1980-81. It often featured folk cultural segments. Useful items are on Creole storyteller Ben Guinee, Cajun musician Dennis McGee, black cane carver David Allen, a program on Baton Rouge blues.

Produced by Tom Wolf for Louisiana Public Broadcasting. Distributed by Louisiana Public Broadcasting and partially by the Center for Louisiana Studies, USL

*LOUISIANA'S MARSHES OF THE MISSISSIPPI—Color; 16mm; 12 minutes
Shows the land building work of the Mississippi River along the shoreline of the Gulf of Mexico with the wildlife of the area—geese, ducks, alligators, turtles, minks, otters, raccoons, muskrats, and nutria. Follows a trapper in his marsh camp as he runs his trapline in this fur-producing area.

Produced by the Louisiana Wildlife and Fisheries Commission. Distributed by Jefferson Parish Library

*LUMBERING OPERATIONS OF THE F.B. WILLIAMS CYPRESS CO. LTD. PATTERSON, LA—Black and white; 16mm; 40 minutes
This silent film was made in 1927 to document the work activities surrounding cypress cutting, skidding and processing in the Atchafalaya Basin. A good idea of traditional work skills is imparted from the film which was funded by the Williams Company. Titles are used to explain the activities in the swamp and at the lumber mill.

Copy at Williams, Inc., Patterson, La.

*MADE IN LOUISIANA—Color; 16mm; 28 minutes
An overview of Louisiana arts which includes the folk arts. Performers seen are: musicians, Dewey Balfa, Nathan Abshire, D. L. Menard, Rockin' Dopsie and Robert Pete Williams, as well as sculptor David Butler and a number of unnamed others such as Mardi Gras Indians, fiddlers and quilters. 1980

Produced by the Louisiana Division of the Arts. Directed and Photographed by Toby Armstrong. Distributed by the Louisiana Diviison of the Arts, Louisiana State Library

PEOPLE ALONG THE MISSISSIPPI—Black & white; 16mm; 22 minutes
Peoples of different backgrounds and origins who live along the Mississippi River have, through their respective heritages, contributed to the cultural patterns of the United States. 1952

Encyclopedia Britannia, Louisiana State Library

THINKING OUT LOUD—Black and white; 16mm; 22 minutes
Presents blues artists still living and performing in their states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi and Louisiana. 1972

Produced by C. D. Film Workshop. Distributed by Educational Film Services

DISTRIBUTORS AND/OR ARCHIVAL LOCATIONS

Adams and Adams Films
706 Wayside Dr.
Austin, TX 78703
(512) 477-8846

Dewey Balfa
Box 575
Basile, LA 70515

Bayou Films
Rt. 3, Box 614
Cut Off, LA 70345
(504) 632-4100

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
245 Park Ave.
New York, NY 10022
(212) 949-1500

Carousel Films
1501 Broadway
New York, NY 10036
(212) 524-4126

Center for Louisiana Studies Folklife Program
USL
Lafayette, LA 70504
(318) 231-6028

Center for New American Media
P.O. Box 53163
New Orleans, LA 70153
(504) 944-5386

Clements Productions
840 Monrovia
Shreveport, LA 71106
(318) 861-1477

CODOFIL
Box 3936
Lafayette, LA 70502
(318) 233-1020

Educational Film Services
28 Fisher Ave.
Boston, MA 02120
(617) 440-7603

Films, Inc.
733 Greenbay Rd.
Wilmette, IL 60091
1-800-323-4222

Flower Films
10341 San Pablo Ave.
El Cerrito, CA 04530
(415) 525-0942

Folklore Films
9 Vaughn Place
New Rochelle, NY 10801

Foreign Language and Bilingual Education
Louisiana Dept. of Education
Box 44064
Baton Rouge, LA 70804
(504) 342-3453

French Cultural Services
3305 St. Charles Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70115

Goofy Gator Productions
1552 Magazine St., #1
New Orleans, LA 70130
(504) 522-9169

Jefferson Parish Library
P.O. Box 7490
Metairie, LA 70010
(504) 833-1771

K. Falcon Productions
Rt. 2, Box 212
Donaldsonville, LA 70346
(504) 473-7312

Lafayette Natural History Museum
Gerard Park Dr.
Lafayette, LA 70503
(318) 233-6611

Lagniappe Festival Committee
c/o Mrs. Imelda Pellegrin
St. Joseph Church
Chauvin, LA 70344
(504) 594-2473

Louisiana Intertribal Council
9141 Interline Dr., Suite 41D-2
Baton Rouge, LA 70809
(504) 926-7826

Louisiana Public Broadcasting
2618 Wooddale Blvd.
Baton Rouge, LA 70805
(504) 925-6556

Louisiana State Library
P.O. Box 131
Baton Rouge, LA 70821
(504) 342-4940

National Film Board of Canada
16th Floor
1251 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020
(212) 586-5131

Dusty Nelson
849 Highview
Pittsburgh, PA 15206
(412) 661-7860

Isleno trapper Irvan Perez dries a pelt in the video "Mosquitos and High Water" by Louis Alverez and Andrew Kolker. Photograph: Kurt Mutchler.

Nicholls Media Center
Nicholls State University
Thibodaux, LA 70301
(504) 446-8111

NOVAC
New Orleans Video Access Center
2010 Magazine St.
New Orleans, LA 70130

Ethelyn Orso
Dept. of Anthropology
University of New Orleans
New Orleans, LA 70122
(504) 286-6294

Stevenson J. Palfi
3225 Banks St.
New Orleans, LA 70119
(504) 822-7678

Public Broadcasting Service
475 L'Enfant Plaza SW
Washington, D.C. 20024
(202) 488-5000

United Houma Nation
Box 95A
Golden Meadow, LA 70357

Williams, Inc.
Box 428
Patterson, LA 70392

WYES-TV
916 Navarre Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70124

The first Cajun recording artists (1928), Cleoma Breaux Falcon and Joe Falcon. Photograph: Lauren C. Post (LSU Dept of Archives and Manuscripts).

APPENDIX 4

SOUND RECORDINGS OF LOUISIANA FOLK MUSIC

The following list is meant to be an aid to libraries, folk music researchers, record stores, school systems, archives and individuals that wish to add Louisiana's traditional music to their collections.

Please note that the list is not comprehensive. The emphasis is on folk music, hence the old-time jazz listings are relatively less complete. For example, because Louis Armstrong is so well represented on records, fewer of his reissues are listed. Some folk-related genres of music not included are rockabilly, soul, country and western, Cajun pop and modern jazz. As a rule, rhythm and blues is listed, but very popular artists such as Fats Domino, whose LP's are easily obtainable, are not listed. This is not intended as a slight to popularized musics that draw on folk traditions, but merely as a way to point toward less known traditional music and musicians, on which popular music is based.

Note also that only 33-rpm LP's are listed here. Although 45's are very popular and important ways of disseminating folk and folk-related music in Louisiana (on the radio and jukeboxes) to list them would be unwieldy and less useful to our audience. The same may be said of 78's, which are primarily of interest to collectors today. On the other hand many of the finest LP's in this listing are those that are made up of reissues of 78's. See for example the Arhoolie collection of Louisiana Cajun Music from the twenties to the fifties.

Following the listing are the names and addresses of the smaller record companies that produce most of the LP's. Major import record companies dealing in Louisiana music such as Flyright (UK) and Sonet (UK/Sweden) are also listed. Otherwise it is usually possible to obtain records through major distributors such as Roundup Records, Back Room, Swallow and All South Distributors.

Key to Symbols

(78-R)—reissue of a 78-rpm recording, made in studio in most cases
(45-R)—reissue of a 45-rpm recording, made in studio in most cases
(S)—studio recording
(F)—field recording or live in concert recording
(I)—imported record
•—recommended as essential to a basic collection of Louisiana folk/traditional music

CAJUN MUSIC AND ZYDECO

Nathan Abshire
"A Cajun Tradition"
La Louisianne 139 (S)

•"The Good Times Are Killing Me"
Swallow 6023 (S)
Sonet 776 (I)
With the Balfa Brothers.

"Nathan Abshire and other Cajun Gems"
Arhoolie 5013 (F/S/45-R)
Includes Nathan Abshire, Lawrence
Walker, Harry Choates and others.

"Nathan Abshire and the Pinegrove Boys"
Flyright 535 (45-R) (I)
Jay Miller Sessions.

• 'Pine Grove Blues"
Swallow 6014 (S)
The late Abshire is backed by the Balfa Brothers.

Ardoin Family /Bois Sec Ardoin/ Amede Ardoin
•"Ardoin Family Orchestra w/Dewey Balfa:
'A Couple of Cajuns'"
Sonet SNTF873 (S) (I)
An intriguing mix of Cajun music and zydeco.

"Bois Sec Ardoin & Canray Fontenot: *Les Blues du Bayou*"
Biograph MLP-7330 (S)

"La Musique Creole"
Arhoolie 1070 (f)
Country zydeco with Bois Sec Ardoin and the Ardoin Brothers w/Canray Fontenot.

"Louisiana Cajun Music-Vol.7 'Amadee Ardoin'"
Old Timey 124 (78-R)
First zydeco recordings in the Thirties.

Dewey Balfa/Balfa Brothers
•"The Balfa Brothers"
Swallow 6019 (S)

•"The Balfa Brothers Play Traditional Cajun Music"
Swallow 6011 (S)
Classic LP by the influential group.

Dewey Balfa "Cajun Fiddle"
Folkways 8363 (F)

• "Dewey Balfa, Marc Savoy and D.L. Menard: Louisiana Cajun Music 'Under the Green Oak Tree'"
Arhoolie 5019 (F)
Acoustic LP by acknowledged masters.

• The Balfa Brothers
"J'ai Vu Le Loup, Le Renard et La Belette"
Rounder 6007 (S)

"Traditional Cajun Fiddle"
Folkways 8361 (F)
A teaching record with Dewey Balfa and Tracy Schwarz.

Shirley Bergeron
"Cajun Style"
Lanor 1001 (S)

"Cajun Music"
Lanor 1000 (S)

Joe Bonsall
"Cajun Jamboree with Joe Bonsall"
Swallow 6008 (S)

Vin Bruce
"Cajun Country's Greatest"
La Louisianne 134 (S)

"Vin Bruce"
Swallow 6002 (S)

"Vin Bruce Cajun Hits"
Swallow 6006 (S)

"Vin Bruce's Cajun Country"
Swallow 6015 (S)

Buckwheat
• "Buckwheat Zydeco, One for the Road, *Ils Sont Partis*"
Blues Unlimited 5006 (S)
Fine LP of young modern sound zydeco band.

Clifton Chenier
• "Bayou Soul"
Crazy Cajun 1002 (S)
The king of urban zydeco on the piano accordion.

• "Black Snake Blues"
Arhoolie 1038 (S)

"Bogalusa Boogie"
Arhoolie 1076 (S)

* "Bon Ton Roulet"
Arhoolie 1031 (S)

"Boogie and Zydeco"
Maison de Soul 1003 (S)

"Classic Clifton"
Arhoolie 1082 (S)
Reissue of Chenier's most popular numbers.

"Clifton Chenier and His Red Hot Louisiana Band in New Orleans"
GPN Crescendo 2119 (S)

"I'm Here"
Alligator 4729 (S)
Sonet SNTF 882 (I)

"In New Orleans"
GNP Crescendo 2119 (S)

* "King of the Bayous"
Arhoolie 1052 (S)

*"The King of Zydeco"
Arhoolie 1059 (F)
Live recording in Switzerland.

*"'Live' at a French Creole Dance"
Arhoolie 1059 (F)
Recorded live in San Francisco.

*"Louisiana Blues and Zydeco"
Arhoolie 1024 (S)

"Red Hot Louisiana Band"
Arhoolie 1078 (S)

Harry Choates
*"Harry Choates, The Fiddle King of Cajun Swing, His Original 1946-1949 Recordings"
Arhoolie 5027 (78-R)

"Jole Blon: The Original Cajun Fiddle of Harry Choates"
D Records D 7000 (78-R)

Octa Clark and Hector Duhon
*"Octa Clark, Hector Duhon and the Dixie Ramblers: Ensemble Encore"
La. Folklife Recording Series 004/Rounder 6023 (F)
Recordings at home and in concert by this old time duo and band. Booklet by Barry Ancelet and Nicholas Spitzer.

John Delafose
*"John Delafose, Zydeco Man"
Arhoolie 1083 (S)
Country and urban zydeco from the Eunice area. Fine rhythm section.

Ed and Bee Deshotels
"Cajun Troubadours"
Swallow 6025 (S)
Old-time Cajun duo.

"La Vie des Cajuns"
Swallow 6017 (S)

Rocking Dopsie
"Big Band Zydeco"
Sonet SNTF 851 (S) (I)
Urban zydeco from Lafayette.

*"Doin' The Zydeco"
Sonet 718 (S) (I)

"French Style"
Sonet 872 (S) (I)

"Hold On!"
Sonet 800 (S) (I)

"Rockin' Dopsie and the Twisters"
Rounder 6012 (S)
Same as Sonet 718 above.

"Zy-De-Blue"
Sonet 761 (S) (I)

Camey Doucet
*"Camey Doucet / Jimmy Thibodeaux et Musique"
Swallow 6024 (S)
Fine modern sound with original songs.

"Camey Doucet et ses Amis:
Good Time Cajun Music"
Swallow 6034 (S)

Michael Doucet /Beausoleil
"Beausoleil, The Spirit of Cajun Music"
Swallow 6031 (S)
LP includes performances by Hector and Bessyl Duhon. Traditional and modern Cajun.

*"Dit Beausoleil"
Arhoolie 5025 (S)
Modern and avant garde Cajun music.

"michael doucet presente les amis cadjuns"
Modulation 33000 (S) (I)

Joseph Falcon
"Joseph Falcon, Louisiana Cajun Music"
Arhoolie 5005 (F)
Recorded live at the Triangle Dance Hall in Scott.

Merlin Fontenot
"Fiddlin' Cajun Merlin Fontenot, Lanor Shirley Bergeron: Sounds of Cajun Music"
La Louisianne 142 (S)

Blackie Forestier
"Blackie Forestier"
La Louisianne 128 (S)

"Blackie Forestier"
La Louisianne 135 (S)

Les Freres Carriere /The Lawtell Playboys
*"Louisiana Black French Music"
Maison de Soul 1004 (F)
Rural zydeco of three generations and two families.

Doc Guidry
*"King of Cajun Fiddlers"
La Louisianne 115 (S)

Hackberry Ramblers
*"Luderin Darbone's Hackberry Ramblers 'Louisiana Cajun Music'"
Arhoolie 5003 (F)
The classic Cajun western swing band.

Sleepy Hoffpauir
"Sleepy Hoffpauir Fiddles Traditional Cajun Music"
Swallow 6027 (S)

Jambalaya
"Jambalaya"
Swallow 6035 (S)
Modern Cajun music from a young Breaux Bridge band.

Doug Kershaw
*"Rusty and Doug Sing Louisiana Man and Other Favorites"
Hickory LPS 103 (S)
Their earlier hits.

"Rusty and Doug Kershaw with Wiley Barkdull"
Flyright LP571 (45-R) (I)
Notes by Bruce Bastin

Happy Fats LeBlanc
"Cajun Songs by Happy Fats"
Swallow 6005 (S)

Iry LeJeune
*"The Legendary Iry LeJune, Vol. 1"
Goldband 7740 (78-R)
Somewhat remixed sound, but still important.

*"The Legendary Iry LeJune, Vol. 2"
Goldband 7741 (78-R)

Mamou Cajun Band
"Cajun Sole"
Swallow 8001 (S)

Dennis McGee and Sady Courville
"Cajun Two Fiddles"
Morningstar 16001 (S)
Old time duo from Eunice today.

*The Early Recordings of Dennis McGee"
Morningstar 45002 (78-R)
Excellent reissue of classic sides with Sady Courville and Ernest Fruge.

"La Vieille Musique Acadienne"
Swallow 6030 (S)

Marion Marcotte
"Cajun French Humor"
Swallow 6018 (S)
Folk Humor.

"Cajun Tales"
Swallow 6004 (S)

D. L. Menard
*"The Back Door"
Swallow 6038 (45-R)
Collection of local hits by the "Cajun Hank Williams."

"The Louisiana Aces"
Rounder 6003 (F)

Don Montoucet
*"Don Montoucet and the Wandering Aces: Cajun Two Step"
Sonet 805 (S) (I)
Recorded by Sam Charters. Montoucet is an accordionist from Scott.

Austin Pitre
*"Austin Pitre and the Evangeline Playboys"
Swallow 6041 (45-R)
Collection of his local hits.

"Back to the Bayou"
Sonet SNTF-815 (S) (I)

Queen Ida
"Queen Ida and the Bon Temps Band in New Orleans"
GNP Crescendo 2131 (S)
First recorded female zydeco accordionist. Mixes rock and zydeco.

"Queen Ida and the Bon Temps Zydeco Band on Tour-Featuring Al Rapone"
GNP Crescendo 2147 (S)

*"Zydeco"
GNP Crescendo 2101 (S)
The first LP of this group.

"Zydeco A La Mode"
GNP Crescendo 2112 (S)

Wallace "Cheese" Read
*"Cheese Read: 'Cajun House Party' (with Marc Savoy and other Friends)"
Arhoolie 5021 (S)

Belton Richard
*"Belton Richard and the Musical Aces"
Swallow 6010 (S)
Popular modern Cajun band.

"Belton Richard, Vol. 2"
Swallow 6013 (S)

"Good N' Cajun"
Swallow 6021 (S)

"Louisiana Cajun Music"
Swallow 6032 (S)

Aldus Roger
*"Aldus Roger"
La Louisianne 114 (S)

"Aldus Roger Plays French Music"
La Louisianne 107 (S)

"Aldus Roger Plays the French Classics"
La Louisianne 122 (S)

Sam Brothers 5
*"Sam Brothers 5: Lafayette Zydeco"
Arhoolie 1081 (S)
The teenage answer to Clifton Chenier. From Scott.

Sampy and the Bad Habits
*"Zydeco Gumbo"
Caillier 1-01 (S)
First LP produced by this Creole operated Lafayette record company. Group mixes soul, rhythm and blues, and zydeco.

Marc Savoy
*"Marc Savoy 'Oh, What a Night!'"
Arhoolie 5023 (F/S)
One side features modern sound, the other is old time by this epicure of Cajun music.

Jo-el Sonnier
*"Cajun Life"
Rounder 3049 (S)
Great example of modern style Cajun music. Some rock and country influence.

"Cajun Valentino"
Goldband 7752 (S)

Leo Soileau
*"Louisiana Cajun Music, Vol. 6: 'Leo Soileau'"
Old Timey 123 (78-R)

Ambrose Thibodeaux
*"Ambrose Thibodeaux"
La Louisianne 122
Old time Cajun music.

"Ambrose Thibodeaux"
La Louisianne 119 (S)

"Ambrose Thibodeaux"
La Louisianne 133 (S)

"Cajun French Music"
La Louisianne 143 (S)

Rufus Thibodeaux
"Cajun Fiddle"
La Louisianne 137 (S)
Western swing Cajun fiddle.

Wayne Toups
"Wayne Toups and the Crowley Aces: Cajun Paradise"
Sonet 814 (S) (I)

Lawrence Walker
*"A Tribute to the Late Great Lawrence Walker"
La Louisianne 126 (45-R)

CAJUN MUSIC ANTHOLOGIES

"Allons au Fais Do-do"
Swallow 6009 (45-R)

"American French Music from the Bayous of Louisiana, Vol. 2"
Goldband 777 (45-R)

"Bahamian Songs, French Ballads and Dance Tunes, Spanish Religious Songs and Game Songs"
Lomax 1934-40 recordings
Library of Congress L-5 (F)
Some Louisiana field recordings.

*"Best of the Cajun Hits"
Swallow 6001 (45-R)

*"Best of the Cajun Hits, Vol. 2"
Swallow 6003 (45-R)

*"*Bon Temps Rouler:* Cajun Music at Its Best!"
Swallow 604 (45-R)
Features Nathan Abshire, the Balfa Brothers, Belton Richard, Blackie Forestier, Austin Pitre, and others.

"Cajun Accordion, Vol. 2"
Folkways 8364 (F)
Vol. 1 is listed as "Traditional Cajun Accordion."

*"Cajun Country French Classics"
La Louisianne 130 (45-R)

"Cajun Country French Classics, Vol 2"
La Louisianne 141 (45-R)

"Cajun Country Guitar"
Folkways 2623 (F)

"Cajun Cruisin', Vol. 1"
Sonet SNTF-816 (S) (I)

"Cajun Cruisin', Vol. 2"
Sonet SNTF-817 (S) (I)

*"Cajun Fais Do-Do"
Arhoolie 5004 (F)
Nathan Abshire, Breaux Brothers, Landreneau Band and Isom Fontenot as heard over Revon Reed's KEUN Broadcast from Fred's Lounge in Mamou.

"Cajun Gold"
Goldband 776 (45-R)

"Cajun-Greatest of the Greats"
Goldband 7766 (45-R)

*"Cajun Home Music"
Folkways 2620 (F)

"Cajun Jamboree, Vol. 2"
Swallow 6012 (45-R)

"Cajun Music at Home"
La Louisianne 110 (45-R)

"Cajun Music Collection: *Hey La Bas Partout*"
Goldband 7771

*"Cajun Music, The Early 50's"
Arhoolie 5008 (78-R)

"Cajun Rendevous"
Swallow 6007 (45-R)

*"Cajun Social Music"
Folkways 2621 (F)

"Cajun Songs from Louisiana"
Folkways 4438 (F)

"The Cajuns"
Folkways RF21 (F)

*"The Cajuns, Vol. 1"
Sonet 643 (F/S) (I)
Recordings from early 70's. Notes by Sam Charters.

*"The Cajuns, Vol. 2"
Sonet 644 (S) (I)

*"*Festival de Musique Acadienne '81*"
Swallow 6046 (F)
Live recordings from the Cajun music festival in Lafayette. Notes by Barry Ancelet.

*"Folksongs of the Louisiana Acadians"
Arhoolie 5009 (F)
Pre-electric Cajun music including ballads, game songs, *contredanses* and two-steps recorded around Mamou by Dr. Harry Oster. Booklet included.

*"Folksongs of the Louisiana Acadians-Vol. 2"
Arhoolie 5015 (F)
See Vol. 1 above. Focus here in on newer dance music.

*"French Music and Folk Songs of *Le Sud de La Louisianne*"
La Louisianne 103 (45-R)

*"*Les Haricots Sont Pas Sales*"
Expression Spontanee 17 (F) (I)
Fine field recordings from Basile/Mamou area in 1972.

*"*J'Etais au Bal*"
Swallow 6020 (S/F)
Perhaps the single best introduction to Cajun music and zydeco. Booklet by Ron and Fay Stanford.

*"Louisiana Cajun Music, Vol. 1:
First Recordings-The 1920's"
Old Timey 108 (78-R)

*"Louisiana Cajun Music, Vol. 2:
The Early Thirties"
Old Timey 109 (78-R)

*"Louisiana Cajun Music, Vol. 3:
The String Bands of the 1930's"
Old Timey 110 (78-R)

*"Louisiana Cajun Music, Vol. 4'
From the 30's to the Early 50's"
Old Timey 111 (78-R)

*"Louisiana Cajun Music, Vol. 5:
The Early Years: 1928-1938"
Old Timey 114 (78-R)

*"Louisiana French Cajun Music from the Southwest Prairies, Vol. 1"

Rounder 6001 (F)
Field recordings by Ralph Rinzler from the mid-sixties

*"Louisiana French Cajun Music from the Southwest Prairies, Vol. 2"
Rounder 6002 (F)

"Mamou Cajun Radio Hour"
Sonet 802 (F) (I)
Music from Revon Reed's broadcast at Fred's Lounge.

"Music of French America"
Rounder 6010 (F)
The Balfa Brothers, Simon St. Pierre and others recorded at the Brandywine, Delaware Folk Festival.

"Swampland Jewels"
Goldband 7763 (45-R)
A collection of Cajun, zydeco and pop music from Louisiana.

"Traditional Cajun Accordion"
Folkways 8363 (F)
A teaching record with Tracy Schwarz.

ZYDECO ANTHOLOGIES

"Baby Yum Yum"
Flyright 543 (45-R) (I)
Zydeco and rhythm and blues at Jay Miller Sessions.

"Louisiana Creole Music"
Folkways 2622 (F)

*"Zodico: Louisiana Creole Music"
Rounder 6009 (F)
Anthology of rural and urban zydeco. Booklet by Nicholas R. Spitzer.

*"Zydeco"
Arhoolie 1009 (F/78-R)
Excellent introduction to the genre with 78's on one side and recordings from Lake Charles and Houston on the other. Notes by Chris Strachwitz.

"Zydeco Blues"
Flyright 539 (45-R) (I)
Jay Miller Sessions.

ANGLO-AMERICAN, HILLBILLY AND TRADITIONAL GOSPEL MUSIC

The Louisiana Honeydrippers
*"Bayou Bluegrass"
Arhoolie 5010 (F)
Excellent recording of Baton Rouge/Florida Parishes old time stringband.

The North Louisiana Stringband
*"The North Louisiana Stringband"
Louisiana Folklife Recording Series 002 (F)
Features the late Ray Bebee on fiddle, former state champ. Central Louisiana hillbilly music. Booklet by Susan Roach.

BLUES, WORKSONGS, GOSPEL, RHYTHM & BLUES

Clifford Blake
*"Cornbread for Your Husband and Biscuits for Your Man-Mr. Clifford Blake, Sr. Calls the Cotton Press"
Louisiana Folklife Recording Series 001 (F)
Recordings of Natchitoches storyteller, press caller, blues and gospel singer. Booklet by D. Hatley, J. L. Dillard and J. W. Byrd.

Lonnie Brooks
*"Bayou Lightning"
Alligator 4714 (S)
Blues as performed by an Opelousas native now in Chicago.

"Turn On the Night"
Alligator 4721 (S)

Butch Cage
"Raise A Ruckus Tonight"
Flyright 545 (F) (I)

Cookie and the Cupcakes
"Cookie and the Cupcakes"
Goldband 7757 (45-R)
Gulf coast rhythm and blues.

*"Cookie and the Cupcakes, Lil Alfred, Shelton Dunaway: Three Great Rockers"
Jin 9003 (45-R)

Cleveland Crochet
"Cleveland Crochet and the Sugar Bees
Goldband 7749 (45-R)

Snooks Eaglin
"Blues from New Orleans, Vol. 2
Storyville 140 (S) (I)

"Down Yonder"
Sonet 752 (S) (I)

"Legacy of the Blues, Vol. 2"
Sonet 625 (S) (I)

*"New Orleans Street Songs"
Folkways 2476 (F)

*"Possum Up a Simmon Tree"
Arhoolie 2014 (F)
Vocals and guitar with Lucius Bridges and Percy Randolph also singing and playing washboard, harmonica and tom-tom

Guitar Slim
*"The Things That I Used To Do"
Specialty 2120 (S)

Buddy Guy
"Got To Use Your Head"
Blues Ball 2005 (S)
Baton Rougean in Chicago.

*"A Man and His Blues"
Vanguard 79272 (S)

Hezekiah and the Houserockers
*"Since Ol' Gabriel's Time"
Louisiana Folklife Recording Series 003 (F)
Features old-time blues/jazz band from Ferriday. Notes by David Evans and H. F. Gregory.

Herman E. Johnson
*"Louisiana Country Blues"
Arhoolie 1060 (F)
Old-time country styles blues guitarist from north Baton Rouge.

Lazy Lester
*"Lazy Lester"
Flyright 526 (45-R) (I)
Jay Miller Sessions.

"Poor Boy Blues"
Flyright 544 (45-R) (I)

Leadbelly (Huddie Ledbetter)
"Early Leadbelly"
Biograph 12013 (78-R)

*"Leadbelly"
Archive of Folk & Jazz 202 (78-R)

*"Leadbelly"
Columbia C30035 (78-R)

"Leadbelly"
Playboy 119F
Concert recordings from Austin, Texas, 1949.

"Leadbelly, Vol. 1, Part 1"
Folkways 2941AB (S)

"Leadbelly, Vol. 1, Part 2"
Folkways 2941CD (S)

"Leadbelly, Vol. 2, Part 1"
Folkways 2942 AB (S)

"Leadbelly, Vol. 2, Part 2"
Folkways 2942 CD (S)

"Leadbelly's Legacy, Vol. 3"
Folkways 2024 (S)

Leadbelly's Legacy, Vol. 4"
Folkways 2034 (S)

*"Leadbelly: Huddie Ledbetter"
Fantasy 24715 (78-R)

*"Leadbelly's Library of Congress Recordings"
Elektra 301-2 (S)
Epic sessions of interview with Alan Lomax.

"Midnight Special"
Folkways 31046 (S)

"Shout On"
Folkways 31030 (S)

Lightnin' Slim
"High and Low Down"
Excello 8018 (S)
Sonet 770

*"Lightning Slim
Flyright 533 (45-R) (I)
Jay Miller Sessions

Lonesome Sundown
"Been Gone Too Long"
Joliet 6002 (S)
Opelousas-based city blues.

*"Lonesome Sundown"
Flyright 529 (45-R) (I)
Jay Miller Sessions

Little Brother Montgomery
*"Little Brother Montgomery: Crescent City Blues"
RCA AXM2-5522 (78-R)
Reissue of Bluebird sides from New Orleans bred blues pianist of the thirties.

"Tasty Blues"
Bluesville BLP1012 (S)

Professor Longhair
*"Crawfish Fiesta"
Alligator 4718 (S)
Excellent production late in his career.

*"Mardi Gras in New Orleans"
Nighthawk 108 (78-R)

*"Professor Longhair, New Orleans Piano"
Atlantic SD7225 (78-R)
A classic anthology of hits from the forties and early fifties.

Rockin' Sidney
"Rockin' Sidney and His Dukes"
Flyright 515 (S) (I)

Slim Harpo
*"He Knew the Blues"
Sonet 769 (S) (I)

*"Slim Harpo"
Flyright 520 (45-R) (I)
Jay Miller Sessions

Roosevelt Sykes
"Blue and Ribald, a 'Dirty Mother' For You"
Southland 2 (S)

*"Early Classics"
Yazoo 1033 (78-R)

"Feel Like Blowin'"
Delmark 632 (S)

*"Hard Drivin' Blues"
Delmark 607 (S)

*"The Meek"
Jewel 5011 (S)

"Roosevelt Sykes"
Oldie Blues 2818 (S) (I)

"The Original Honeydripper"
Blind Pig 005 (S)

*"Roosevelt Sykes and Little Brother Montgomery: Urban Blues"
Fantasy 24717 (S)
Reissue of earlier Bluesville LP's.
Notes by Paul Oliver.

"Roosevelt Sykes in Europe"
Delmark 616 (F)

Irma Thomas
"Irma Thomas"
Bandy 70003 (S)
New Orleans rhythm and blues.

*"Queen of New Orleans"
Maison de Soul 1005 (S)

Tabby Thomas
T"25 Years with the Blues"
Blues Unlimited 5007 (S)
New material and classics from Baton Rouge's blues leader.

Robert Pete Williams
"The Blues of Robert Pete Williams"
Dischi Della Quercie 28004 (S) (I)

"Robert Pete Williams: Legacy of the Blues, Vol. 9"
Sonet SNTF649 (S) (I)

"Robert Pete Williams and Roosevelt Sykes"
Seventy-seven 77LEU50 (S) (I)

*"Those Prison Blues"
Arhoolie 2015 (F)
Country blues with vocal and guitar.

"When I Lay My Burden Down"
Southland 4 (S)

BLUES, WORKSONGS, GOSPEL, RHYTHM & BLUES ANTHOLOGIES

*"Angola Prisoner's Blues"
Arhoolie 2011 (F)
Recorded by Dr. Harry Oster at the Louisiana State Penitentiary.
Robert Pete Williams, Hogman Maxey and Guitar Welch.

*"Blues Live in Baton Rouge . . . at the Speak-Easy"
Excello 8021
Guitar Kelley, Whispering Smith, Silas Hogan and Clarence Edwards.

*"Bluescene USA, The Louisiana Blues"
Storyville 117 (45-R) (I)
Gulf coast blues. Notes by Paul Oliver.

"Bluesville"
Goldband 7774 (45-R)

*"Country Negro Jam Session"
Arhoolie 2018 (F)
Recorded by Dr. Harry Oster largely in the Baton Rouge area. Butch Cage and Willie Thomas, Robert Pete Williams, Clarence Edwards, etc.

"Going Back to New Orleans"
Sonet 5021 (S) (I)

*"Jay Miller Sessions, Vol. 1
'Tag Along'"
Flyright 516 (45-R) (I)
Reissue of Louisiana bluesmen's local hits recorded in Crowley, La.

*"Jay Miller Sessions, Vol. 2
'Gonna Head For Home'"
Flyright 517 (45-R) (I)

*"Jay Miller Sessions, Vol. 3
'Rooster Crowed For Day'"
Flyright 518 (45-R) (I)

*"Louisiana Blues"
Arhoolie 1054 (S)
Baton Rouge area performers: Henry Gray, Guitar Kelly, Moses Smith, Silas Hogan and Clarence Edwards. City blues.

*"Louisiana Explosive Blues"
Maison de Soul 1006 (45-R)
Reissue of south Louisiana urban blues sounds on Jin Records.

"Louisiana Folk Fest"
Folkways 3843 (F)
A north Louisiana black "grass roots" folk festival with Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick, Jr.

*"New Orleans: Home of the Blues"
Bandy 70006 (45-R)
Features Aaron Neville, E. K. Doe, Jessie Hill and Lee Diamond performing urban rhythm and blues hits.

*"New Orleans Rhythm and Blues, Vol. 1"
Flyright LP4708 (45-R) (I)

*"New Orleans Rhythm and Blues, Vol. 2"
Flyright LP709 (45-R) (I)

"Prison Work Songs"
Arhoolie 2012 (F)
Recorded by Dr. Harry Oster at the Louisiana State Penitentiary. Various performers featured in work song format.

"Swamp Blues, Vol. 1"
Sonet SNTF 773 (S) (I)

"Swamp Blues, Vol. 2"
Sonet SNTF 774 (S) (I)

"Swampland Boogie from the Bayous of Louisiana"
Goldband 7754 (45-R)

"Texas-Arkansas-Louisiana Country"
Yazoo 1004 (78-R)
Country blues from north Louisiana and surrounding areas.

OLD-TIME NEW ORLEANS JAZZ

Louis Armstrong
*"The Genius of Louis Armstrong, Vol. 1:1923-1933"
Columbia G 30416 (78-R)

*Jazz Heritage Series:

"Young Louis the Side Man"
(1924-1927) Vol. 2
MCA 1301 (78-R)

"Back in New York" (1935)
Vol. 5
MCA 1304 (78-R)

"Louis with Guest Stars"
(1938-1946) Vol. 7
MCA 1306 (78-R)

"Swing that Music"
(1936-1939) Vol. 13
MCA 1312 (78-R)

"Satchmo's Collector's Items"
(1936-1937) Vol. 23
MCA 1322 (78-R)

"Satchmo's Discoveries"
(1936-1938) Vol. 27
MCA 1326 (78-R)

"Satchmo Forever!"
(1935-1945) Vol. 35
MCA 1334 (78-R)

Sidney Bechet
*"Sidney Bechet, Vol. 1 & 2"
RCA 42409 (78-R)

"Sidney Bechet"
Archives of Folk & Jazz 228 (78-R)

"Sidney Bechet, Vol. 2"
Archive of Folk & Jazz 323 (78-R)

Papa Celestin
*"Papa Celestin and George Lewis"
Folklyric 9030 (S)
From radio transcriptions.

Percy Humphrey
"Percy Humphrey with Louis Nelson, Barbarin, Zardis, 1972
Storyville 321 (S) (I)

Bunk Johnson
*"Bunk Johnson"
Columbia Special Products 829 (78-R)
New Iberia jazzman in New Orleans.

Orange Kellin
"Orange Kellin New Orleans Band"
Biograph CEN7 (S)

Kid Sheik
"Kid Sheik/Capt. John Handy: In the Groove"
Seventy-seven 77LEU15 (S) (I)

George Lewis' New Orleans Jazz Band
"Dr. Jazz"
Delmark 201 (F/S)

"George Lewis' Band"
Biograph CEN1 (S)

"George Lewis with Barry Martyn's Band"
Seventy-seven 77LA12-28 (S) (I)

"Memorial Album"
Delmark 203 (F/S)

"On Parade"
Delmark 202 (F/S)

Kid Martyn
"Kid Martyn with Kid Sheik's Band in New Orleans"
Seventy-seven 77LA12-10 (S) (I)

"Where He Leads Me"
Seventy-seven 77SWIFT 6
New Orleans hymns at a church.

Jelly Roll Morton
*"Hot Jazz, Pop Jazz, Hokum and Hilarity"
RCA LPV-524 (78-R)
The great New Orleans jazz pianist.

*"I Thought I Heard Buddy Bolden Say"
RCA LPV-559 (78-R)

"Jelly Roll Morton"
Archive of Folk & Jazz 267 (78-R)

"Jelly Roll Morton"
Biograph 1004 (78-R)

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 1"
RCA 730-561 (78-R)

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 2"
RCA 730-605 (78-R)

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 1"
Swaggie 1311
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 2"
Swaggie 1312
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 3"
Swaggie 1313
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 4"
Swaggie 1314
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 5"
Swaggie 1315
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 6"
Swaggie 1316
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 7"
Swaggie 1317
Library of Congress Sessions.

"Jelly Roll Morton, Vol. 8"
Swaggie 1318
Library of Congress Sessions.

"The King of New Orleans Jazz"
RCA LPM-149 (78-R)

"Mr. Jelly Lord"
RCA LPV-546 (78-R)

"New Orleans Memories"
Commodore 14942 (78-R)

"Stomps and Joys"
RCA LPV-508 (78-R)

The New Iberia Stompers
"One Night with the New Iberia Stompers"
Seventy-seven 77SEU40 (78-R) (I)

King Oliver
*"King Oliver Creole Jazz Band 1923"
Olympic 7133 (78-R)
Features Louis Armstrong.

*"King Oliver in New York"
RCA LPV-529 (78-R)

"King Oliver, Vol. 1 & 2"
RCA 42411 (78-R)

Olympia Brass Band
"Here Come Da Great Olympia Band"
VSP4 (S)

Kid Ory
*"Kid Ory's Creole Jazz Band"
Arhoolie 9008 (S)
Orson Welles and Standard School Broadcasts.

"Kid Ory's Creole Jazz Band '1944-45'"
Goldband 12022 (78-R)

"The Legendary Kid"
Goldband 12016 (S)

Billie and De De Pierce
"Billie and De De Pierce"
Biograph CEN15 (S)

"De De Pierce's New Orleans Stompers"
Biograph CEN5 (S)

*"New Orleans Music"
Arhoolie 2016 (F)

Joe Robichaux
*"Joe Robichaux and his New Orleans Rhythm Boys"
Folklyric (78-R)

Jim Robinson
"Jim Robinson and his New Orleans Band"
Biograph CEN8 (S)

*"Jim Robinson and the New Orleans Joymakers"
Biograph CEN16 (S)

"Jim Robinson's Band"
Biograph CEN2 (S)

Kid Thomas
"Echoes from New Orleans"
Storyville 212 (S) (I)

"Kid Thomas and Emanuel Paul with Barry Martyn's Band"
Seventy-seven 77LA12-16 (S) (I)

*"Kid Thomas and his New Orleans Jazz Band"
Arhoolie 1016 (S)

The Young Tuxedo Brass Band
*"Jazz Begins; Sounds of New Orleans Streets: Funeral and Parade Music"
Atlantic 1297 (F)
Fine recording and package. Notes by Charles Edward Smith.

ANTHOLOGIES OF OLD-TIME NEW ORLEANS JAZZ

*"All That Jazz"
Tulane University/Hogan Archives (F/S/78-R)
Excellent, but limited circulation, anthology produced for Tulane alumni. Covers a range of music including African work chants to New Orleans shoeshine music, Papa Celestin, Sweet Emma Barrett and others.

"And All That Jazz Strikes Again"
Louisiana Dept. of Commerce & Industry (S/F)
Featured are Harry Shields, Alvin Alcorn, Chester Zardis and Danny Barker among others. Notes by Al Rose.

"Good-Time Louisiana and New Orleans Jazz"
Louisiana Dept. of Commerce & Industry (F/S)
Featured are Dennis Barker, Harry Shields, Louis Barbarin, Alvin Alcorn, Jack Delaney and others. Notes by Al Rose.

Heritage Hall Jazz Band
"New Orleans"
GNP Crescendo 512 (S)

"Jazz at Preservation Hall II"
Atlantic SD1409 (S)
Features Billie and De De Pierce and Jim Robinson's Band.

Jazz Odyssey, Vol. 1
"Sound of New Orleans" (3 LP's)
Columbia Special Products 30
(S) (78-R)

"Jazz Vol. 3, New Orleans"
Folkways 2803 (78-R)

"Louisiana and All That Jazz, One More Time"
Louisiana Dept. of Commerce & Industry (S/F)
Featured are Louis Cottrell, Louis Barbarin, Alvin Alcorn and Chester Zardis among others. Notes by Al Rose.

*"The Music of New Orleans, Vol. "Mardi Gras"
Folkways 2461 (F)

"The Music of New Orleans, Vol. 2 Eureka Brass Band"
Folkways 2462 (S)

"The Music of New Orleans, Vol. 3 Dance Halls"
Folkways 2463 (F)

*"The Music of New Orleans, Vol. 4 Birth of Jazz"
Folkways 2464 (78-R)

*"The Music of New Orleans, Vol. 5 New Orleans Jazz"
Folkways 2465 (78-R)

"New Orleans All Stars: 'Dixieland Jubilee'"
GNP Crescendo 502 (S)

"New Orleans Jazz, Vol. 1"
Folkways RF203A (78-R)

"New Orleans Jazz, Vol. 2"
Folkways RF203B (78-R)

"New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival"
Island 9424 (F)

*"New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival: 1978"
Flying Fish 099 (F)

*"New Orleans Jazz 'At the Kitty Halls'"
Arhoolie 1013 (F)
Includes Punch Miller, Kid Sheik, George Lewis and others.

"New Orleans Jazz: The 20's" (2 LP's) Folkways RF203 (78-R)

"New Orleans Parade 'All Star Marching Band'"
GNP Crescendo 518 (S)

"New Orleans Today, Vol. 1"
Seventy-seven 77LA 12-16 (S) (I)

"New Orleans Today, Vol. 2"
Seventy-seven 77LA 12-29 (S) (I)

"New Orleans"
Wiggs, Pierson, Pecora, Hug
Goldband 12020 (S)

"Played with Immense Success"
Louisiana State Museum (78-R/S)
Turn of the century pop and jazz music as interpreted by various performers and reproduction of music box and 78's.

"We the People and All That Jazz"
Louisiana Dept. of Commerce & Industry (F/S)
Featured are Paul Barnes, Johnny Wiggs, Manny Sayles, Louis Barbarin, Alvin Alcorn, Danny Barker and Eddie Miller among others.

MAIL ORDER DISTRIBUTORS IN AMERICA HANDLING LOUISIANA FOLK MUSIC RECORDINGS

While it is often possible to order through a record store, it is sometimes easier to deal directly with the companies on large orders. On the other hand, some companies prefer to distribute their LP's only through stores or distribution houses. Thus, the four listings below can be quite helpful in obtaining a broad cross-section of the titles found in the record listings. They often are less expensive than stores in their pricing. Write for their catalogs.

All South Distributors
1924 Lafayette
New Orleans, LA 70133
(504) 568-0971

Back Room Record Distributors
10341 San Pablo Avenue
El Cerrito, CA 94530
(415) 525-4996

Flat Town Music Co. (Swallow Records)
P.O. Drawer 10
Ville Platte, LA 70586
(318) 363-2139

Roundup Records
P.O. Box 147
East Cambridge, MA 02141

Since these distributors do not always handle larger national labels, it may be easiest to order these through a record store. Another way to locate Louisiana music on such labels that do not specialize in folk music is through the following publications.

Billboard International Buyer's Guide 1981-82. This annual publication includes listings of record companies by country. (Billboard Publications, 9107 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, CA 90210)

Phonolog Reporter. This is a continuously updated loose-leaf publication which includes a listing of record company addresses. (Trade Service Publications, Phonolog Publishing Division, P.O. Box 3308 Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90051)

Schwann Record & Tape Guide 2. This semi-annual publication includes a section entitled "International Pop and Folk Music." (Schwann Record Catalogs, 535 Boylston Street, Boston, MA 02116)

AMERICAN RECORD COMPANIES OR ORGANIZATIONS THAT PRODUCE LOUISIANA FOLK MUSIC AND OLD-TIME JAZZ

Alligator Records
P.O. Box 60234
Chicago, IL 60660

Archive of Folk and Jazz: See Everest

Arhoolie Records
10341 San Pablo Ave.
El Cerrito, CA 94530

Biograph Records
16 River St.
Chatham, NY 12037

Blind Pig Records
208 S. First St.
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

Blues Classics: See Arhoolie

Blues Unlimited
P.O. Box 1345
413 N. Parkerson Ave.
Crowley, LA 70526

Caillier Records
200 West Pine
Lafayette, LA 70501

Delmark Records
4243 North Lincoln Street
Chicago, IL 60618

Elektra Records
962 North La Cienega Buolevard
Los Angeles, CA 90069

Everest Records
c/o Everest Enterprises
2020 Avenue of the Stars
Concourse Level
Century City, CA 90067

Excello: See Blues Unlimited

Fantasy Records
10th & Parker
Berkeley, CA 94710

Flying Fish Records
1304 West Schubert Street
Chicago, IL 60614

Folklyric Records: See Arhoolie Records

Folkways Records
43 West 61st Street
New York, NY 10023

GNP Crescendo
8400 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90069

Goldband Records
313 Church Street
Lake Charles, LA 70601

Jewel Records
Box 1125
Shreveport, LA 71102

Joliet Records: See Alligator Records

Khoury Records: See Swallow Records

Kom-A-Day Records: See Swallow Records

La Louisianne Records
711 Stevenson Street
Lafayette, LA 70501

Lanor Records
Lee Lavergne
P.O. Box 233
Church Point, LA 70525

Library of Congress Recording Laboratory
Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division
Washington, D.C. 20540

Louisiana Department of Commerce and Industry
(Jazz Records)
Music Commission
Box 44185
Baton Rouge, LA 70804

Louisiana Folklife Recording Series
Louisiana Folklife Program
P.O. Box 44247
Baton Rouge, LA 70804

Louisiana State Museum
Box 2458
New Orleans, LA 70176

Lyric Records: See Swallow Records

Maison de Soul Records: See Swallow Records

Melodeon Records: See Biograph Records

Montel Records: See Swallow Records

Morningstar Records: See Shanachie Records

Nighthawk Records
Box 15856
St. Louis, MO 63114

Old Timey Records: See Arhoolie Records

Olympic Records: See Everest Records

Playboy Records
8560 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90069

Rounder Records
1 Camp St.
Cambridge, MA 02140

Shanachie Records
Dalebrook Park
Hohokus, NJ 07423

Specialty Records
8300 Santa Monica Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90069

Swallow Records
P.O. Drawer 10
434 East Main Street
Ville Platte, LA 70586

VSP
c/o Preservation Hall
726 St. Peter Street
New Orleans, LA 70116

Yazoo Records
245 Waverly Place
New York, NY 10014

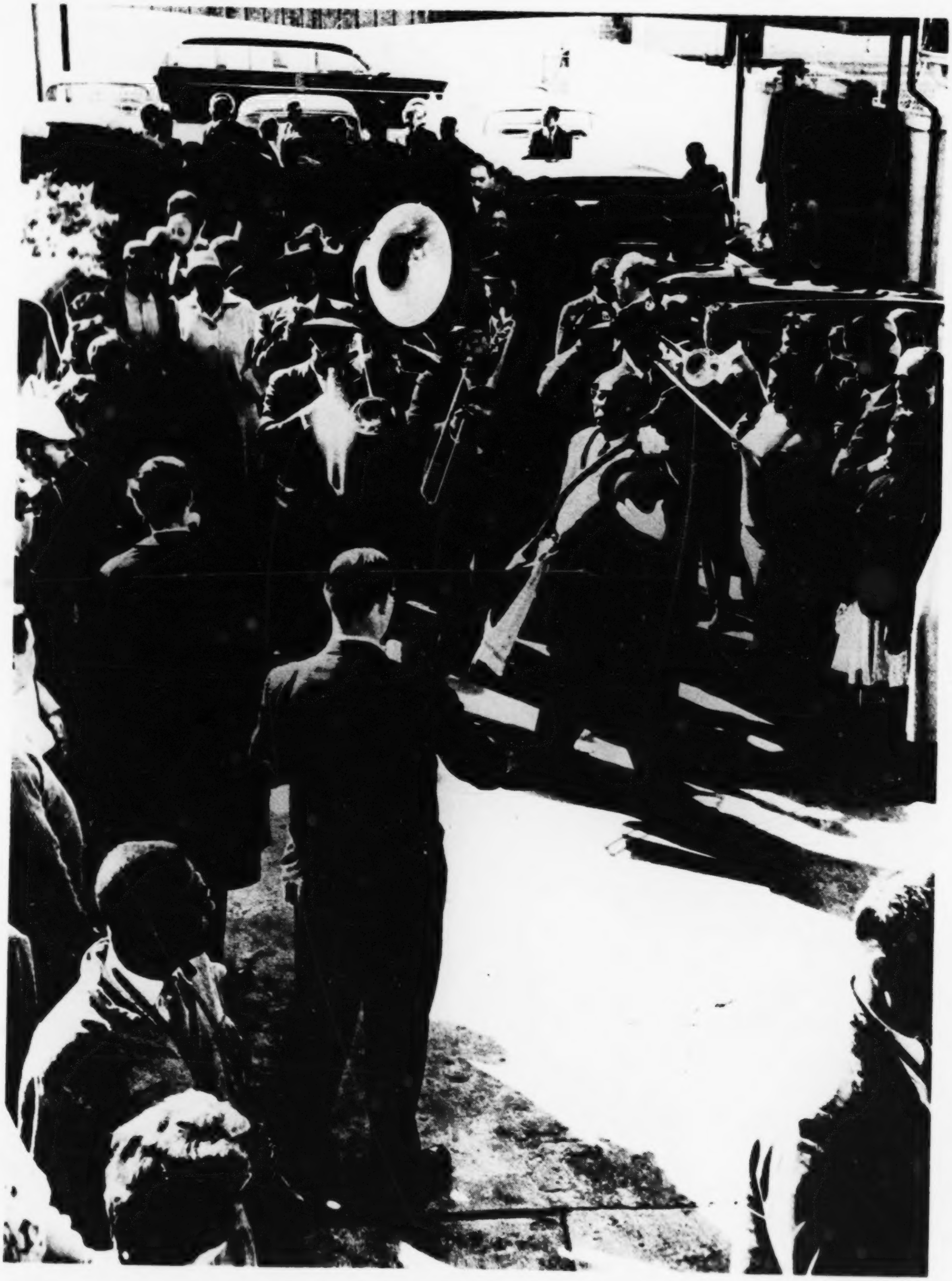
MAJOR EUROPEAN COMPANIES (IMPORTS)

Flyright Record & Distributing Co. Ltd.
21 Wickham Avenue
Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex TN39 3EP

Sonet Records & Publishing Ltd.
121 Ledbury Road
London, W11 2AQ

IRENE AND
CURT

Less represented on Louisiana folk music recordings is old time country with fiddle and fiddlesticks as played by performers like Irene and Curt Blackwell, Covington, St. Tammany Parish. Photo: Nick Spitzer



John Casimir's funeral. Photograph: Jack Hurley.

APPENDIX 5

LOUISIANA FESTIVALS: TRADITIONAL AND OTHERWISE

Louisiana is widely known as the state where many festivals are held. These festivals have a broad range of types and contexts. For folk culture preservation, the most important festivals are of two types. First, there are those traditional festival occasions such as a *Courir de Mardi Gras,* fiddle contest or river baptism. These events are part of community and regional folk tradition. Second, there are the folklife festivals which present and interpret traditional culture from an area or ethnic group. These include such events as the Louisiana Folklife Festival, the Natchitoches Folk Festival and the Cajun music festival.

In addition there are many varied fairs and festivals in Louisiana which—though they are based in a local community or promote a local product from paper and lignite to shrimp and rice—do not necessarily present local traditional culture. These product-oriented festivals may festure Cajun music, local foods or old-time fiddling, but they also have carnival rides, hot dogs, beauty queens and competitive events. As such they are not unlike many festivals around the United States. Increasingly some Louisiana parish fairs and product festivals are making a conscious attempt to include demonstrations, musical performances and interpretations of traditional culture.

The listings that follow are divided into several sections. The first provides calendrical festival occasions in Louisiana from religious, civic and historical traditions. The second list includes generic traditional events that are less tied to the calendar, though they may have some seasonal appropriateness. The third listing is of folk and folklife festivals, including some indication of whether or not they provide an interpretive context for the cultural activities presented. Those folklife festivals noted with an "*" are among the best models. Festival planners should also consult the 1985 *Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife Program Book* to gain some insight into how Louisiana folklife was presented at this special event produced by the Smithsonian. Another useful book is *Folk Festivals, A Handbook for Organization and Management* by Joe Wilson and Lee Udall, 1982, University of Tennessee Press.

The remaining two festival listings include information on ethnic festivals as well as the more commonly occurring "Product, Food, Heritage" fairs and festivals. Many of the listings have some aspect of overlap and the reader is encouraged to consult all the listings for a comprehensive view.

PARTIAL LIST OF TRADITIONAL CALENDRICAL RITUAL/FESTIVAL/HOLIDAY OCCASIONS IN LOUISIANA

January 1 New Year's—Celebrated with parties and fireworks.

January 1 Emancipation Day in New Orleans area (see also June 19).

January 6 Twelfth Night—Also called Kings' Day in New Orleans, this day marks the beginning of the Carnival season. Cakes with Carnival colors containing baby figures representing the Epiphany are served.

January 8 Battle of New Orleans, also the Feast of Our Lady of Prompt Succor.

January 19 Robert E. Lee Day

February Tet—Vietnamese and other Asian groups celebrate New Year's with parties and pageantry.

Feb/March Mardi Gras—New Orleans, large float parades and Mardi Gras Indians are of special significance.

Feb/March *Courir de Mardi Gras* (Cajun Mardi Gras)—Church Point, Basile, Mamou, 'Tit Mamou, Swords, Lawtell, L'Anse Maigre, Duralde, Oberlin, Leonville, Soileau, Gheens and other towns, primarily on the southwest prairies. 40 days before Easter.

March 17 St. Patrick's Day—New Orleans, float parades, throwing cabbage.

March 19 St. Joseph's Day (*Mi-careme*)—New Orleans, Independence, Baton Rouge, Alexandria and Shreveport and wherever Sicilian Catholic presence is felt. Altars to St. Joseph decked with food, specially baked breads and various symbolic decorations are laid out in homes and church halls. Procession in Marrero. In New Orleans an Italian parade also takes place and the Mardi Gras Indians appear at night.

March/April Good Friday and Palm Sunday—Good Friday, Men's Societies gather for fish dinners in rural south Louisiana.

March/April Easter—Celebrated throughout Louisiana with a variety of local and ethnic traditions from *pacque*-ing of eggs (tapping eggs in a contest to keep an unbroken egg) in south Louisiana to the Easter Rock ceremonies involving praise chanting in the black communities of the delta.

April St. Amico—Procession in Donaldsonville (Sunday after Easter).

April/Aug Blessings of the Shrimp Fleets—Morgan City, Bucktown, Delacroix Island, Shell Beach, Houma, Dulac, Petit Caillou and others. Blessing of the Cane—New Iberia. Tied to sugar festival.

May (First Friday) McDonogh Day—Commemoration of John McDonogh, major benefactor of New Orleans school system. Children are out of school; delegations of children bring flowers to the monument of Lafayette Square.

May 1 May Day—celebrated in Catholic Parishes with church fairs.

June 3 Confederate Memorial Day

June 19 Juneteenth—Commemorates arrival of word of freeing of the slaves celebrated in north Louisiana black communities, including Grambling.

July 4 Fourth of July—Nationwide festivity sometimes celebrated with local accent in Louisiana.

July 4 *Fete du Ble*—Tunica-Biloxi ceremonial for the new corn crop, held on tribal land near Marksville.

July 14 Bastille Day Celebration (revived)—Kaplan and New Orleans.

August Feast of St. Bernard—Isleno men wear hats in church, late in month.

August 30 Huey P. Long Day

September St. Rosalie—Procession in Harvey

October 31 All Saints' Eve

November 12 All Saints' Day—Decoration of tombs in French and other Catholic areas of Louisiana (mainly in south Louisiana). Special evening services in Barataria and Lacombe.

November 2 All Souls' Day

December 6 St. Nicholas Day—German traditional Christmas mumming in Roberts Cove, Acadia Parish.

December 24 Christmas Bonfire *(feux de joie)*—The old German Coast of the Mississippi from Vacherie to Harahan.

December 25 Christmas—celebrated in a variety of local ways in Louisiana.

PARTIAL LIST OF NON-CALENDRICAL TRADITIONAL FESTIVAL AND RITUAL FORMS IN LOUISIANA

Birthdays

Blessings of fleet, fields, produce, etc. (see calendrical listings)

Camp meetings/revivals

Church suppers

Cockfights

Family *boucheries*

Family reunions (especially north Louisiana)

Fiddle conventions

Fishing competitions

Funerals—Especially jazz funerals; also all-day sings are associated with graveyard cleanings in north Louisiana, with "dinner on the grounds"

Graveyard cleanings and all-day sings

Indian stickball games/tournaments

Oilfield strike festivals

Pageants: enactment of the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins at a black church in St. Mary Parish; womanless weddings at Cajun and Creole dancehalls; gatherings to honor Confederate soldiers' graves; various historical reenactments

Pirogue races (and other such tests of skill and strength)

Quarter-horse races (traditional)

Rodeos

River baptisms

Singing conventions and meetings (sacred harp gospel, etc.)

Wedding anniversaries

Weddings (varied traditions in regions and among ethnic groups)

FOLK FESTIVALS
(Traditional Music and Crafts Presented)

*-indicates interpretation of traditional materials as part of program

Bluegrass Festival
Bush
April

Bluegrass Festival
Quitman
September

Cajun Country Outdoor Opry and Fais Do-Do
Grand Bois Park, La. Hwy. 24
Houma
April

*Cajun Music Festival
Girard Park
Lafayette
September

*Catahoula Lake Heritage Festival
Pineville
October

Five Lakes Bluegrass Festival
Bush
May

French Acadian Music Festival
Abbeville
April

Homecoming and Tour of Jimmie Davis Homeplace
Beechsprings Road
Jonesboro
October

*Indian Basket Day
Williamson Museum, NSU
Natchitoches
December

*Louisiana Art and Folk Festival
Columbia
October

*Louisiana Folklife Festival
Various locations
Various times

*Louisiana Native Crafts Festival
Girard Park
Lafayette

Louisiana State Fiddling Championship Festival
Rebel State Commemorative Area
Marthaville
June

*Natchitoches Folk Festival, NSU
Natchitoches
July

New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival
New Orleans
April/May

Oaklawn Bluegrass Festival
Natchitoches
May

Pelican State Bluegrass Festival
Winnsboro
August

Rebel Bluegrass-Country Music Festival and Memorial Day
Marthaville
October

*River City Blues Festival
Baton Rouge
April

St. Maurice Bluegrass Festival
St. Maurice Plantation
May

Wildfowl Carvers and Collectors Festival
New Orleans
September

ETHNIC FESTIVALS

"Bon Ton De Cajuns" Fair
St. Anne's Church
Houma
July

Cajun Festival
Mamou
May

Cajun Country Festival
Labadieville
October

Chitimacha Fair
Charenton
July

Creole Summer Festival
French Settlement
July

German FEstival
Minden
October

Greek Night in New Orleans
Rivergate
New Orleans
November

Hungarian Folk Festival
Hammond

International Acadian Festival
Plaquemine
October

Los Islenos Spanish Heritage Festival
St. Bernard
October

Festivals Acadiens
Lafayette
September

Oktoberfest
Kolb's German Restaurant
New Orleans
October

Original Cajun Festival
Pointe-Aux-Chenes
Montegut
July

St. Philomens Cajun Country Festival
Labadieville
October

United American Indian Pow Wow
Fairgrounds
Baton Rouge
June

South Lafourche Cajun Festival
Galliano
June

La Vie Lafourche Festival
Raceland
October

Little Italy Festival
Independence
April

PRODUCT, FOOD AND HERITAGE FESTIVALS PARISH AND COUNTRY FAIRS

Allen Parish Fair
Oberlin
September

Allons Aux Avoyelles
Marksville
November

Andouille Festival
LaPlace
October

Ark-La-Miss Industrial and Agriculture Free Fair
Monroe
October

Ascension Parish Fair
Pairieville
September

Baker Heritage Festival
Baker
July

Bayou Lacombe Crab Festival
Bayou Lacombe
June

Beauregard Parish Fair
DeRidder
September

Breaux Bridge Crawfish Festival
Breaux Bridge
May

Caddo Parish Fair and Junior Livestock Show
Shreveport

Calcasieu-Cameron Free Fair
Sulphur
October

Claiborne Parish Fair and Northwest
Louisiana Dairy Festival
Haynesville
October

Community Fair
Napoleonville
June

Contraband Days
Lake Charles
May

Corney Creek Festival
Bernice
June

Country Fair
Greensburg

Country Festival
Houghton
September

Crawfish Festival of St. Bernard
Chalmette
April

Cypress Festival
St. Lawrence Church
Chacahoula
April

Debarbue Festival
Franklin
July

Delcambre Shrimp Festival & Fair
Delcambre
August

Festival Acadiens
Lafayette
September

Festival du Grand Coteau
St. Charles Borromeo Church
Grand Coteau
November

French Acadian Music Festival
Abbeville
April

French Food Festival
Larose
October

Frog Festival
Rayne
October

Grand Championship Tractor Pull
Montpelier
July

Greater Baton Rouge State Fair
Baton Rouge
October

Greenwood Pioneer Days
Greenwood
August

Gueydan Duck Festival
Gueydan
September

The Gumbo Festival
Bridge City
October

International Alligator Festival
Franklin
October

International Rice Festival
Crowley
October

Jambalaya Festival
Gonzales
June

Jefferson Davis Parish Fair
Jennings
October

Kinder Sauce Piquante and Music Festival
Kinder
September

Lafitte Pirogue Races
Bayou Barataria
June

Lafitte Seafood Festival
Lafitte
August

Lafourche Parish Agricultural
Fair and Livestock Show
Raceland

Lagniappe on the Bayou
Chauvin
October

LaPlace Andouille Festival
LaPlace
October

Larose Bayou Civic Center
Bouillabaisse Fair
Larose
October

LaSalle Parish Fair
Jena
September

Livingston Parish Fair
Livingston
October

Louisiana Catfish Festival
Des Allemands
July

Louisiana Cattle Festival and Fair
Abbeville
October

Louisiana Cotton Festival
Ville Platte
October

Louisiana Crab Festival
Lockport
July

Louisiana Dairy Festival
Abbeville
October

Louisiana Gumbo Festival
Chackbay
September

Louisiana Lignite Festival
National Guard Armory
Coushatta
April

Louisiana Oil Festival
Jennings
July

Louisiana Paper Festival
Bogalusa
July

Louisiana Peach Festival
Ruston
June

Louisiana Pecan Festival
Colfax
November

Louisiana Oyster Festival
Galliano
July

Louisiana Shrimp and Petroleum Festival and Fair
Morgan City
August

Louisiana Soybean Festival
Jonesville

Louisiana Spice Festival
New Iberia
May

Louisiana Sugar Cane Festival and Fair
New Iberia
September

Louisiana Swine Festival
Basile
October

Louisiana Watermelon Festival
Farmerville
July

Louisiana Yambilee Festival
Opelousas
October

La Musique du Bayou Festival
South Lafourche High School
Galliano
April

Natchitoches Christmas Festival
Natchitoches
December

Natchitoches Parish Fair and Rodeo
Natchitoches
October

New Orleans Food Festival
New Orleans
July

North Central Louisiana District Fair
Olla
October

North Louisiana Cotton Festival and Fair
Bastrop
September

North Louisiana State Fair
Ruston
October

Northwest Louisiana Dairy Festival and Claiborne Parish Fair
Haynesville
October

Old Fashioned Folk Festival
West Monroe
July

Oil Patch Country Festival
Haynesville
September

Original Red Bean Festival
Metairie
November

Pearl River Catfish Festival
Pearl River
June

Pioneer Days
Greenwood
August

Pioneer Festival
DeRidder
September

Plaquemine Parish Fair and Orange Festival
Fort Jackson
December

Pointe Coupee Parish Fair Festival
New Roads

Poke Salad Festival
Blanchard
May

Ponchatoula Strawberry Festival
Ponchatoula
April

Raceland Sauce Piquante Festival
Raceland
October

Rapides Parish Fair
Alexandria
October

Rayne Frog Festival
Rayne
September

Sabine Free State Festival
Florien
November

Sabine Parish Fair
Many
September

St. Charles Parish Sugar Festival
Norco
July

St. Helena Parish Forest Festival
Greensburg
October

St. Louis Church Fair
Bayou Blue
Houma
September

St. Tammany Parish Fair
Covington
October

Sawmill Days
Fisher
May

Sorrento Boucherie Festival
Sorrento
October

Southwest Louisiana State Fair and Expo
Lake Charles
September

Soybean Festival
Jonesville
July

State Fair of Louisiana
Shreveport
October

Stink Creek Horseshoe and Music Festival
Swartz
September

Sugar Cane Festival
Destrehan
July

Tamale Fiesta
Zwolle
October

Tangipahoa Parish Fair
Amite
October

Terrebonne Parish Livestock and Agricultural Fair
Houma
October

Tomato Festival
Chalmette
May

Vermilion Parish Fair and Festival
Kaplan
October

Vermilion Parish Fair and Festival
Kaplan
September

Washington Parish Fair
Franklinton
October

Waterfowl Festival
Jena
October

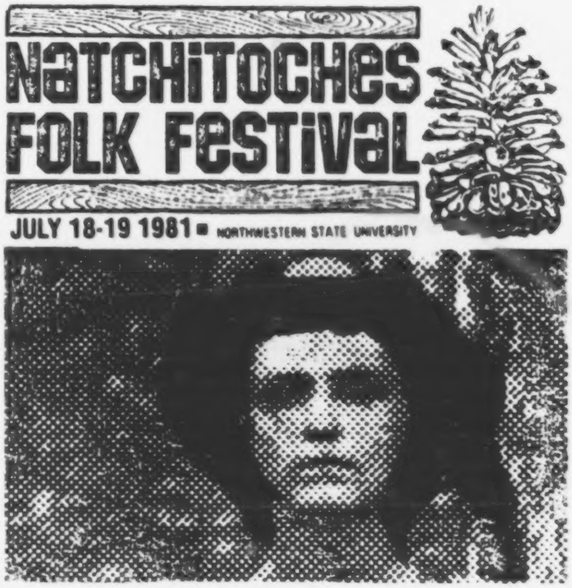
West Baton Rouge Parish Fair
Port Allen
October

West Carroll
Oak Grove
October

West Louisiana Forestry Festival
Leesville
September

Winn Parish Fair
Winnfield
October

World's Champion Pirogue Races
Lafitte
June



APPENDIX 6

LOUISIANA STATE DOCUMENTS OF RELEVANCE TO FOLKLIFE

comment and compilation by C. Paige Gutierrez

Materials produced by Louisiana state agencies and "issued for public distribution" are referred to as "public" or "state" documents. These documents range from full-length books to one-page pamphlets, and their numbers and the variety of topics covered by them have expanded with the bureaucracy that produces them. For the benefit of the researcher, these materials are listed according to producing agency in a biennial bibliography entitled *Public Documents*, issued since 1977 by the Recorder of Documents, Louisiana State Library, Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. Between 1935 and 1976, the Secretary of State's office produced the bibliography. State and territorial documents published prior to 1935 are listed in Lucy Foote's "Bibliography of the Offical Publications of Louisiana, 1803-1934," published by the Louisiana Historical Records Survey in 1942.

Documents are stored in Louisiana Depository Libraries, and a list of these depositories appears in each issue of *Public Documents*. A researcher may determine the classification number used by these depositories for any document by checking the issue of *Public Documents* covering the year of publication of the document, although some materials are not submitted to the compilers immediately and may be listed in later issues of *Public Documents*. Some documents, particularly book-length publications and periodicals, are easily found through the usual library research tool, the card catalog.

In producing a list of documents of potential interest to students of folklife, I have kept in mind the eclectic nature of the field. Because relevant items have been produced by a wide variety of agencies, and because the index accompanying individual issues of *Public Documents* has not been compiled with a folklorist in mind, it has been necessary to read through all the entries and judge them, for the most part, according to title. It has been impossible to actually review the contents of every document; thus this list may contain a few disappointing entries. Hopefully, though, it errs in the direction of inclusion rather than of exclusion.

Documents published prior to 1934 are discussed below; a researcher may find specific references to these by consulting Foote's bibliography. Later documents are listed individually, according to year of publication and producing agency. Periodicals are listed according to producing agency. These lists generally follow the bibliographic form used in *Public Documents*.

Documents to 1934:

Of special interest to the folklorist are the various guides and handbooks designed to lure immigrants and tourists to the state during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1866, the newly created Bureau of Immigration (later the Department of Agriculture and Immigration) was directed to "compile and publish in English, French, and German and in any other language advisable, information concerning Louisiana soil, climate and products" (Foote, 35). A series of reports published by this agency between 1868 and 1891 includes various titles, such as "An Invitation to Immigrants—Louisiana: Its Products, Soil, and Climate. As Shown by Northern and Western Men Who Now Reside in the State" and "Products, Resources, and Attractions." These publications and their descendents contain background information valuable to the folklorist, occasional descriptions of folk or popular customs, and photographs.

In 1895, the State Immigration Association published William C. Stubb's *A Hand-Book for Louisiana*. A series of similar handbooks was initiated by the Department of Agriculture and Immigration in 1899 and continued intermittently into the 1940's. Titles vary, but all include geographical, agricultural, historical and economic information about each parish. In 1907 alone, there were eight editions of the handbook in eight different languages. Also issued during this time were guided to four individual parishes: Tangipahoa, (1880), Richland (1907), Tensas (1907), and West Feleciana (1907). The Department of Agriculture and Immigration gradually ceded the task of advertising the state to other agencies, although its descendant, the Department of Agriculture, still publishes an annual list of Louisiana Fairs and Festivals. During the 1920's and 1930's, the State Highway Commission occasionally published maps and guides for tourists. After 1936, the newly created Tourist Division of the Department of Commerce and Industry began publishing book-length documents, similar to those created by the Department of Agriculture and Immigration. Post-1934 documents for all agencies are listed below.

CURRENT PERIODICALS

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.
Louisiana Fairs and Festivals. (annual)

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION, AND TOURISM. OFFICE OF THE STATE LIBRARY.
Public Documents.

OFFICE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. DIVISION OF THE ARTS.
ArtSpectrum.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION. COUNCIL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH IN LOUISIANA.
Louisiane Francaise.
Nouvelles du Codofil/News from Codofil.

DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES.
Cote de la Louisiane—Louisiana's Coastal Resources Program Newsletter.

NORTHWESTERN STATE UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA, NATCHITOCHES.
Louisiana Studies.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NEW ORLEANS.
Louisiana History.
Louisiana History Newsletter.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.
Louisiana Rural Economists. Index for 1939-1961 available as Research Report #161. LSU Department of Agricultural Economics.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. OFFICE OF SEA GRANT DEVELOPMENT.
Aquanotes.
Marine Scene.

LOUISIANA TOURIST DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION.
Louisiana.

STATE ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE.
Newsletter.

WILDLIFE AND FISHERIES COMMISSION.
Louisiana Conservationist.

PERIODICALS 1938—1940

1938

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. TOURIST DIVISION.
Do You Know Louisiana? By Rex Laney.
Louisiana, the Finest.

1939

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.
What Louisiana Offers the Farmer.
What Louisiana Offers the Tourist.

1940

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.
Louisiana: A Few Concrete Facts. (Also 1941, 1954, 1962)

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. TOURIST DIVISION.
This is Louisiana. By Rex Laney.

1941

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.
Louisiana, 1941.

1944

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.
The Acadian Story. (date uncertain)

1947

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.
Louisiana, 1947. (also titled "Luxuriant Louisiana")

SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA INSTITUTE (USL).
The Acadians in Louisiana Today. Address delivered to the Cambridge Historical Society by Joel L. Fletcher.

194?

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.
Acadian Handicraft. the Unique Arts of Louisiana's Teche Country.

1953

STATE MUSEUM.
Louisiana Purchase: An Exhibition Prepared by the Louisiana State Museum and the Louisiana Landmarks Society.

1954

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, BATON ROUGE.
Health in Rural Louisiana at Mid-Century. By Homer L. Hitt and Paul H. Price. Bulletin #492.

LOUISIANA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.
Fairs and Festivals in Louisiana.

STATE LIBRARY.
Acadians of Louisiana; a Reading List of Titles Available at the Louisiana State Library. (date uncertain)

1955

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, BATON ROUGE.
The Aged in Louisiana's Agriculture. By Homer L. Hitt and Paul H. Price. Bulletin #495.

The Many Louisianas. By Alvin L. Bertrand. Bulletin #496.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ACADIAN BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION ASSOCIATION, AND DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.
Our Acadian Heritage, Let's Keep It! 1755-1955.

STATE LIBRARY.
Costumes of Acadia: A "How to" Booklet for Use in Fashioning Acadian Costumes for All Age Groups." (date uncertain)

SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA INSTITUTE (USL).
The Acadians in Fact and Fiction—A Classified Bibliography of Writing on the Subject of Acadians in the Stephens Memorial Library. Compiled by Pearl M. Segura.

1958

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION.
Louisiana's Rural Population at Mid-Century. By Paul H. Price. Bulletin #514.

1959

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.
Facts About Louisiana.
Human Resources Along the Watershed. By Joel L. Fletcher. (date uncertain.)

1960

LOUISIANA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, RUSTON.
Historical Studies of Lincoln Parish. Edited by Mary F. Fletcher. (date uncertain)

1961

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE.
Favorite Sugar Recipes from Louisiana Plantations. Compiled by Mrs. Irene Turner and Elizabeth Williams. Bulletin #1284.

1962

WILDLIFE AND FISHERIES COMMISSION.
In the Louisiana Canebreaks. By Theodore Roosevelt. Wildlife Education Bulletin #59 (reprinted from *Scribner's Magazine*, January, 1908).

Marshes and Men. By W. McFadden Duffy. Photos by Elemore Morgan. Wildlife Education Bulletin #41.

1963

NORTHWESTERN STATE COLLEGE OF LOUISIANA, NATCHITOCHES.
Index to French Civilization and Culture in Natchitoches. By Germaine Portre-Bobinski. Compiled by Sarah L. C. Clapp.

Index to Natchitoches: Translations of Old French and Spanish Documents. By Germaine Portre-Bobinski. Compiled by Sarah L. C. Clapp.

The Louisiana Studies Institute, Index to Photographic Collection. (Supplement, 1965)

STATE LIBRARY.
Recordings Collection.

1965

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, BATON ROUGE
The French and Non-French in Rural Louisiana; a Study of the Relevance of Ethnic Factors to Rural Development. By Alvin L. Bertrand and Calvin L. Beale. Bulletin #606.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.
The Irish in New Orleans, 1805-1860. By Earl F. Niehaus. LSU Studies, Social Science Series #10

1966

STATE LIBRARY.
The Louisiana State Library Suggests for Your Reading and Listening Pleasure, Books and Recordings on Folk Music. (pamphlet)

WILDLIFE AND FISHERIES COMMISSION.
The Pirogue. By Ednard (sic) Waldo. Wildlife Education Bulletin #80. (date uncertain)

1967

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA.
Guide to the Southwestern Archives and Manuscripts Collection.

The Louisiana Colonial Records Project of the University of Southwestern Louisiana. (date uncertain)

1969

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.
A Bibliography Relative to Indians of the State of Louisiana. By Robert Neuman and Lanier Simmons. Anthropological Study #4.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.
Agricultural Statistics for Louisiana, 1909-1968. By Lonnie Fielder, Clarence Parker, and J. B. Penn. Research Report #397.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. LOUISIANA WATER RESOURCES RESEARCH INSTITUTE.
Man and Nature at Odds in the Delta. By Joseph D. Martinez, and Clarence O. Durham, Jr. Reprint Series #1-70.

STATE MUSEUM.
Playthings of the Past; 19th and Early 20th Century Toys from the Collection of the Louisiana State Museum. (exhibit guide)

1970

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE.
Sugar Houses in Louisiana. Bulletin #1616.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA.
Immigration and War, Louisiana 1718-1721. From the memoirs of Charles LeGac. Translated, edited, and annotated by Glenn R. Conrad. USL History Series #1.

1971

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. MUSEUM OF GEOSCIENCE.
Louisiana House Types, A Field Guide. By Milton B. Newton, Jr. *Melanges* #2.

1972

GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON THE ATCHAFALAYA BASIN.
Report to the Governor and the Legislature.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL PRESERVATION AND CULTURAL COMMISSION.
Louisiana: An Historic Preservation Plan.
Toward Preservation: Problems and Projects in Louisiana.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. ANGLO-AMERICAN ART MUSEUM.
Louisiana Folk Art. (exhibit program)

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. MUSEUM OF GEOSCIENCE.
Stewards of the Past. By Wm. G. Haag. *Melanges* #4.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. SCHOOL OF GEOSCIENCE.
Atchafalaya Swamp Life: Settlement and Folk Occupations. By Malcolm L. Comeaux. Geoscience and Man, volume 2.

1973

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. MUSEUM OF GEOSCIENCE.
Country and Small-Town Store of Louisiana: Legacy of the Greek Revival and the Frontier. By Linda Pulliam and Milton B. Newton, Jr. *Melanges*, #7.

LOUISIANA TOURIST DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION.
See and Savor the Historic Excitement of Louisiana. (pamphlet)

1974

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, BATON ROUGE.
The Cultural Context of Food: A Study of Food Habits and their Social Significance in Selected Areas of Louisiana. By Virginia Purtle Steelman. Bulletin #681.

The Human Dimension of Coastal Zone Development. By Karen W. Peterson, Joel Lindsey, and Alvin L. Bertrand. Bulletin #679.

DEPARTMENT OF ART, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PRESERVATION.
Louisiana's Historical and Cultural Information.

National Register of Historic Places.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. SCHOOL OF GEOSCIENCE.
Man and Cultural Heritage: Papers in Honor of Fred B. Kniffen. Edited by H. J. Walker and W. G. Haag. Geoscience and Man, volume 5.

1975

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, BATON ROUGE.
Middle Fork Bayou D'Arbonne Reservoir Project, Claiborne Parish, Louisiana: A Feasibility Study and Social Impact Study. By Alvin L. Bertrand. Bulletin #687.

LOUISIANA HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES ADMINISTRATION. DIVISION OF HUMAN SERVICES. OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.
The Elderly Indians of Louisiana and Their Needs.

1977

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION, AND TOURISM. LOUISIANA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND ANTIQUITIES COMMISSION.
On the Tunica Trail. By Jeffrey P. Brain. Anthropological Study #1.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY IN SHREVEPORT.
Social Atlas of Shreveport, Louisiana. By Norman Dlin and Kenneth Hinze.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW ORLEANS. DIVISION OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS.
Market Basket for 1977—Survey of New Orleans Area Food Stores. By Barry Render and G. Kent Stearne.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHWESTERN LOUISIANA. AQUATIC STUDIES PROGRAM.

Louisiana Crawfish Harvest Methods. By Donald Gooch.

Boat Method Harvesting of Crawfish in Open Ponds. By Donald Gooch.

1978

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION, AND TOURISM. LOUISIANA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND ANTIQUITIES COMMISSION.
The Caddo Indians of Louisiana. By Clarence H. Webb and Hiram F. Gregory. Anthropological Study #2.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. OFFICE OF PUBLICATIONS.
The LSU Rural Life Museum. (date uncertain)

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. SCHOOL OF GEOSCIENCE.
Man and Environment in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Edited by Sam Hilliard. Geoscience and Man, volume 19.

343

1979

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN RESOURCES. BUREAU FOR WOMEN.
Louisiana Indian Women: A Resource Manual.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. MUSEUM OF GEOSCIENCE.
The Spanish Moss Folk Industry in Louisiana. By Fred B. Kniffen and Malcolm L. Comeaux. *Melanges* #12.

STATE MUSEUM.
Louisiana's Black Heritage. Edited by Robert MacDonald, John R. Kemp, and Edward F. Haas.

Matters of Life and Death. By Leon Ronquillo. (pictorial survey of Louisiana funerary practices)

1980

DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION, AND TOURISM. OFFICE OF PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT. DIVISION OF THE ARTS.
Triennial Report for Louisiana's State Arts Agency, Division of the Arts, and Louisiana State Arts Council. (Contains essay on folk arts in Louisiana)

Resource Directory and Economic Impact of the Arts in Louisiana. (includes folk arts)

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.
Louisiana Arts Slide Library (includes folklife materials).

DEPARTMENT OF STATE. STATE ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE.
Oral History for Louisiana. By Joel Gardner.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY. LSU UNION GALLERY.
Louisiana Traditional Crafts. By F. A. deCaro and R. A. Jordan

Oyster Shucker. Photo in 1938 Commerce and Industry publication, *Louisiana the Finest*.

APPENDIX 7

ORAL HISTORY IN LOUISIANA: A SUMMARY

by Joel Gardner

Oral history is in many ways the lingua franca of Louisiana. A cross-cultural and multiethnic heritage defines our state, a heritage that has been passed along — almost intact, in many cases— through a rich oral tradition.

Oral history as a discrete methodology, the tape recording of firsthand recollections, owes its existence to the development of electronic recording equipment. Historians and folklorists have always relied upon personal recollections and memoirs to compile their reports; suddenly, verbatim accounts were possible. Early field recordings by the Lomaxes and written interviews compiled through the Federal Writers Project were significant antecedents in Louisiana. Following World War II, Allan Nevins used the medium to interview the men and women who had guided the United States through the war years, and from his endeavors grew the Columbia University Oral History Research Office, which in turn spawned the oral history movement.

From the beginning, Louisianians have performed a vital function in the development of oral history techniques and in the growth of the respectability of the medium. Richard B. Allen, oral historian for the Hogan Jazz Archive at Tulane, recorded his first interview in 1951 and has never stopped. T. Harry Williams, the renowned LSU historian, drew copiously from oral sources for his prize-winning study of Huey Long. When the awards began to pile up, T. Harry had made oral historians acceptable to their peers.

Oral history programs in general fall basically into four categories. Using Louisiana examples, these are as follows:

1) archival, including programs at LSU-Shreveport, USL, Northwestern, and SLU, in which tapes and transcripts are collected and stored so that they may be used by other scholars;

2) regional, including the numerous programs developed around the Bicentennial, for example, or topical or local projects, including video and film productions, in which material is collected about specific subjects or places;

3) educational, including projects on the Foxfire model, in which material is gathered by students in order than they may relate to the environment in which they live;

4) academic, including the work of historians, anthropologists, and folklorists throughout the state, in which material is used for publication of works or production of media projects.

For those interested in folklife documentation, the recorded interview is an essential tool. Folklorists and anthropologists have long accepted the eloquence of the common man as a cultural document. A researcher can learn much about a Creole cottage or log house by talking to the person who lived in it or the person whose father or grandfather built it. The taped interview can document many surviving traditional practices, such as blacksmithing or hog butchering. When complemented by visual documentation and library research, such recordings of contemporary traditional people tell us a great deal about the past. Oral history allows both the interviewer and the subject to participate in the past, but it informs the present as well by allowing us to experience the diversity of ideas and practices in our midst through the memories of those who can transmit them.

Oral history today reaches across Louisiana, across its ethnic groups, across its academic disciplines, across its folk arts. It offers to all of us the opportunity to preserve our heritage — not for ourselves alone, or for our children, but for the generations that will live on our land hundreds of years from now.

APPENDIX 8

ACT 893

Regular Session, 1981

SENATE BILL NO. 652

BY MESSRS. KELLY, CASEY, WINDHORST, KIEFER, BRINKHAUS, AND NICHOLSON AND REPRESENTATIVES SIMONEAUX, GRISBAUM, ALARIO, BLEICH, CHARBONNET, DE'GEROLAMO, DIMOS, WEAVER, THERIOT, LONG, FOWLER, AND DISCHLER

AN ACT

To amend Title 25 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes of 1950, by adding thereto a new Chapter, to be designated as Chapter 17-A thereof, to be comprised of R.S. 25:821 through R.S. 25:825, and to amend Section 209 of Title 36 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes of 1950 by adding thereto a new Subsection, to be designated as Subsection L thereof, all to create the Louisiana Folklife Commission within the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism; to provide with respect to the purpose, functions, composition, domicile, and duties of the commission; to provide with respect to confirmation of members; and otherwise to provide with respect thereto.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of Louisiana:

Section 1. Chapter 17-A of Title 25 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes of 1950, to be comprised of R.S. 25:821 through R.S. 25:825, is hereby enacted to read as follows:

CHAPTER 17-A LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE COMMISSION

821. Commission; purpose and functions

A. The purpose and function of the commission is to advise the Office of Program Development on the formulation of an annual state plan to be prepared by the Office of Program Development. The plan shall outline objectives and budgeting needs in the identification, preservation, and presentation of Louisiana folk cultural resources for each fiscal year. The commission shall act in an advisory capacity to the Division of the Arts and to the Louisiana State Arts Council with respect to the allocation of grant funds for arts projects and activities, consistent with established review and allocation procedures established by the Division of the Arts and the Louisiana State Arts Council. The commission shall also advise the Division of the Arts and the Louisiana State Arts Council on policy or guidelines as they relate to or affect the folk arts and artists in the state.

B. The commission shall formulate long range goals for folklife activity in the Office of Program Development. In addition, it shall advise the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, other relevant state agencies, and the governor on public policies that will aid in the identification, preservation, and presentation of the folklife of ethnic, regional, occupational, and family groups in the state.

C. The commission is authorized to advise the assistant secretary of the Office of Program Development as to the creation of a Division of Folklife, the establishment of a program, and the hiring of a professional staff and director for the division if funds become available.

822. Louisiana Folklife Commission: creation; membership; terms; officers; vacancies; compensation; meetings; quorum; domicile

A. Creation; membership. The Louisiana Folklife Commission is hereby created within the Office of Program Development of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism. The commission shall be composed of seventeen persons who shall be appointed by the governor as follows:

(1) One member shall be appointed from the Office of the State Museum.

(2) One member shall be appointed from the Office of State Parks.

(3) One member shall be appointed from the Division of the Arts.

(4) One member shall be appointed from the Division of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

(5) One member shall be appointed from a list of three names submitted by the membership of the Louisiana Folklore Society.

(6) One member shall be appointed from a list of three names submitted by the membership of the Louisiana Folklife Society.

(7) Four members shall be appointed from the faculties of state, public, and private colleges or universities from a list of twelve prospective members submitted by the secretary of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, all of whom shall have recognized professional expertise in folklife, anthropology, cultural geography, ethnomusicology, linguistics, museology, documentary media, or history.

(8) Three members shall be appointed from a list of twelve names submitted by the secretary of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, all of whom shall have a demonstrated interest in the folk cultural traditions of the state; these members shall be chosen with regard to representation of major ethnic groups or regions of the state.

(9) One member shall be appointed from a list of three names submitted by the board of directors of the Louisiana Preservation Alliance, Inc.

(10) One member shall be the executive director of the Louisiana Committee for the Humanities or his designee or a member of the staff or of the committee.

(11) One member shall be the director of the Louisiana Intertribal Council or a designee recommended by the council.

In addition, the governor shall appoint one ex-officio member each from a list of three names submitted by each of the following national organizations: the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, Folk Arts Folklife Programs; the Smithsonian Institution, Folklife Program; American Folklife Center; and the National Council for the Traditional Arts. These members shall be nonvoting members.

All members appointed by the governor shall be subject to Senate confirmation at the first regular session of the legislature after appointment and again at the first regular session of the legislature following the commencement of the next succeeding gubernatorial term.

B. Terms. Each appointed member shall serve a term concurrent with that of the governor making the appointment.

C. Officers. The members shall elect a chairman and may elect other officers as they deem necessary for the efficient operation of the business of the commission.

D. Vacancies. A vacancy in the membership of the commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment for the remainder of the unexpired term.

E. The members of the commission shall serve without compensation, but they shall be reimbursed on a vouchered basis for actual expenses, including travel expenses, to the extent that funds are made available for such purpose.

F. The committee shall meet at least twice each calendar year on the call of the chairman. Meetings shall also be held on the request of at least three members of the commission. The chairman shall give seven days notice to the members of the commission of the time and place within the state of Louisiana where such meetings will be held. A majority of the members of the commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of any and all business at any regular or special meeting.

G. Domicile. The commission shall be comiciled in Baton Rouge, but may hold public meetings elsewhere int he state.

823. Folklife; definition

"Folklife" for purposes of this Chapter means the sum total of traditional cultural materials of a community learned outside formal institutions and handed down over time. The cultural materials include language, traditional styles of architecture and land use, folk music and dance, folk medicine and beliefs, rituals, festivals, foodways, arts and crafts, oral history, tales, and myths.

824. Funds; department to administer

The Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism is hereby designated as the sole applicant, administrative body, and recipient for accepting and administering any and all state, federal, and private funds awarded to and allocated by the state of Louisiana for any purpose covered by any provision of this Chapter and for carrying out the purposes of any state and federal laws concerning folklife.

825. Department to establish fair and equitable procedures for support and assistance

The Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, through the division, shall establish procedures for providing fair and equitable support and assistance to all areas of folk culture having substantive cultural relevance to Louisiana or the United States, pursuant to Chapter 13 of Title 49 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes of 1950 and Section 502 of Amendment 5496 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

Section 2. Subsection L of Section 209 of Title 36 of the Louisiana Revised Statutes of 1950 is hereby enacted to read as follows:

209. Transfer of boards, commissions, departments, and agencies to department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism

L. The Louisiana Folklife Commission (R.S. 25:821-R.S. 25:825) is placed within the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism and shall perform and exercise its powers, duties, functions, and responsibilities in the manmner provided for agencies transferred in accordance with the provisions of Part III of Chapter 22 of this Title.

Section 3. If any provision or item of this Act or the application thereof is held invalid, such invalidity shall not affect other provisions, items, or applications of this act which can be given effect without the invalid provisions items, or applications, and to this end the provisions of this Act are hereby declared servable.

Section 4. All laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

APPROVED:

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE COMMISSION MEMBERS (1981-1985)

Current Members

Barry Ancelet, Chairman (1984-)
Louisiana Folklore Society, Lafayette

Susan Roach-Lankford, Vice-Chairman (1984-)
Louisiana Tech

Martha McHale, Secretary (1984-)
Member at Large, Lake Charles

David Boileau (1984-)
Loyola University, New Orleans

Kathleen Byrd (1982-84; 1984-)
Louisiana Diviison of Archaeology, Baton Rouge

Jeanette Campos (1984-)
Louisiana Intertribal Council, Baton Rouge

Timothy J. Chester (1982-84; 1984-)
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

H. F. Gregory (1981-1984; 1984-)
Louisiana Folklife Society, Natchitoches

John Hall (1984-)
Louisiana Preservation Alliance, Shreveport

Thomas F. Jaques (1983-84; 1984-)
Louisiana State Library, Baton Rouge

Ann Jones (1981-1984; 1984-)
Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation, Baton Rouge

Sandra Loridans (1984-)
Member at Large, Shreveport

Edith Lowe (1984-)
Member at Large, Monroe

Albert B. Head (1984)
Louisiana Division of Arts, Baton Rouge

Huel Perkins (1984-)
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

Michael Sartisky (1984-)
Louisiana Committee for the Humanities, New Orleans

Julie Trichell (1984-)
Member at Large, Monroe

Thomas D. Watson (1984-)
McNeese State University, Lake Charles

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE COMMISSION MEMBERS

Previous Members

Francis A. deCaro, Chairman (1981-1984)
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

Frank Fernandez (1981-1984)
Member at Large, St. Bernard

Lillie Petit Gallagher (1981-1984)
Member at Large, Cut Off

Helen Gindrat (1981-1983)
Louisiana Intertribal Council, Golden Meadow

Vaughn Glasgow (1981)
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

Joseph V. Guillotte, III (1981-1984)
University of New Orleans

Donald Hatley (1981-1984)
Louisiana Folklife Society, Natchitoches

Albert B. Head (1981-1985)
Louisiana Division of Arts, Baton Rouge

Clyde Jackson (1983-1984)
Louisiana Intertribal Council, Jena

John Jardell (1981)
Louisiana Preservation Alliance, Baton Rouge

Clifton Johnson (1981-1984)
Member at Large, New Orleans

Jim Morgan (1981-1984)
Louisiana Office of State Parks, Baton Rouge

George Reinecke (1981-1984)
Louisiana Folklore Society, New Orleans

Miles Richardson (1981-1984)
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

Sarah Simmonds (1983-1984)
Louisiana Preservation Alliance, Alexandria

Tabby Thomas (1981-1984)
Member at Large, Baton Rouge

APPENDIX 9

USING THE LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE SURVEY FORM

The Louisiana Folklife Survey Form is intended for general use by anyone interested in identifying the persons who are the transmitters of Louisiana's cultural heritage. It can be used with equal facility by professional folklorists and school groups. The object is to gather information about individuals and to do so in a simple, straightforward manner. Follow the instructions on this page and fill in each line as clearly and concisely as possible.

Students and field workers seeking to apply more sophisticated research methodology should read *Folklife and Fieldwork*, the publication of the American Folklife Center, which is available through the Louisiana Folklife Program.

The object of the Survey Form is to enable the Louisiana Folklife Program to serve as a clearinghouse for information on the folklife of the state. Information from these forms will be placed on computer and will provide the foundation for a directory of practitioners and groups. Information will be maintained on the local level as well, as each institution or individual holds copies of the forms it submits.

The purpose of the form is to gather specific information. Any notes or personal comments not directly related to or supplementary to the questions on the form should be written on a note pad. Any noteworthy responses by the informant should be tape recorded.

SIDE ONE OF THE FORM RELATES SPECIFICALLY TO THE INFORMANT.

1. Find out full name, address, and phone contact. Does the informant have a nickname? What is the community or neighborhood called? The "region" may include such things as Upper Delta, Cajun prairies, Barataria, Dolet Hills, Florida Parishes, or any term that relates to your project/area of work.

2. Check as many of the ethnic groups as necessary. You may intuit the primary group and add more after finding out the name and birthplace of mother and father. Be discreet in inquiring here, and let the informant name the primary ethnicity. One way to elicit this information is to read the categories to the informant.

3. Family identification listings are self-evident, though for education and occupation, you may want to make notes on your note pad before filling in the blanks. Similarly, family may be too lengthy to list, so express it concisely.

4. List the skill or art form. How it was learned and from whom will help define its traditional nature; moreover, it may lead you to further practitioners. Techniques and tools may need to be recorded on your note pad and transferred, because in some cases they may be too numerous to list. If an object is for sale or a skill is performed, does the informant do so for money?

SIDE TWO OF THE FORM RELATES TO THE RESEARCHER AND DOCUMENTATION.

1. List your name, address, and phone contacts.

2. Are you depositing materials such as cassettes, slides or photographs? If you gather ancillary documentation, such as photo albums and scrapbooks, indicate them. These will be placed in an archival setting, where they will be better preserved than in an attic or closet, so we have a special interest in collecting them.

3. The section of Observations offers you the opportunity for commentary, for tieing the facts into a human framework. Comment liberally.

4. The Informant Release Form legalizes the taping, the photography, and any collecting of materials. Both you and the informant should sign. Explain to the informant how the materials will be used. You should explain the project and the function of the form *before* you begin to compile it.

When done, return the original to the Louisiana Folklife Program, P.O. Box 44247, Baton Rouge, LA 70804, and a copy will be sent to you.

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE SURVEY

LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE PROGRAM
OFFICE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, RECREATION AND TOURISM

Name ____________ (Nick name) ____________
Address ____________ Community/Neighborhood ____________
City ____________ Zip ______ Parish ____________ Region ____________
Home phone ____________ Other phone ____________

Ethnic Identification (check as many as apply)

Cajun _____ Creole _____ Afro-French _____ Afro-American _____ French _____ Italian _____
Anglo-Scotch-Irish _____ German _____ Hungarian _____ Yugoslav _____ Czech _____
Jewish _____ Arab-American _____ Hispanic (country of origin) ____________
Isleno _____ Filipino _____ Chinese _____ Vietnamese _____ Other ____________
Native American _____ Tribe ____________
Additional comment ____________

Family Identification

Date of birth ____________ Place of birth ____________
Other residences ____________
Mother's name and birthplace ____________
Father's name and birthplace ____________
Church or religious affiliation ____________
Language(s) spoken ____________ Dialect(s) ____________
Education ____________ Occupation(s) ____________
Family and children ____________

Traditional Skill, Performance, Art Form

Knowledge, skill, or art form ____________
How, where, and from whom learned ____________

____

____

Frequency of use or performance ____________
Where and when performed or used ____________

____

Techniques, tools, instruments, costumes ____________
Is income received? ____________

RESEARCHER'S INFORMATION

Name of field worker ______________________________

Affiliation or project ______________________________

Address ______________________________

City ______________ Zip ________ Parish ______________ Region ______________

Home phone ______________ Other phone ______________

Accompanying materials:

Tape(s) and Number ______________________________

Cassette _____ Open reel _____ Video _____ Format _____ Film _____ Format _____

Photographs: B&W ________ Color slide ________ Number ______________

Location of materials ______________________________

Supporting documents: Photo albums _____ Scrapbooks _____ Documents _____

Other ______________________________

Observations:

Lifestyle of informant (rural, urban, farming, etc.): ______________________________

____

____

Socioeconomic level ______________________________

Influence of popular, other cultures ______________________________

____

Housetype and landscape if living in traditional dwelling ______________

Other ______________________________

____

____

INFORMANT RELEASE FORM

I hereby deposit with ____________________ the tapes, photographs, and other documents relating to this survey form. It is understood that any institutions housing these materials will make them available to qualified scholars for research or similar educational purposes. No copies of any of these materials will be made nor anything used from them without the written permission of the director of said institutions.

______________________________ Field worker

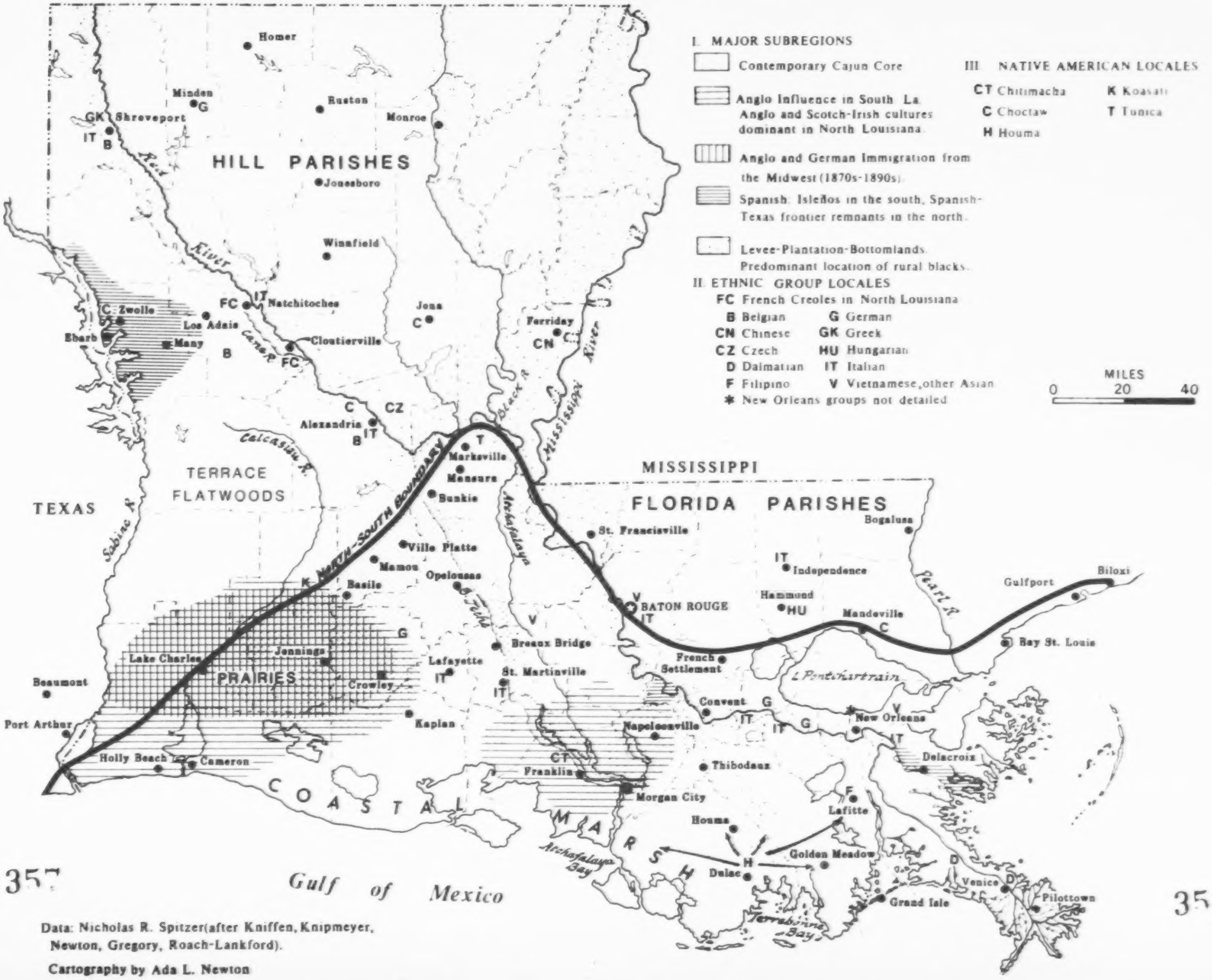
______________________________ Informant

______________________________ Date

RETURN ORIGINAL TO:

Louisiana Folklife Program P.O. BOX 44247 BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70804 (504) 925-3930

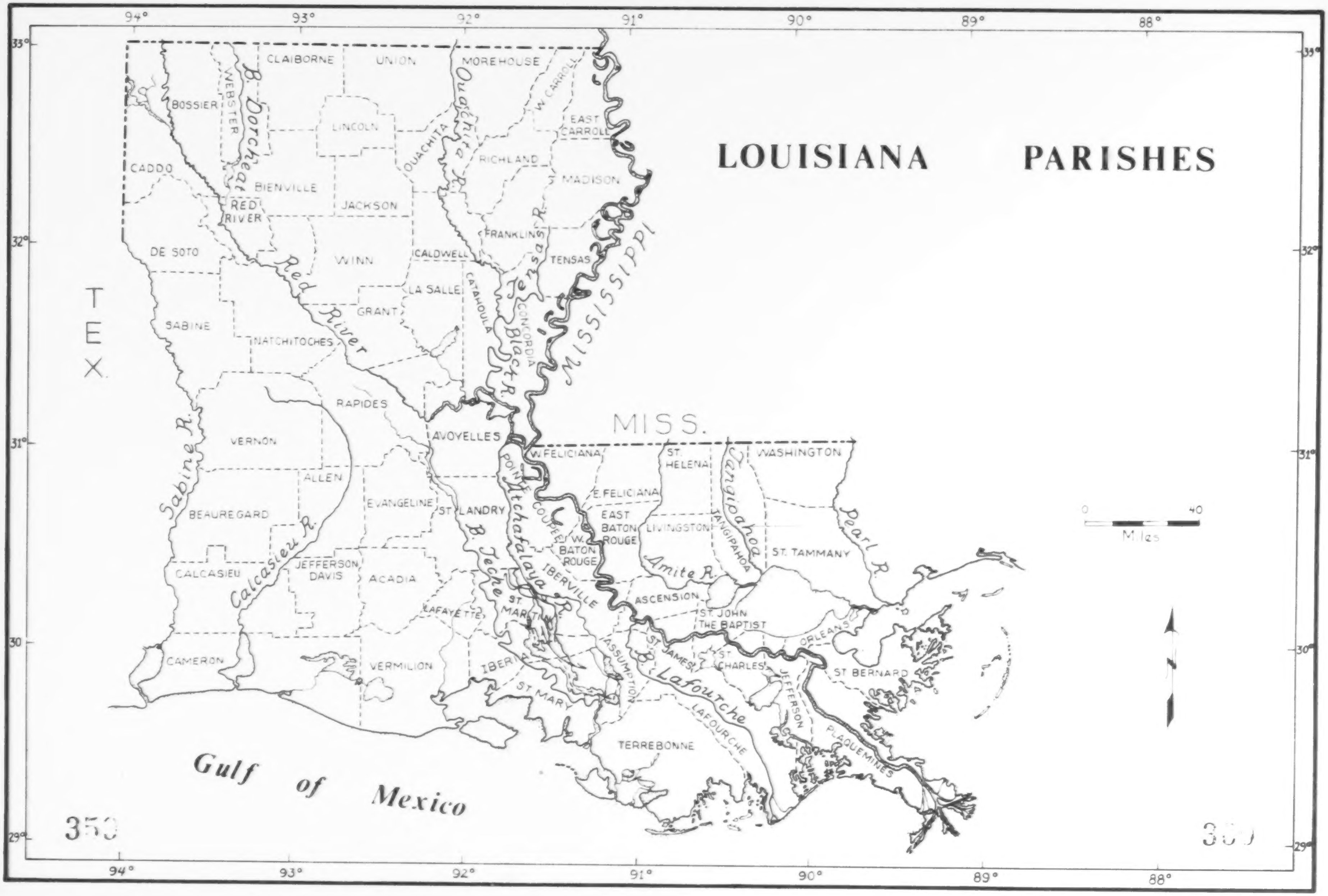
LOUISIANA FOLK REGIONS


I. MAJOR SUBREGIONS
Contemporary Cajun Core
Anglo Influence in South La. Anglo and Scotch-Irish cultures dominant in North Louisiana.
Anglo and German Immigration from the Midwest (1870s-1890s).
Spanish: Isleños in the south, Spanish-Texas frontier remnants in the north.
Levee-Plantation-Bottomlands. Predominant location of rural blacks.
II. ETHNIC GROUP LOCALES
FC French Creoles in North Louisiana
B Belgian
G German
CN Chinese
GK Greek
CZ Czech
HU Hungarian
D Dalmatian
IT Italian
F Filipino
V Vietnamese, other Asian
✱ New Orleans groups not detailed
III. NATIVE AMERICAN LOCALES
CT Chitimacha
K Koasati
C Choctaw
T Tunica
H Houma
MILES
0
20
40
HILL PARISHES
TERRACE FLATWOODS
PRAIRIES
FLORIDA PARISHES
COASTAL MARSH
NORTH-SOUTH BOUNDARY
TEXAS
MISSISSIPPI
Gulf of Mexico
Homer
Minden
Ruston
Monroe
Shreveport
Jonesboro
Winnfield
Natchitoches
Jena
Ferriday
Zwolle
Ebarb
Los Adaes
Many
Cloutierville
Alexandria
Marksville
Mansura
Bunkie
Ville Platte
Mamou
Basile
Opelousas
St. Francisville
Bogalusa
Independence
Hammond
Mandeville
Gulfport
Biloxi
Bay St. Louis
BATON ROUGE
French Settlement
L. Pontchartrain
Breaux Bridge
Lafayette
St. Martinville
Jennings
Lake Charles
Crowley
Kaplan
Beaumont
Port Arthur
Holly Beach
Cameron
Convent
New Orleans
Napoleonville
Thibodaux
Franklin
Morgan City
Delacroix
Lafitte
Houma
Golden Meadow
Dulac
Grand Isle
Venice
Pilottown
Red River
Cane R.
Calcasieu R.
Sabine R.
Black R.
Mississippi River
Atchafalaya
Teche
Pearl R.
Atchafalaya Bay
Terrebonne Bay

Data: Nicholas R. Spitzer (after Kniffen, Knipmeyer, Newton, Gregory, Roach-Lankford).

Cartography by Ada L. Newton

LOUISIANA PARISHES


94°
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TEX.
MISS.
MISSISSIPPI
Gulf of Mexico
CLAIBORNE
UNION
MOREHOUSE
W. CARROLL
EAST CARROLL
BOSSIER
WEBSTER
B. Dorcheat
LINCOLN
OUACHITA
Ouachita R.
RICHLAND
MADISON
CADDO
BIENVILLE
JACKSON
RED RIVER
FRANKLIN
Tensas R.
TENSAS
DE SOTO
Red River
WINN
CALDWELL
LA SALLE
CATAHOULA
GRANT
CONCORDIA
Black R.
SABINE
NATCHITOCHES
RAPIDES
AVOYELLES
Sabine R.
VERNON
ALLEN
W. FELICIANA
E. FELICIANA
ST. HELENA
Tangipahoa
WASHINGTON
BEAUREGARD
EVANGELINE
ST. LANDRY
POINTE COUPEE
Atchafalaya R.
EAST BATON ROUGE
W. BATON ROUGE
LIVINGSTON
TANGIPAHOA
ST. TAMMANY
Pearl R.
Calcasieu R.
CALCASIEU
JEFFERSON DAVIS
ACADIA
B. Teche
IBERVILLE
Amite R.
ASCENSION
LAFAYETTE
ST. MARTIN
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
ORLEANS
ST. JAMES
ST. CHARLES
ST. BERNARD
CAMERON
VERMILION
IBERIA
ST. MARY
ASSUMPTION
B. Lafourche
JEFFERSON
LAFOURCHE
PLAQUEMINES
TERREBONNE
0
40
Miles

I think that Louisiana is the richest of all American states culturally.

—Alan Lomax, folklorist
New York, NY, 1980

My culture is no better than anybody else's culture. My people were no better than anybody else. And yet I will not accept it as a second-class culture. It's my culture. It's the best culture for me. Now, I would expect, if you have a different culture, that you would feel the same about yours as I feel about mine.

—Dewey Balfa, Cajun musician
Basile, 1984

The problem with arts policy in this country is that it is upside down. The people who can most afford to pay for it themselves—the symphonies, the operas, ballet, the big theatres, the big museums—are guaranteed access to resources; and the smaller organizations and artists rooted in the communities are not. Culture comes from the bottom up. More attention is paid to what comes from the top down. We have reached the point where things have to be turned over and set right side up.

—John O'Neal, black folk dramatist
New Orleans, 1983

A few years ago around here, you couldn't even whittle a young fiddler out of number two pine. Nowadays we got more boys makin' music than you can shake a stick at.

Anonymous, old time fiddler
Marthaville, 1984

We have a promise from the sun. As long as there is the sun, there will be Indian people here.

—Joseph Alcide Pierite, the late Tunica Chief
Marksville, 1970